





HISTORY
OF THE
CHURCH OF ENGLAND
*FROM THE ABOLITION OF THE
ROMAN JURISDICTION.*

BY
RICHARD WATSON DIXON, M.A.,

VICAR OF WARKWORTH ;
HONORARY CANON OF CARLISLE.

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THE First Volume contains the period from the Fall of Wolsey to the end of the Pilgrimage of Grace. It gives for the first time the whole history of the struggle between the King, aided by the Parliament, and the Clergy, which ended with the submission of the latter. It contains the various acts by which the Roman jurisdiction was ended : the fullest account of the troubles of More, Fisher, Houghton, and others under the new acts of Supreme Head and verbal treason. The examination of the evidence on which the religious houses are commonly believed to have been condemned, the first part of the Monastic Suppression, and the Pilgrimage of Grace, are among the chief contents of this volume : and of the whole work it is a principal feature to afford a sufficient treatment of the various visitations, injunctions, articles, and formularies that appeared in the course of the Reformation.

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HISTORY
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VOL. III.



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HISTORY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER XV.

A.D. 1549.

THE momentous bill, which was to give to the labours of the Windsor Commission the authority of the temporal powers of the realm, came before the Houses of Parliament when they resumed their session after Christmas. It was read for the first time in the Lords on the seventh of January. In a fortnight it had passed both Houses: and the first English Book of Common Prayer was established by the first Act for the Uniformity of religion.* The reader, however, who has followed the long procession of the Orders and Proclamations concerning religion of the later years of Henry the Eighth, will readily admit that Uniformity, so far from being invented now for the first time, was only

* When it was read in the Lords, 7 Jan. and 10 Jan. the bill bore the title of "Bill for religion with penalty for the same." On the third reading, 15 Jan. it was recited "Bill for an Uniformity of Service and administration of the Sacrament to be had throughout the Realm." In the Commons it was read 17, 19, 21 Jan. and was called "The Bill for Uniformity of the Service and ministration of the Sacrament in the Church." *Lords' Journ. Commons' Journ.*

carried to completion now. For doctrine an uniformity had been already instituted, or attempted, before the death of Henry, in the English Confessions: an uniformity of private prayer had been commanded in the authorised Primer: the sanction given to the Great Bible had extended uniformity to the reading of the Scriptures: and even in the public services of the churches several motions had been made towards an uniformity. But when by an edict of Parliament the public services, which had been left hitherto in the freedom of the old diocesan Uses, were altogether enclosed in a garment that might seem both scanty and rigid, it was felt that a greater exertion of authority in matters of religion had been made than had ever been attempted before. The principle which had advanced hitherto under the shadow of the royal prerogative, now suddenly stood forth in the light of absolute legislation: and men could no longer fail to be impressed to some extent at least with regulations which invaded the practice of their lives. As soon as it was promulgated, the first Act for Uniformity startled two counties into desperate revolt. The lasting consequences of it have been more serious still: for it launched the nation on a perilous course of legislation, and laid the foundation of the modern separations from the Church.

To this measure not less than eight of the bishops refused to consent: Bonner, Tunstall, Thirleby, Heath, Day, Skip, Rugg, and Aldrich. They, the strength of the Old Learning, were joined in the division by the Earl of Derby, and the lords Dacre and Windsor. The significance of their discontent was the greater in that three of them, Thirleby, Skip, Day, were members of the body that composed the Prayer Book which the Act commanded upon the realm. In the Preamble of the Act, the Book was declared to have been composed

“by the aid of the Holy Ghost, with one uniform agreement” of the learned persons concerned therein. It was one thing, perhaps, to agree in the Book, and another thing to consent to enforce the Book by a penal statute.*

Rising above the local designations of Salisbury, York, Hereford, or Bangor, the Act ordered that “the Use of the Church of England” should be adopted everywhere after the feast of Pentecost, on Whitsunday next ensuing. Against any minister, who should continue to perform the services and offices of the Church in another manner than that which was prescribed, heavy penalties were assigned. Heavy penalties were assigned against any person depraving the new Order, as by songs or interludes; against any person maintaining a minister who used any other form, or threatening a minister who was obedient in using this. But it may be observed that, as yet, it was not found necessary to legislate against laymen for avoiding their parish churches, or frequenting other places of worship. The offenders who were touched were ministers and their abettors, or else active depravers: nothing was known of lay recusants in the first Act for Uniformity.† The determination

* *Lords’ Journ.* Burnet and Strype say that the three bishops, Thirleby, Skip, and Day, were not unanimous with the rest of the Windsor Commission in the making of the Prayer Book: and that among the doctors who were on the Commission, Robertson and Redman liked it as little. Heylin says that Day would not put his name to it.

† For the first offence of a minister it was loss of profits for a year, and six months’ imprisonment: for the second offence, forfeiture of preferments, and imprisonment for a year: for the third, imprisonment for life. For an unbeneficed person it was six months’ imprisonment for the first, imprisonment for life for the second offence. For depravers of the Prayer Book it was ten pounds fine, or three months for the first offence: for the second, double of both: loss of all goods and imprisonment for life for the third. 2 and 3 *Edw. VI.* 1. We shall see that mere recusancy was first made punishable, later on in the reign, by the Second Act for Uniformity of Edward.

of offences was committed to the justices, to the mayors and other chief officers of cities and towns, but with the justices the bishops might "at their liberty and pleasure" associate themselves on the bench: and in a cautious manner the old processes and censures, the admonitions, excommunications, sequestrations, that had been wont to be exercised by the ordinaries of the Church, were permitted in the service of uniformity. Thus, it may be thought, were continued the elaborate efforts of the former reign to reduce to one the rival jurisdictions of the temporal and spiritual officers of the realm. Thus was illustrated another feature of the age, which has also been observed before, the perfect willingness of those who promoted the Reformation to restore in certain instances to the bishops and other ordinaries those dreadful powers which had been proclaimed with great outcry to be repugnant to the laws and liberties of the land. Indeed the lay legislature restored in this session several parts of the suspended ecclesiastical authority both in this enactment, and in some others: but it was only so far as it might be useful to themselves. When the work of coercion or punishment on their behalf was to be done, they were willing that bishops should do it. But when a "bill for ecclesiastical jurisdiction" on behalf of the Church herself came before them it passed them not:* the statutes in which they revised any part of the old ordinary authority bore the marks of caution: and this was the session which fully established the well-known legal phrases of qualification, "the King's ecclesiastical laws, the King's ecclesiastical judge."†

* Burnet. It was probably the same bill which was read in the Commons, 5 and 6 Jan. as a "bill for archdeacons:" and in the Lords, 24 Jan. as a "bill for ecclesiastical jurisdiction."—*Journals*.

† We have noted one, perhaps the first occurrence of the favourite legal phrase "the King's ecclesiastical laws," Vol. I. p. 340 *huj. op.* The

The Convocations of the clergy had nothing to do with the first Act for the Uniformity of religion. Several pieces of legislation indeed, during recent sessions, had proceeded upon the suggestion of the clerical assembly; but neither the first Act for Uniformity, nor any of the Acts that came thereafter, had any such origin. Laymen were the authors of those momentous measures. Laymen made the first English Book of Common Prayer into the schedule of a penal statute: and from the time that they first did so, with mournful consistency a penal statute accompanied every succeeding revision of the Book of Common Prayer. As little in the work itself, which was thus imposed on the realm, had the clergy originally any share. The empty records of Convocation, the silence or ambiguity of other documents, at least permit the question to be raised whether the First Prayer Book of Edward the Sixth were ever submitted to the Synods of the English Church. Evidence indeed has been adduced by several authorities to show that it was: but if the opposite conclusion be advanced, those who best favour the Church of England in the present day may perhaps have less occasion to mourn than to rejoice that Uniformity, the invention of the sixteenth century, sought not the aid of synods.*

second occurrence is in this Act for Uniformity: where the ordinaries were ordered to proceed "in like form as hath been used in like cases by the King's ecclesiastical laws." Here the old processes of the spiritual courts are declared to have been always of the King: which was true in one sense, that they had always been by the King's permission, without which nothing takes place in the realm. The phrase is repeated in the Tithe Act and the Præcontract marriage Act of this session. The old phrase was "the ecclesiastical laws" (see *e.g.* 32 H. 8, c. 7) and "the ordinary."

* Some high authorities hold that the First Prayer Book of Edward was submitted to Convocation. The evidence in favour of this conclusion is: 1. That the King in his Answer to the Devonshire rebels (8 July, in Fox) says that whatever the Book contained was "by our Parliament

Marriage of Priests, a principle which Convocation had both admitted, and had even commended to the

established, by the whole clergy agreed, yea, by the Bishops of the realm devised." And again, he speaks of the arrogance of urging "against the determination of the Bishops and all the clergy any invented argument against the Word of God": which last expression may also refer to the Prayer Book. On the other hand, in two other passages he speaks of "our Book which we have set forth by the free consent of our Parliament," and of the offices therein contained as having been "long debated and consulted by many learned Bishops, Doctors, and other men of great learning in the realm," without mention of the clergy. 2. The King says in a letter to Bonner (23 July, in Fox) that the uniform order had been set forth "not only by the common agreement and full assent of the nobility and commons of the late session of our late Parliament, but also by the like assent of the Bishops in the said Parliament, and of all others the learned men of this our realm in their synods and convocations provincial." 3. Strype adds a quotation from Archbishop Abbot of the following century, that "the more material points were disputed and debated in the Convocation House by men of both parties" (iii. 137). This evidence might seem conclusive, if we had not to consider on the other hand: 1. The silence of the Convocation Records, no extract from which has survived about so important a matter. Some one would have extracted such an entry, if it had ever been made. 2. The silence of documents where it might be expected. There is, *e.g.* no mention of such a thing in the Act for Uniformity, the Preamble of which simply speaks of "the Archbishop of Canterbury and certain of the most learned and discreet bishops and other learned men," *i.e.* the Windsor Commission, as having been concerned. We shall find this negative evidence increase to a surprising extent in the course of this volume. 3. Neither Heylin, Burnet nor Collier know anything of Convocation in the matter: and Wake mentions the making of the First Prayer Book among the things done in religion without Convocation. (*Authority*, *app.* vii.) 4. The apparently decisive language of the King's letter to Bonner may be explained, and explained by means of the words of Archbishop Abbot, which are true, if rightly understood. The "more material points" contained in the Prayer Book, or some of them, had been "disputed and debated in the Convocation House by men of both parties" *formerly*, and at no distant date. In the session before this the question of Communion in both kinds had been disputed, and the principle had been agreed on, if not the form, of having it, cf. Vol. II. p. 475 *huj. op.*: It is to this, I think, that the King's Letter to Bonner refers, trying to make the former occasion cover all the Prayer Book, to induce the thought in the clerical champion that the process by which the Communion Service was brought into being, diffused itself over that by which the whole Prayer Book was brought into being. Even if the First Prayer Book had been submitted to the Convocation of Canterbury, which is all that is contended for by the authorities in question, it

legislature in a bill,* was now sanctioned by Parliament, in an Act which repealed all the positive laws and canons that stood against it: and declared all to be free to marry, provided that it was according to the rites of the new Prayer Book.† But the statute was brief and imperfect: and was followed in a year or two by further legislation. For the rest, clerical defaulters in the oppressive exaction of the tenths were ordered with great severity: they were to be deprived.‡ In tithe a not insignificant Act revealed the unsettled state of property, and in a new example the willingness of the legislature to restore ecclesiastical process, so far as it might be convenient to themselves. The perplexed owner of tithes found himself still thwarted by the reluctance of those who would avoid payment on arguments or pretences drawn from the late mutations: as, that lands were no longer tithable which had passed from spiritual to temporal hands. More statutes than one in the latter part of the late reign had been directed to dispel this obstinate illusion: so now the owner was empowered to recover double or even treble the value from defaulters by process “before the ecclesiastical judge according to the King’s ecclesiastical laws.” § This Act, which has

would still have lacked the consent of the northern province. But it may be concluded that the first Book was not submitted to either Convocation: and in fact the case was new, no Use for the whole English Church having been made before.

* Vol. II. p. 475 *huj. op.* † 2 and 3 Edw. VI. 21. ‡ *Ib.* c. 20.

§ 2 and 3 Edw. VI. 13. Blackstone (Bk. III. ch. vii.) explains that when the treble value was to be recovered, the suit was to lie in the temporal courts: when no more than the double value, it was to lie in the ecclesiastical: and that the reason of the difference was that in the temporal courts only the matter of fact could be determined, as whether a man has paid the tithe: whereas in the ecclesiastical courts the question of right was determined, as, whether he were under the obligation to pay. “For one may sue for and recover in the ecclesiastical courts the tithes themselves, or a recompense for them, by the ancient law; to which the suit for the *double* value is added by the statute: But, as no suit lay in the temporal courts for the subtraction of the tithes

figured largely and ridiculously in the haggling controversies of the present day, has been thought to have imposed fresh tithe, whereas it was for the remission of a large amount of tithe. It ordered that the crops of newly cultivated lands should be tithable in seven years, instead of paying from the first. This was in favour of the landlords, who were enclosing lands everywhere. It also professed to revive or enforce personal tithes, as distinct from prædial,—an income tax of ten per cent. on the gains of all occupations above common labourers, after allowing for expenses; this was customably due in towns where no house tithe was paid by custom.* But the allowance of expenses had the effect of reducing the amount to be collected to nothing, or next to nothing: and personal tithes remained the nullity which they probably were before the statute, and have been since. The exility of benefices still required the nursing hand of Parliament; to the places affected was applied, in itself an abuse, the former remedy of union. Bell-metal went

themselves, therefore the statute gives a *treble* forfeiture, if sued for there, in order to make the course of justice uniform, by giving the same reparation in one court as in the other." Blackstone should be right in this theory: but it seems plain that the treble value was intended specially to protect the new monastics in their tithes by heightening the peril of disputing them, and that it had no reference to one court more than another. 1. There is no mention of temporal courts in connection with the treble value. 2. Treble value might be recovered only when the dispute was as to the custom of the last forty years, a period that comfortably covered the late revolution in property: double value was recoverable when the question rose out of things of older date, no limit of time being mentioned. 3. The ecclesiastical judge is mentioned twice: and in the first mention is extended by the addition "or any other judge": and this is the only phrase that includes the temporal courts: it occurs where the *double* value is spoken of: so that the double value is spoken of as recoverable in temporal courts, as well as spiritual. 4. The other mention of the ecclesiastical judge comes at the end of the whole, and seems applicable to the whole. 5. In fact it appears from the latter part of the Act that all processes were to be in ecclesiastical courts at first, and only taken into temporal courts by appeal or prohibition.

* Collier, Soames, ii. 406.

out of the realm: a law to stop it had been found necessary in the year after that the suppression of monasteries had unhung so many bells: and now some further restraints were laid upon an enormous, but not an inexhaustible export.*

These measures, and the ordinary course of legislation, the Commons varied by a curious demand. They required of the Lord Protector that Latimer should be replaced in the see of Worcester.† In this proposition the dethronement of Heath, which was involved, may have been designed; and the removal of the leader of the Old Learning (for Worcester supplied to some extent the lack of the imprisoned Winchester) might have doubled the value of the acquisition of an honest though impetuous partisan of the New. But to remove an able and eminent man without even the pretence of legality may have seemed too strong even for that age; nor is it likely that the design was approved by Latimer himself. He indeed was somewhat conspicuous about this time for the part which he took in vindicating the conduct of the Protector, the Council, the Parliament, in the tragedy of Lord Seymour of Sudeley, the most striking event of the session and of the Spring. Almost before the body of Henry the Eighth was under ground (within a fortnight, it must be confessed, of his death) the widow of Henry, the commended Parr, married an unfortunate nobleman, whose character has been heavily taxed by history. After Parr's death, this successor of Henry aspired to the hand of Henry's daughter Elizabeth. Wild schemes were imputed to him: the overthrow of

* 2 and 3 Edw. VI. 38: cf. 33 Hen. VIII. 7.

† This strange provision to a non-vacant bishopric is thus entered in their Journals: "A note to require my Lord's Grace that Mr. Latimer shall be restored to the Bishopric of Worcester." Jan. 8.

his brother's Protectorate, the seizure of the King's person, a civil war. In confederacy with the notorious Sherington, controller of one of the numerous mints, he designed, it was said, to raise an army: and meant to have supported his enterprise, he the Lord High Admiral, with the aid of the pirates of the Channel. Into the truth or falsehood of the charges laid against Seymour of Sudeley, it is not necessary to enquire; but it may be intimated that this strange plotter, mixed of recklessness, avarice and profligacy, added to his other evil qualities the intolerable fault of inconvenience. He spoke rudely and rashly of the freedoms of others, especially as to the spoliation of the Church. "My brother," said he to a familiar who afterwards laid one of the informations against him, "is wondrous hot in helping every man to his right, saving me. He maketh a great matter to let me have the Queen's jewels, under pretence that he would not the King should lose so much: but he maketh nothing of the loss the King hath by him in the Court of Firstfruits and Tenths, where his revenue is abated almost ten thousand pounds a year." The informer to whom he spoke, Wightman by name, replied, or said that he replied, that it was not so much, for that the whole land that had been surrendered since the late King's death was by all men's guesses far under the sum. "Well, well," answered Seymour, "they are at this point now, that there can neither Bishopric, Deanery, nor Prebend fall void, but one or other will have a fleece of it." Wightman granted this, and purposely drew him on, "aggravating the matter to confirm his opinion," by naming the bishopric of Lincoln, the deanery of Wells, and others "that had been sore plucked at." The Admiral said with an oath, that all would be changed when the King came of age, and that he himself was innocent

of such doings. "I would not be in some of their coats for five marks, when he shall hear of these matters! For mine own part, I will not have a penny after that rate: nor shall they not all be able to charge me after the value of a farthing."* This inconvenience helped him to the block. He was arrested. His confederate Sherington the coiner was arrested, whose crimes were greater and more hurtful to the commonwealth. For Sherington had pursued the career of Henry the Eighth, in debasing the currency, to such an extent that the precious metals seemed about to be superseded wholly, as if anything whatever might be stamped into a medium of exchange. He made a full confession, implicating Seymour. The Admiral, for his part, refused to answer questions, demanding an open trial. His demand was reasonable, since the horrible treason laws of the late reign had been recently repealed; and, if it had been granted, it might have established a beneficial precedent for the future in English treasons. It aroused attention: and in Parliament it was formally debated whether the High Admiral should be attainted or tried. The instinct of the Revolution decreed the more summary and fatal process. His bill was drawn: but with a show of justice, which was not always pretended in the late reign, he was allowed to plead. After answering to a few of the articles, he impatiently refused to plead further: he was condemned and executed: and it was particularly observed that in this cause of blood the ecclesiastic Cranmer scrupled not to violate the canon law by affixing his signature to the warrant of execution. On the other hand, Sherington received tender consideration. He was pardoned with a fine, restored in blood, reinstated in office, and left to possess or acquire such opulence that in a year or two

* Wightman to Cecil, 10 May 1549. *Tytler*, 171.

he bought back of the King the lands and manors which he at this time forfeited. The Lords and Commons concluded an important session with the pious vote of a large subsidy, "considering," as they said, "the condition of the world, and content to leave father, mother, brethren, sisters, wives, children, lands, and goods, yea and this mortal life also, rather than deny Christ and forsake his word." The clergy followed with the enormous grant of six shillings in the pound from their incomes for the next three years.*

The zeal with which Latimer assailed the memory of the unfortunate Seymour, and defended the process by which he was condemned, cannot be called the most edifying incident of his career. It overshadows what would be else his glory: for in the Lent of the year Latimer preached in the garden of Westminster palace, in the presence of the young King, the memorable series of discourses with which his name is chiefly associated, which exhibit in the fullest the characteristics of his manner. The seven sermons delivered before the King abound in pictures of the time, in anecdotes, in invective, denunciation, and warning: and are composed with animation and vigour, if they seldom rise to high eloquence. As popular harangues they are the best that the English pulpit has produced, at least since the Reformation: and when a man hits where he aims, the honours of success are not to be denied him; the preacher did his best to help his age toward righteousness. These sermons drew large auditories, compelled attention, were among the memorable matters of the day, and stand conspicuous among the relics of the age. Throughout them runs, unhappily, the dark line of those insinuations against the High Admiral, which

* 2 and 3 Edw. VI. 35, 36.

have been expunged from several editions by the guardians of Latimer's fame. He denounces the victim, and extols the executioners. There is something very terrible in his words. "Whether he be saved or not," he said, "I leave to God. When a man has two strokes with an axe, who can tell but that he may repent between them? But I say that he died very dangerously, irksomely, horribly. God had left him to himself: He had clean forsaken him. He was a wicked man: the realm is well rid of him: it hath a treasure that he is gone. He knoweth his fate by this time. I heard of a wanton woman, who was hanged for robbery, and said on her way from Newgate, that he was the man that first misled her. He was a man the furthest from the fear of God that ever I knew or heard of in England. I have heard say that he was of the opinion that he believed not the immortality of the soul." In favour of the process of attainder he too liberally argued that urgency might warrant anything: "such an urgent cause may be; such a respect for a commonwealth, that a man may be rightly condemned in his absence:" that an absent man might have justice done him: a man may in his attaintment have no more wrong done him than if he answered for himself: and that though he were not there, any friend might have freely answered for him. "There were in the Parliament in both houses a great many learned men, conscionable men, wise men. When this man was attainted there, and they had liberty to say nay to his attaintment if they would, sure I am the most allowed it, and else it would not have gone forward." * But, apart from these rather

* These sermons were published within two or three months of their delivery: and may have gone forth as a sort of vindication of the Protector and Parliament. Many particulars about Seymour's last days seem to have been furnished to the preacher. The passages about him are mostly in the fourth, fifth, and seventh sermon.

indecent sophistries, Latimer lashed the vices of the age, even more freely than he had ever done before. He drew a frightful picture of the declension of morals, the incredible corruption of society, which came no doubt in part from the relaxation of the old discipline: and his boldness roused enmity. It was his custom as he went on, to refer to the censures that he heard to be awakened by his freedom. A gentleman called him “a seditious fellow” for alluding to the coinage, and saying that a shilling might be well taken for a groat. “How seditious,” said Latimer, “was Esaias, who told Jerusalem that her silver was become, not testons, but dross”! Adulteration, the shame of modern trade, was then particularly busy with the staple article of cloth. “That seditious prophet,” said Latimer, “would have cried to England, Thy cloth is mixed with flock.” The same gentleman, on one occasion, rode to the sermon at Paul’s Cross, and at the end ironically expressed himself glad, because his mule and he and all had received full absolution. The preacher there (whoever he were) seems indeed to have attempted at the end of his sermon some imitation of the General Absolution which, as it has been seen, had been lately introduced into the Communion Service. This offended the gentleman, perhaps not without reason. “Oh unhappy mule,” observed Latimer, “to carry such an ass!”* A bishop

* See Vol. II. p. 496 *huj. op.* Anything that throws light on the reception of the new service books is of value. Latimer says of this affair, “I was there at the sermon myself: in the end of it he gave a general absolution: and, as far as I remember, these or such other like words: but at least I am sure this was his meaning. ‘As many as do acknowledge yourselves to be sinners, and confess the same, and stand not in defence of it, and heartily abhorreth it, and will believe in the death of Christ, and be conformable thereunto, *Ego absolvo vos,*’ quoth he. Now, saith this gentleman, his mule was absolved,” &c.—*Serm.* iii. This novelty of a public absolution, and that at a sermon, might well strike the gentleman.

came to him, and complained of what he had said against unpreaching prelates: which was, that he would have them all made *quondams*, and either the King's chaplains put in their places, or laymen to have orders and institution: for that there was in England a great sight of laymen better learned than the clergy. "Give your bishops charge, ere they go home, upon their allegiance, to look better to their flock, and to see your Majesty's Injunctions better kept, and send your Visitors in their tails: and if they be found negligent in their duties, out with them. I require it in God's behalf, make them quondams, all the pack of them;" vigorously had exclaimed Latimer. His episcopal censorer remarked that he was a quondam himself: which might be the reason why he wished all others to be quondams. Whereon Latimer, on the next opportunity, explained that, while he thanked God for his own quondamship, he would have no more quondams, so that they did their duty. Another person was offended because he preached against the nobility sending their sons to the Universities, where they followed no study to purpose, learned but a little English divinity, then entered the more lucrative offices in the Church, and became unpreaching prelates. Latimer explained that he meant this not of all, but of some only.

The First Book of Edward, the Breviary and Missal that claimed to be "according to the Use of the Church of England," was not unworthy in itself of general acceptance, nor discreditable to the learning of the men who composed it. A conservative regard for antiquity was displayed therein, provided that the two great principles were allowed of the vernacular language and the abolition of the Hours. Simplicity and reason were consulted in reducing the daily prayers to a single volume, to a volume capable of containing also the

Missal and the Occasional Offices: and thus ridding the Christian worship of the large diversity of volumes that had been in use. But it will appear in the comparison, now to be attempted, between the Book and the Sarum Use, its predecessor, that the conservative spirit of the compilers was more manifest in the Breviary and the Offices than in the Missal. And it may be observed that the Windsor Commission, though their work was made compulsive on the realm by the Act for Uniformity, appear to have received no new commission in writing to proceed to this greater labour after they had executed the Communion Book of the year before, and to have had no other warrant therein than the verbal mandate of the King.*

* So it may be concluded perhaps from the words of Heylin, who says that, "when the work was resolved upon, the King caused those godly Bishops and other learned divines, whom he had formerly employed in drawing up the Order of the Holy Communion, to attend his pleasure on the first day of September then next following: Attending at the day appointed, it pleased his Majesty to commend unto them the framing of a public Liturgy, which should contain the Order of Morning and Evening Prayer, together with a Form of ministering the Sacraments and Sacramentals, and for the celebrating of all other public offices which were required by the Church of all good Christian people: which as his Majesty commanded out of a most religious zeal to the honour of God, the edification of his subjects, and to the peace and happiness of his dominions: so they, who knew no better sacrifice than obedience, did cheerfully apply themselves to the undertaking." To the same supposition of only verbal orders, the words of the Proclamation, already quoted, about licensed preachers of the 23rd. of the same month lend themselves: "For which cause at this time certain bishops and notable learned men by his Highness's commandment are congregate."—Vol. II. p. 532 *huj. op.*, from Fuller, viii. 388. Heylin and this Proclamation are all that we have of the matter. It is curious also that our knowledge of the names of the Windsor Commission, as at first appointed to draw up the Communion Book of the year before the Prayer Book, is derived only from Fuller, who does not say whence he got it, and who describes it as referring to the Prayer Book, not the Communion Book. No one can doubt that Fuller saw the list of thirteen which he gives: and the probability is that he saw it in a written Commission that was issued to the persons named. But still that written Commission has never been produced. Hence it is not certain that the thirteen divines commonly called the Windsor Commission ever had a written commission.

The Book opened with the Preface, which is still retained, "Concerning the Service of the Church": a Preface taken the most part from Quignon's Breviary, and explaining the principles on which the service had been compiled. In this it was ordered that trouble and difficulty should be determined by the bishop of every diocese, without mention of appeal to further authority. The Morning and Evening Order began, like the Breviary, with the Lord's Prayer: but the communicative spirit of the Reformation, where the ministry of the Church was concerned, was shown at once even in this point. In the Breviary, the Lord's Prayer, "the Prayer of the Faithful," had been said inaudibly by the priest: it had been followed by the Ave: with the Ave it formed the matter of the secret devotion of the priest before he began the public service: * and after this the priest raised his voice, and began the service with the versicles. The Ave was now abolished; and the Lord's Prayer ordered, as the beginning of the public service, to be said with a loud voice. But the priest said it alone as yet, the people not repeating it. And even when the public service was begun, the private nature of it had not wholly departed, and in the first versicle the priest still prayed for himself, "O Lord, open thou my lips." Of confession and absolution, so far were they from being yet general in the daily prayers, there was even

* In the Early Church the Lord's Prayer, as being the Prayer of the Faithful, was only used publicly in the Communion, after the catechumens and other non-communicants were gone. It was put into the beginning of Matins, the first of the Hours, in the thirteenth century; as preparatory to the office. This was the use of all the English Churches: and the same was also introduced by Quignon into his Breviary: but it was not in the Roman Breviary before the revision of Pius V. in 1568.—Proctor's *H.st. of Pr. Book*, 191. In the Sarum Breviary there was the following note about this: "Et notandum est quod nunquam in ecclesia Sarum, incipitur *Pater Noster* nec *Ave Maria* a sacerdote in audientia ad aliquod servitium, nisi ad missam tantum, ubi totaliter in audientia dicantur vel cantentur."

less than in the Breviary: for the brief whispered confession and absolution between the priest and the choir, which occurred in the middle of two of the Hours, were omitted, and nothing took their place.* The Venite followed the versicles, as now: but “without any Invitatory”: for hitherto every alternate verse of that Psalm (itself an invitation) had been doubled by the words in Latin, “Behold, the King cometh,” or, “Go we forth to meet our Saviour.” The Psalms, but no longer divided into the portions called Nocturns,† no longer diversified with Antiphons; nor united three or four together under a single Doxology, came next, according to their present monthly arrangement, in the version of the Great Bible. A great part of the musical character of the service was taken away by this: but the altered spirit of the times was manifested perhaps even more strikingly in the Lessons. The notion which inspired the old usage seems to have been not of continuous reading, but of a sort of dialogue between the reader and the choir: or, since the priest bore his part as well as the reader, a kind of trilogy. The reader began by saying to the priest, “Sir, pray for a blessing”: this he repeated at intervals in the reading; and several prescribed benedictions conveyed the answer. The lesson of the priest proceeded for a few verses, when the reader paused, and the choir burst in with responds, versicles and anthems. The reader resumed, and the choir responded again: again he proceeded, and a third

* In the middle of Prime and of Compline; *i.e.* in one of the morning and one of the evening Hours, there was a brief “Confiteor” to be said by the priest “privatim, ut vix audiat a choro”: and this was followed by an absolution spoken by the choir to him. The choir then confessed in turn, and were absolved by the priest.

† “The ancient Fathers have divided the Psalms into seven portions, whereof every one was called a Nocturn.” *Preface of Prayer Book, concerning the service of the Church.*

time was answered by the choir. Thus every lesson was divided into three parts. On Sundays, and other high days, a second and a third Nocturn of Psalms, each with a tripartite lection, increased the whole number of readings to nine: of which some were Scriptural: others were expositions or homilies, taken from the approved doctors of the Church. On the ferial or ordinary week days there was but one Nocturn, and three lessons. Of all this music there now remained but the Canticles between the two continued lessons; and the direction that in places where they sang the lessons should be “sung in a plain tune after the manner of distinct reading.” The first part of the new Order of daily prayers may be conceived to have ended with the last Canticle after the second lesson. As it regarded the morning, this Order followed the course and bore the name of Matins, the first and longest of the Hours of the Breviary.*

* By looking at the Offices of Matins and Evensong for the First Sunday in Advent, which Mr. Proctor gives from the Sarum Breviary in his *Hist. of the Prayer Book*; and comparing this with the “Analysis of the Seven Daily Services of the Church Catholic” in *Tracts for the Times*, No. 75, the general reader may form a notion of the old Breviary services, or daily prayers, observing, however, that the ferial Hours were shorter than the Sunday ones.

MATINS.

Pater noster and Ave said privately by the priest. Domine labia mea aperies, &c. Venite with Invitatory. A Hymn.

1st Nocturn: viz. an Antiphon, Four Psalms. An Antiphon, Four Psalms. A Versicle, and Respond. Four Psalms, a Versicle and Respond. The Creed and Pater noster, said privately. Then the 1st Lesson, of which a few verses, followed by several Responds, Versicles, &c. Then a few more (2nd Lesson), followed by Responds, &c.; then a few more (3rd Lesson), followed by Responds, &c.

2nd Nocturn. Antiphon. Psalm. Antiphon. Psalm. Antiphon. Psalm. Versicle and Respond. Three Lessons with Versicles, Responds, &c.

Passing through the intermediate service of Lauds, from which it accepted one or two canticles and collects, the new morning Order now observed the more important Prime, a service of which the leading notion appears to have been the confession of the faith: for Prime contained the Athanasian Symbol, the Apostles' Creed, the Little Litany: and with these the Pater noster, suffrages, and several collects. Of the Athanasian

3rd Nocturn, like the second. Three Psalms, and three Lessons. *Te Deum* (on Sundays only).

LAUDS.

Psalms: and Antiphons: the Jubilate, *Deus misereatur*, *Benedicite* and *Benedictus*, Versicles. Memories. Little Chapter. Collect.

PRIME.

Hymn. Psalms. Antiphon to the Holy Trinity. Athanasian Creed (Sundays). Versicles and Little Litany. Pater noster and Credo (both inaudibly, save the last sentence). Many Suffrages. Private Confession and Absolution between Priest and Choir. Several Collects, with various petitions and ejaculations between them.

THIRD HOUR.

Pater noster. Ave. O God, make speed, &c. Hymn. Psalms and Antiphons. Pater noster said privately. Little Chapters and Suffrages. Collect for day or week.

SIXTH HOUR.

The same, with other Psalms, Antiphons, and other parts.

NINTH HOUR.

The same, with other Psalms, Antiphons, and other parts.

VESPERS.

The same, with more numerous Psalms and Antiphons; Versicles; Little Chapter: the Magnificat. Some Collects. (This service corresponded with Lauds.)

COMPLINE.

Pater noster and Ave, said privately by the priest. Respond. Antiphon. Four Psalms. Antiphon. Little Chapter. Hymn. Versicle. Respond. Antiphon. *Nunc Dimittis*.

Little Litany (*ter*). Pater noster and Credo (privately, up to last sentence). Suffrages. Confession and Absolution between Priest and Choir. Suffrages and Collects. (This service corresponded with Matins and Prime.)

Symbol the vicissitudes have been remarkable. Prescribed daily by the old Breviary; by Quignon recommended for a weekly repetition; it was ordered now to be said no more than six times in the year.* Of the Creed and of the Lord's Prayer, the penultimate sentences alone had been uttered aloud hitherto by the priest, the choir responded aloud with the last sentences: but now once more the whole was directed to be said with a loud voice. The lesser Litany, or Kyrie, had been wont to be repeated each part thrice: henceforth one repetition was sufficient in each part. Of the versicles or suffrages, as they now stand, two only appear to have been retained out of those that were in this part of the Breviary: the rest came from other parts, or were newly adopted from Scripture: and in the two that were retained the singular was changed into the plural number.† Of the six or seven collects which the office of Prime contained, one only was preserved: to make up the present number of three, another was transported from the Missal: while the custom of using the collect for the day or week, continued from the other Hours, supplied the third.‡

The remaining morning Hours of the Breviary

* It did not however, in Edward's First Book, exclude the Apostles' Creed, as now it does, on the days when it was appointed to be said.

† "Cor mundum crea in me Deus. Et Spiritum Sanctum ne auferas a me."

‡ The present "second collect for peace" was brought out of the Sarum Missal, which took it from the Gelasian Sacramentary. *Proctor*, 317. The "third collect for grace" is the one that was retained from Prime. The first collect, for the day or week, used to be repeated, not in Prime but in the less important services of Lauds, Third Hour, Sixth Hour, and Ninth Hour. Of the present evening collects, the second was carried from the end of the Sarum Litany (or else from the middle of the Prime Service in Henry's Primer): the third was always where it is. There was a good deal of shifting of collects in the First Book of Edward. Some of the rejected stationary collects of Prime were used as collects for seasons in this Book.

furnished little or nothing beyond a collect to the new Order of morning prayers. Of the two evening Hours, Vespers and Compline, the latter, the longer and more important, was chiefly followed in the Evensong of the new Book. Of the new Book both the Matins and Evensong ended with the collects. As to the place where the prayers were to be said, as yet the perspicuous and unsuspecting direction was, "in the quire."

Of the high choral tone, which marked them from antiquity, the daily prayers of the Church lost much in this sweeping revision. A lower, a sadder religious sentiment was indeed the character of the age: and, while this led to the abolition of a great deal of music, theological critics have not failed to remark furthermore throughout the Book the depression of many phrases that had been more joyful, hopeful or trustful, as they stood originally. For a striking example of this tendency have been indicated with some justice the collects.* Those brief and studied compositions, which in the old Uses bore the distinctive name of *Orationes*, the other prayers having the general denomination of *Preces*, might perhaps be granted to bear some resemblance to the sonnet in poetry. They were, if the comparison be tolerated, an ideal treatment of religion, as the sonnet may be described to be of human passions. Some particular aspect of religion is taken and delineated in each of them distinctly and loftily. When they are devoted to special incidents, such as saints or martyrdoms, they become incidental and topical, as many sonnets are, without departing from their specifically ideal character. It was not therefore without boldness that a man like Cranmer, of sincere piety, but vexed and not unsoiled with much miserable business, did, to some extent at least, in English what in Latin he could never have attempted, and

* *Tracts for the Times*, No. 86.

drew into a lower circle the majestic essence of a Gelasius or a Gregory. Sometimes he substituted a phrase, as in the collect for the First Sunday in Advent, they who rejoice are turned into those who pray.* Sometimes he took the beginning of a collect, and continued it in a new strain.† He inserted at other times a new collect, perhaps of his own composure: as in the beautiful collect for the Second Sunday after Easter. Sometimes however such changes had a deeper cause: for most of the Saints' Days the collects were made new, because the old ones involved invocation: and for the First Sunday in Lent the present Oratio took the place of one which implied the Divine institution of the ancient annual fast.‡ But perhaps in comparing the Latin collects with their English representations we may be struck by other things as much as by depression of tone or change of doctrine. There is not unfrequently a loss of epigrammatic grace, of antithetic structure: of directness and point: and some diffusion or vagueness.§

* The collect runs, "in this mortal life, in which our Saviour Christ came to visit us in great humility." This is by some thought to be a new collect: but Mr. Palmer gives one from the Sacramentary of Gelasius, which it resembles: in which the corresponding phrase is "qui de adventu Unigeniti tui secundum carnem lætantur" (i. 347). It is remarkable that, in the First Prayer Book, the words "in which—humility" are in brackets.

† As in the collect for Ash Wednesday. The first part of it was the *Officium* in the Mass for Ash Wednesday: "Misereris omnium, Domine, et nihil odisti eorum quæ fecisti; dissimulans peccata hominum propter penitentiam, et parcens illis quia tu es Dominus Deus noster." The collect founded on this gives no equivalent for "misereris omnium," and after going down to "penitentiam" proceeds differently, "Create in us new and contrite hearts," &c.

‡ The old collect for the First Sunday in Lent was, "Deus, qui ecclesiam tuam annua quadragesimali observatione purificas, præsta familiæ tuæ ut quod a te obtinere abstinendo nititur, hoc bonis operibus exsequatur."

§ Take for example the Seventh Trinity: "Lord of all power and might, which art the author and giver of all good things, graff in our hearts the love of thy name, increase in us true religion, nourish us with all goodness, and of thy great mercy keep us in the same: through Jesus

This is only to be felt in looking at the Latin itself: for on the whole the English collects are noble examples of version and of composition, and stand among the chief monuments of the language. In their first appearance they were nearer to their originals than now: but also barer and less rhythmical. Some of them had appeared already in the various Primers of the former reign.*

The Eucharistic service, which bore the title of "The Supper of the Lord, and the Holy Communion, commonly called the Mass," was furnished with initial directions which have maintained their place ever since, though with additions or erasures that have marked the course of controversy. In their first appearance these directions spoke explicitly concerning the dresses of the celebrant and of the attendant ministers, and the part of the altar where the celebrant was to stand. They contained no order how the table was to be covered, nor where it should be placed, no question about that having been yet raised.† The service began with an Introit, taken from the old Use: by which Introits were provided for every Sunday and holy day. The Com-

Christ our Lord." Beautiful as that collect of co-ordinate sentences is, it is not equal in structural coherence to the original, "*Deus virtutum, cujus est totum quod est optimum; insere nostris pectoribus amorem tui nominis, et præsta in nobis religionis augmentum: ut quæ sunt bona nutrias, ac pietatis studio quæ sunt nutrita custodias. Per Dominum nostrum.*"

* It might be worth the trouble if a writer on the subject should compare the collects in the Primers with those answering to them in the First Book of Edward.

† "The Priest that shall execute the holy ministry shall put upon him the vesture appointed for that ministration: that is to say, a white alb plain with a vestment or cope: and where there be many priests or deacons, then so many shall be ready to help the Priest as shall be requisite, and shall have upon them likewise the vestures appointed for their ministry, that is to say, Albs with tunics." The Priest was to stand "humbly afore the midst of the altar": a position which is easily intelligible if it be known that every altar was divided, or supposed to be divided, into three parts, two wings and a centre. The Priest was to stand before the midst or centre: *i. e.* at the middle of the west side.

munion Order of the former year, the first work of the Windsor Commission, was embodied in this service : but now the whole service was English ; and those parts which had been reserved to the Latin tongue, the Mass itself, the consecration of the Host, and some others of the most solemn prayers and hymns, now in a vernacular dress, augmented and completed the formulary. But even in republishing the parts which the former Communion Order had contained, there were some alterations made that might indicate a changed view of doctrine.* Uniformity was extended to the bread : which was ordered to be of one sort and fashion throughout the realm ; in some respects like what it had been, in others not.† The Western, as compared with the Oriental Sacramentaries, have been remarkable in all ages for the boldness with which the disposition of the several parts has been varied : and of this the English rite, from the beginning of the Reformation, was a conspicuous example. There were many variations in disposition between the first English office, and that which succeeded it now in the interval of a year : as, for instance, in the arrangement of the Exhortations, those characteristic inventions of the age.

But it was in comparison with its more ancient

* Compare, for example, the Absolution in the former Order, "Our blessed Lord, who hath left power to His Church to absolve penitent sinners from their sins, and to restore to the grace of the heavenly Father such as truly believe in Christ, have mercy upon you," &c., with that which now took its place. "Almighty God, our heavenly Father, who of His great mercy hath promised forgiveness of sins to all them which with hearty repentance and true faith turn unto Him, have mercy," &c. : as now.

† Compare the two Orders at end of service. In the one of 1548 it is that "the Bread that shall be consecrated shall be such as heretofore hath been accustomed." In 1549 it is, "For avoiding of all matters and occasion of discussion, it is meet that the bread prepared for the Communion be made, through all this realm, after one sort and fashion : that is to say, unleavened, and round, as it was afore ; but without all manner of print, and something more larger and thicker than it was."

predecessor the old Missal, whether of Salisbury or of any other English Church, that the new Sacramentary, or Liturgy, bore the most striking marks of alteration. Nearly all the Preparation of the Mass was omitted in it: the ceremonial, that is, by which the Priest was clothed, by which with his ministers he approached the steps of the altar; with his ministers made his whispered confession; and so, by degrees ascending, stood at last with lights and incense before the altar, ready to begin the Ordinary. Of all this there remained nothing but the Lord's Prayer and the collect for purity: but by this abridgment of the introductory part a return was made to primitive simplicity.* The Ordinary itself, or the part answering to it, began still, as of old, with an Introit: the "nine kyries," or threefold repetition of the Lesser Litany, was preserved, and the *Gloria in excelsis* was retained still in this part. But the Ordinary was

* "Very great variety prevailed in the introductory part of the ancient liturgies.—In point of brevity our own introduction to the reading of Scripture in the Communion service may be regarded as approaching nearer to the primitive customs than perhaps any liturgy now used."—*Palmer*, ii. 23. This remark about the variety in the introductory part seems applicable to the old Uses of English Churches. Very great light, it may be observed, has been cast recently on the whole subject of the Mass in an English Church by Canon Simmons in his *Lay Folks' Mass Book*. Among the points that he shows are, the small share that the people ever bore in the service, in the way of repeating the Latin responses; the gradual cessation of even that share, until the choir took the place of the people, and the change of the service to an exclusively clerical function: the provision of vernacular devotions to occupy the people, who were no longer expected to do more than "hear Mass." So, in the present day, private devotions, accompanying every part of the Mass, are used in the Roman Communion. A few responses in English, however, were invited or enjoined to be made to the Latin of the priest, in special parts: and seem to have been customary down to the Reformation. Thus, when the priest "with still steven" or voice, said *Orate pro nobis*, the people were to answer "on high" with a prayer in English. *Lay Folks' Mass Book*, p. 24. This seems to have particularly drawn the ridicule of the ribald writers of the Reformation. (See that about Bale in the last chapter of this volume.)

denuded of a great number of prayers, hymns, and ritual observances: and refrigerated by the introduction of a sermon or homily and an exhortation. The exhortation, which might almost be termed a dehoration for its severity, was ordered to follow the sermon in case of need: the long fluttering sermon was nailed at length to the Communion by a positive direction: and at the same time a promise was given that the exceedingly long homilies in the published Book should be divided into portions for more convenient use.* The Canon of the Mass, the most sacred part of the service, was preceded in the old Missals, not only by the preparation of the elements, as the setting of the bread on the altar, and the "making of the chalice," as it was called, that is, the mixing of the wine with water: but also by a second private preparation of the priest. Murmuring an aspiration for cleanliness, he washed his hands: he maintained a brief, whispered and agitated conversation

* "After the Creed ended," *i. e.* the Nicene Creed, "shall follow the Sermon or Homily, or some portion of one of the Homilies as they shall be hereafter divided: wherein if the people be not exhorted to the worthy receiving of the holy Sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, then shall the Curate give this exhortation, to those that be minded to receive the same." This important direction of the First Book of Edward is, so far as I know, the first that ever made the Sermon a stated part of the Communion or Missal Service. No such direction is found in the old Uses: a sermon might be added or not after the Creed: but no commandment existed for it: and, according to the Rationale of Ceremonies which was prepared in the latter years of Henry VIII., it was no recognised part of the service in England: for the Creed is said there to be followed by the Offertory. "The Church, after the Gospel read, pronounces with a loud voice the Creed, expressing the faith with her mouth which before she conceived in her heart, according to St. Paul's saying, *Corde creditur*, &c. Then follows the Offertory." *Collier*, ii. 195; conf. Scudamore's *Not. Euchar.*, ch. ix., sect. iv. v.: and Vol. II. p. 234, 311, *huj. op.* Indeed the lack of sermons at Masses is one of the great points made in such works as Becon's *Displaying of the Popish Mass*. As to the Exhortation, it was found in the previous Communion Book, of 1548: but it was now made more severe: so severe that it had to be softened a little afterwards.

of ejaculations with the choir: and privately he repeated a prayer known as the Secret of the Mass. It must never be forgotten, if we would understand the great mediæval solemnity, that it was not only a commemoration, but also a symbolical representation of the various scenes of the holy Passion.* In the new service, as it might be supposed, nothing of this secret devotion of the priest remained: the return of that higher antiquity in which Christianity existed in the midst of heathenism was marked by the revived direction that, like the catechumens of old, the uncommunicating congregation should retire: but the mixture of the cup, as to the elements, was kept. The Preface, with the Seraphic Hymn, or Trishagion, which in the old Missal served for the more solemn introduction of the Canon itself, were allowed to retain their place in the new service, and to conclude the part correspondent to the Ordinary.

The ancient Canon of the Mass consisted of one long prayer of consecration: which was divided into several parts, and diversified with many ceremonies. The pope, the proper bishop, and the king were distinguished among the faithful in a supplication for the Holy Catholic Church, with which this prayer began: †

* "Then after the Offertory done, the Priest washes his hands, knowing himself not to be so clean, but that he has ever need more to be washed, according to the saying of David, 'Wash me,' &c. Then after follows a Prayer, secretly said, which is called the *Secret of the Mass*: and that signifies Christ's secret and privy conversation, which he kept with his Disciples a little before his Passion. For after the determinate sentence of death, conspired by Caiaphas and the Jews against him, he walked no more among them openly, but amongst his disciples secretly." *The Rationale in Collier*, ii. 195. The whole of this document is extremely interesting, being a contemporary vindication of the old Uses, made just before the alterations. As to the history of it, see Vol. II. p. 311, *huj. op.* If the reader would care to see a rationale of depravation, he might look at the scandalous work of Becon, Cranmer's chaplain, the *Displaying of the Popish Mass*: which is not without acuteness.

† "Hæc sancta sacrificia illibata, imprimis quæ tibi offerimus pro ecclesia tua sancta catholica: quam pacificare, custodire, adjuvare et

after which two oblations, and two mementos, alternately succeeded. The former or lesser oblation was of the Elements before consecration: the consecration of the Elements was the other and the greater. The mementos were of the living and the dead. To the living were added memories of the Blessed Virgin, of the twelve Apostles, and of the like number of martyrs. A place of refreshing, light, and peace was supplicated for the dead, of whom some recently deceased were, or might be, particularly named: and a rank of fifteen enumerated saints adorned and fortified this solemn commemoration.* The Pater noster, the appropriate addition of the great Gregory to the Canon, separated the consecration itself from the following rites of the “discovery of the chalice” and the double fraction, which divided the Host into three parts, and to which the prayer proceeded. The whispered *Agnus Dei* prefaced the commixtion of the third part of the Host with the consecrated wine: and the Pax, or instrument of wood which was kissed in place of the

regere digneris toto orbe terrarum, una cum famulo tuo papa nostro N. et antistite nostro N. (*id est proprio episcopo tantum*) et rege nostro N. et omnibus orthodoxis atque catholicæ et apostolicæ fidei cultoribus.”—*Sarum Miss.* “Then following the example of Christ, the high Bishop, which, approaching the time of His passion, gave himself to prayer, so, according to the Apostle’s doctrine to Timothy, the Minister gives himself to prayer, First, in general for the universal Church, of the which he desires peace and preservation: Secondly, for Princes and Rulers that govern the same.”—*Rationale as above.*

* “Thirdly, for all Christian and faithful people, remembering specially in his *Memento* such as Charity most binds and time suffices him to do; making an honourable mention also of saints which be departed: and first of Our Lady, the twelve Apostles, and as many martyrs,” &c. “And so proceeded to the second *Memento*, in which he prays for them that be dead in the faith of Christ, and sleep in peace, that it might please God to grant them a place of Refreshing, Light, and Peace.”—*Ib.* In the old Missal this was, “Memento etiam, Domine, animarum famulorum famularumque tuarum N. et N. qui nos præcesserunt cum signo fidei, et dormiunt in somno pacis: Ipsis, Domine, et omnibus in Christo quiescentibus locum refrigerii, lucis et pacis ut indulgeas deprecamur.” The number of saints was not the same in the York Missal as in the Sarum.

mutual salutation, both typified perfect charity, and went before the communion.* The whole of the Canon was said secretly, or in a whisper, by the priest: though for this there appears to have been no written direction, nothing but custom.†

As this was the very core of the old service the alterations made here were more significant than in other places. The alterations made were very considerable, nay, very great: though in several parts there was something correspondent to that which was omitted in that which was added. Thus, the invitatory, "Let us pray for the whole state of Christ's Church," was new: but it was in agreement with the beginning of the prayer itself, which in both services was for the Holy Catholic Church. The prayer was kept in one piece: indeed it was more continuous than in the more ancient Canon: nor was it confused (as now) by the offertory, which belonged to the Ordinary, being introduced among the oblations: though it must be added that the lesser oblation, (which was afterwards restored) was entirely

* "The Priest then, to the intent that he may more worthily receive the Blessed Body and Blood of Christ,—saith the Pater Noster, asking of God this heavenly and celestial food: . . . and so, discovering the Chalice in token that Christ would the fruits of his Passion to be open and manifest to all the world, takes the Host and breaks it and divides it, in token of the distribution of it amongst His disciples at His Last Supper: and the breaking of His Body at the time of His passion. At which Supper, above all things, He commends to them peace and charity: . . . and therefore the minister takes the kiss of peace from the blessed Sacrament, and sends it to the people," &c. . . . "Then saith the Priest, thrice *Agnus Dei*" "Then follows the commixtion of the Body and Blood of Christ together, signifying the joining together of His Body and Soul at the Resurrection." . . . "Then follows the Communion, which is an exciting or a moving of the people to laud and praise God."—*Rationale*.

† "The Canon is said secretly by the Priest; not because it is unlawful to be heard, read, or known of the people (as some fancy), but that it is expedient to keep silence and secrecy at the time of such a high mystery: and that both the Priest and the people may have the more devout meditations, and better attend about the same."—*Ib.*

abolished.* From this part of the prayer the pope and the proper bishop were eliminated: but the king kept his place: and to him was added, not inaptly for the times or for the future, the whole Council, and all in authority, with the particular petition that they might truly and indifferently administer justice, in the first place for the punishment of wickedness and vice, and then for the maintenance of religion and virtue; and, if the proper bishop disappeared, he had his share in the following petition for all bishops, pastors, and curates. The older orison for the living was not greatly limited by being urged for all who might be in trouble, sorrow, need, sickness, or any other adversity: and in the following part, which answered to the old *Memento*, the saints kept their place though not their names, while to the Blessed Virgin were reserved both her name and place.† The prayer for the dead, for praying for the dead was retained, came next in answerable course, and was ample and beautiful: but the second

* It has been questioned, I believe, among ritualists, whether the present words "to accept our alms and oblations" refer to the gifts of the people alone, or also to the elements placed on the table before consecration. The latter seems the right view. The words were not in the First Book of Edward. The word alms alone was in the Second Book. The present phrase was inserted at the last revision: and by it the lesser oblation seems certainly to be restored to the service. Mr. Scudamore, however, thinks that this was not the mind of those who restored it. *Notitia*, ch. xii. sec. 2. It is, however, perhaps to be regretted that the offertory, or presentation of alms, was taken from the former part of the service or Ordinary, as it was in Edward's Second Book; and thus created the necessity of afterwards adding the lesser oblation to it, with confusion.

† "And here we do give thee most high praise and hearty thanks for the wonderful grace and virtue declared in all thy saints from the beginning of the world: And chiefly in the glorious and most blessed Virgin Mary, mother of thy Son Jesus Christ our Lord and God: and in the holy Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs, whose example, O Lord, and steadfastness in thy faith, and keeping thy holy commandments, grant us to follow."—*First Prayer Book*.

Memento of saints was omitted.* It may be added that an invocation of the ministry of the holy angels, which came towards the end of the Canon, was still retained from the old service.†

On the other hand, the numerous prescribed gestures of the priest, by which were signified the various parts and the great mystery of the Passion: the fraction of the Host, the kissing of the pax, were all omitted: the elevation of the Host was interdicted: and the Cross signed twice was the only ceremony of institution, which was both now retained and has been omitted since.‡ Nor could it fail to be observed that the doctrine of the Presence, though maintained, had a different exhibition in the very prayer in which the Presence was invoked. In the old prayer of consecration there was nothing that answered to the declaration, which the new form contained, that the Sacrifice upon the Cross was “a full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world:” § and that the celebration was a “commemoration,” and a “perpetual

* “We commend unto thy mercy, O Lord, all other thy servants which are departed hence from us with the sign of faith, and now do rest in the sleep of peace: Grant unto them, we beseech thee, thy mercy, and everlasting peace: and that at the day of the general resurrection we, and all they which be of the mystical body of thy Son, may altogether be set on His right hand, and hear that His most joyful voice: ‘Come unto Me,’” &c.—*Ib.*

† “We beseech thee to accept this our bounden duty and service, and command these our prayers and supplications, by the ministry of thy holy angels, to be brought up into thy holy Tabernacle before the light of thy Divine Majesty: not weighing our merits,” &c.—*Ib.*

‡ There is no direction to break the bread in the First Book. It is simply, “Here the Priest must take the bread into his hands.”

§ This passage was founded on the Augsburg Confession: “*Passio Christi fuit oblatio et satisfactio non solum pro culpa originis, sed etiam pro omnibus reliquis peccatis.*” *Art. de Missa.* Laurence, who has observed this, gives some passages from Cranmer’s works to show that, as to universal redemption, he was a Zuinglian.—*Bampton Lect.* p. 328.

memory" of the Saviour's death.* The Elements were also called for the first time, at the moment of consecration, "creatures of bread and wine," as if to exclude the notion of physical alteration: the old words "that they might be made" were limited to "that they might be" the Body and Blood of Christ: and it was prayed that this might be by the operation of the Holy Spirit and Word.† These were some of the most remarkable changes that were introduced in the new Order of Communion: and to them the reader will add those that have been observed already in the Communion Book of the year before.‡ But perhaps the alteration that would most arrest the popular attention was that, whereas the Canon of the Mass had been said secretly by the old Missal, the new Order directed the priest to "say or sing plainly and distinctly" the whole prayer.§

The Baptismal Office, an amalgamation of three separate offices in the Sarum Use, contained an equal admixture from the Book of Hermann of Cologne; but in the form thus composed the declaration of the baptismal grace of regeneration was not so polemically pronounced as it was afterwards found necessary to make it. Some curious rites were retained in the new office: as, the exorcism of the natural devil, the clothing of the baptised infant in white raiment, and the anointing of it

* "To celebrate the commemoration of the most glorious death of thy Son."

† The words were, "Hear us, O merciful Father, we beseech thee; and with thy Holy Spirit and Word vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine, that they may be unto us the body and blood of thy most dearly beloved Son Jesus Christ." The sign of the Cross was to be made at the words *bless* and *sanctify*. In the Sarum Missal this was, "Quam oblationem te, Deus Omnipotens, omnibus, quæsumus, benedictam, adscriptam, rationabilem, acceptabilemque facere digneris, ut nobis corpus et sanguis fiat dilectissimi tui Fili; Domini nostri Jesu Christi."

‡ See Vol. II. p. 494 *huj. op.*

§ This direction was removed in the Second Book of Edward.

with oil.* Confirmation still maintained in an incontestable manner the position, if not of a Sacrament, yet of an important ordinance; nor was it, as it has come to be commonly regarded, the link between the two Sacraments, the completion of baptism and the introductory of the privilege of the communicant. The prevalence of the older, perhaps of the juster, conception of this ordinance might be observed in the first Prayer Book from several particulars. The Catechism, that admirable exposition of the Christian religion, which now appeared for the first time, was not printed as a distinct piece, but included in the office of Confirmation. It was not complete, lacking the present sacramental part: and this it should have had, if Confirmation had been deemed merely the consequence of the one, the prelude of the other of the Sacraments. And yet, perhaps, that the Catechism was included in the office of Confirmation, not placed apart from it, arose not from deep consideration of the nature of the ordinance, but from the example of a Lutheran formulary: since in Hermann's Consultation the office of Confirmation included a Catechism bearing some resemblance to that which henceforth was to instruct the youth of England. But that Confirmation still maintained the position of an independent rite, might be argued from other things in the new office. The Communion, which had been wont, by the Sarum Pontifical, to be administered the same day to persons of proper age, received no mention: just as in the Baptismal Office the old practice of confirming on the day of baptism was not continued. Confirmation, as a distinct rite, was thus separated from both Sacraments. On the other hand, according to

* Mr. Proctor gives an excellent account of the formation of the Office of Baptism in the first Prayer Book.

the former admonition of Calvin,* this Apostolical ceremony was now deprived of chrism, a prayer for the inward unction of the Holy Spirit being substituted for the outward anointing with oil: and a prayer in the old Use, which made explicit assertion of the Apostolic succession and power, was omitted now. The Cross however was retained.†

* Vol. II. p. 527 *huj. op.*

† The publication of an authoritative Catechism may also have been due in the first instance to the suggestion of Calvin (*Id.*). But, if so, the Lutheran model was followed in its composition, so far as any model was followed. Hermann's Consultation contained a Catechism inserted into the Confirmation Office, as the English Catechism was in Edward's First Book: and the one bears some resemblance to the other, both verbally and in general structure. Thus, the beginning of Hermann's Catechism is,—

“The Demande. Dost thou profess thyself to be a Christian? Answer. I profess. D. What is it to be a Christian? A. To be born again in Christ, and to have remission of sins, and participation of everlasting life through Him. D. Whereby trustest thou that these things be given thee? A. Because I am baptised in the name of the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. D. What believest thou of God the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost? A. The same that the articles of our Creed do comprehend. D. Rehearse them. A. I do believe,” &c.

Dr. Groves observes, in his valuable introduction to the *Little Catechism*, that “both formularies alike open with the reference to the baptismal covenant, and develope from it the nature and duties of the Christian faith”: and that “in this respect the English Catechism stands apart from other Catechisms of the Reformation.” He also notices that the Catechism bears some resemblance to the “Dialogue between the Father and the Son” which was included in Marshall's Primer of 1534. Cf. Vol. I. p. 37 *huj. op.*)

As to the rite of Confirmation, so much disputed in that age, it may be further observed, 1. That the child's ability to say the Creed, &c., which was now imposed as a condition for confirmation, served to separate the latter from baptism, without making it a mere preliminary of Holy Communion. 2. That in the Prayer Books of Edward and Elizabeth the Catechism was titularly submissive to the Confirmation: and only became titularly independent at the last revision. 3. That in those older Books there were five rubrics at the beginning of Confirmation, and three at the end: but that at the last revision these received vigorous treatment. Those at the beginning ceased to be rubrics, and with some alterations were turned into the address or preface, with which the Bishop begins the service. Those at the end were removed to the end of the Catechism.

The homiletic spirit of the age, visible in so many parts of the book, was shown in the addresses that were added to the beginning and the end of the office of Matrimony : and, as that ordinance was still held a Sacrament by the last English Confession, some of the old rites were allowed to remain, which might not otherwise have kept their place.* The same observation may be applied to the offices for the sick : where Extreme Unction was retained. In Burial, it may be noticed that of the several solemnities which anciently attended the departed from the deathbed to the grave, two were preserved : † that prayers were repeated for the dead : that it was the priest who cast earth into the grave : and that the prohibitory rubric against unbaptised, excommunicates, and suicides had no place in the First Book of Edward, nor indeed in the age of the Reformation.‡

Signs were not wanting of the haste with which the new Book was put through the press by the diligence of Grafton.§ The work was ready soon after the begin-

* The prayer "O God who hast made," &c., came from the Mass that was said at marriage. The custom of having the Holy Communion was retained.

† In the Burial Service itself (answering to the *Inhumatio defuncti* of the Sarum Manual) were included one or two Psalms taken from the old *Dirge*, or *Officium pro defunctis*. The Communion at burial answered to the old *Missa pro Defunctis*, or *Requiem*. Cf. Proctor, 394.

‡ It was added in 1661.

§ Thus the Litany and some of the Canticles, as the *Te Deum*, were not in their places in the body of the book, but came out in separate sheets afterwards. See the *Parker Society's Preface*. These, it may be observed, were the pieces that had been already made English in the late reign ; or even earlier in the Primers. As to the exact date of the first impression, compare the *Parker Preface* with Mr. Lathbury's *Hist. of the Prayer Book*, p. 26 : whence it will appear : 1. That there is a Grafton of March 7, 1549.—2. That there are two or three separate sheets, on which Canticles are printed, also by Grafton, of March 16.—3. That though by the Old Style these should be of 1550, since the year began March 25 : yet a diversity of practice existed among printers, and there can be no doubt that these were of the year 1549.—4. That there are other copies extant, of the following May and June.

ning of March: and it was adopted at once in many of the London churches, though not required by the Act for Uniformity before the following Whitsunday. In the cathedral church however this zeal was not imitated: nor was it before the day prescribed that the new service passed into use within the stately seat of the reluctant Bonner, which had been hitherto the mountain of the Reformation.

The attentive reader, who has followed hitherto the course of this history, will have noticed, from the beginning of Edward's reign, a gradual and cautious suppression of some of the ancient ceremonies of the Church. At the time when the famous Injunctions of the young King were issued, there were about eight ceremonies allowed, which by the time of the first Prayer Book had been reduced by successive applications of authority to a trembling brotherhood of two.* The occasion of the Prayer Book was taken for abolishing these. A new Visitation was ordered on the distracted realm: Edward's Injunctions, the celebrated code of his first year, which were still to be read by the clergy in their churches, were altered in some particulars to meet the existing state of things: and now the two lights were extinguished which had been hitherto allowed on the altar; and sepulchres, the receptacles in which the Host had been wont to be solemnly deposited before Easter, were finally forbidden. But the loss of these last survivors of the ceremonies which had been hitherto disputed was perhaps scarcely noticed in the simultaneous prohibition, which the new Visitation effected, of the vast

* *Allowed tacitly or expressly by Edward's Injunctions*, Two Lights, Holy Water, Holy Bread, Palm-Crosses, Sepulchres, Candlemas Candles, Ashes, Creeping to the Cross. *Condemned by Homilies*, Bread, Palms, Candlemas Candles. *Condemned by Order of Council or Proclamation*, Ashes, Creeping, Water. (Vol. II. pp. 432, 452, 491 *huj. op.*) *Left*, Two Lights, Sepulchres.

number of ceremonial observances that were found in the old Uses or actual services of the Church: the washings, crossings, shiftings, blessings, which accompanied the Mass: the crosses, lights, and bells, which attended the communion of the sick, and the burial of the dead. These were somewhat contemptuously named, and ordered to be omitted. That which was done in silence by the Book itself, was done expressly by the Articles of the Visitation by which the Book was to be enforced.*

* These "Articles to be followed and observed according to the King's Majesty's Injunctions and proceedings" are in Burnet (Coll. 33): Wilk. iv. 32: Cardwell, i. 74. The authority on which they rest is not known, since they were copied by Burnet from a MS. (one of those that were in the possession of Dr. Johnston) which seems to have been imperfect, not containing the usual heading about the King's Majesty and the advice of his Uncle and Council. Their exact date is also uncertain, but they were after the establishment of the Prayer Book, and, it is likely, of the same year. See Pocock's *Burnet*. Burnet says that they were issued because many of the rites silently omitted in the Prayer Book were still practised. They consist of thirteen Items. 1. That in reading the Injunctions (cf. ii. 430 *huj. op.*) all that made mention of "the popish mass, of chantries, of candles upon the altar" and such like things, were to be omitted. 2. That "for an uniformity" there was to be no "counterfeiting of the popish mass," as "to kiss the Lord's table, washing his fingers at every time in the communion, blessing his eyes with the paten or sudary: crossing his head with the paten; shifting of the book: laying down and licking the chalice: holding up his fingers, hands, or thumbs, joined towards his temples: breathing on the bread or chalice: showing the sacrament openly before the distribution of the communion: ringing of sacring bells: or setting any light upon the Lord's board at any time: and finally to use no other ceremonies than are appointed in the King's Book of Common Prayer," &c. 3. Not to buy or sell the Holy Communion. 4. None to pray upon bedes, on pain of excommunication. 5. Remember the poor men's box. 6. To receive no corpse with bell or cross. 7. Keep common prayer on Wednesdays and Fridays. 8. Teach the catechism every six weeks. 9. None to maintain purgatory, invocation, the Six Articles, bead-rolls, images, relics, lights, holy bells, holy beads, holy water, patens, ashes, candles, sepulchres, creeping, font-hallowing, oil, chrism, altars. 10. Only one Communion save on two days in the year. 11. No abrogate holidays to be kept. 12. Decency in church. 13. No lights or bells in carrying the sacrament to the sick. Burnet implies that these Articles were made on Bucer's representation. Bucer

The persecution of heretics, the appropriate sign which had accompanied hitherto every advance of the banners of Uniformity, was not wanting at this juncture. Cranmer indeed had not been deficient in this part of his office from the beginning of the reign of Edward, and with him stood Latimer, Cox, the exemplary Dean May of St. Paul's, the able and vindictive Sir Thomas Smith, who, though a layman, was rising greatly in the management and emoluments of the Church: with other assistants temporal and spiritual. Already had Doctor Richard Smith, reader of Divinity in Oxford, a versatile and unfortunate man, been compelled by the Archbishop to retract the chief articles of the Henrician settlement of religion: * already Perrin, a former Black friar, had expressed an enforced contrition for having taught that it was good to worship the pictures of Christ and of the saints: † already a promoted monk, late abbot of Tower Hill, who had succeeded the martyr Jerome in the vicarage of Stepney, had been admonished of those practices of bell-ringing and concerted singing, by which he prevented in his church the full manifestation of the gifts of the licensed preachers. ‡ The heretical Champneys had relinquished already his antinomian opinions, and stood penitent at Paul's Cross with a faggot on his

himself observed, in April, 1547, that (1) the vestments used in the Eucharist, (2) the use of candles, (3) the commemoration of the dead, and (4) the use of chrism, were allowed by the new Prayer Book, but only for a time. *Orig. Lett.* 535. As to these, vestments and commemoration were not only allowed, but enjoined, by the first Prayer Book: chrism was allowed for the sick, if it were desired; though it was taken from Confirmation: of candles nothing is said.

* Strype's *Cranm.*, Bk. II. ch. vii., and Append. 39.

† Strype, iii. 61.

‡ A number of aggrieved parishioners presented this Vicar to the Archbishop: who gave him a gentle admonition, explaining that there was no law to punish him: which was true. On this, the most aggrieved, who had only recently come into the parish, gave the Archbishop a piece of his mind.—Strype's *Cranm.*, Bk. II. ch. vii.

shoulders, while Coverdale denounced him in the pulpit. Asheton, the vicar of Skeltington, on the information of a licensed preacher and another clergyman, had recanted his humanitarian error, and done penance already at the beginning of the year.* The enquiries in these cases were conducted by virtue of a commission: and it ought to be particularly observed that after the repeal of all the old heresy laws in the first year of Edward, the severities of heretical persecution were revived by means of royal commissions. These were issued repeatedly throughout the reign: and yet they seem almost to have escaped the notice of historians, by whom it is alleged that the several executions for heresy, which disgraced this period, took place under the common law. It is true enough that, after the repeal of the statutes against heretics, the penalty of fire still remained according to the common law.† But the fire would have slept unawakened but for the zeal of the reforming faction: who assumed without scruple the definite authority of the King's seal: and presented themselves with commissions which revived in express terms the cruelties of the secular arm. In the mean time the Parliament saw year after year their own statute of repeal traversed by these royal, or pretendedly royal edicts: and sat still, and made no sign, neither spake of *Præmunire*.

At the moment when the new Prayer Book appeared, a fresh Commission against heresy was issued, in which there was a special clause directed against those who should refuse or neglect the new Order: but this went no further in penalties than the Act for Uniformity itself. The Commission was made to twenty-five persons: of

* For these cases see Wilkins, iv, 39, *seq.*: Heylin, Burnet, Strype's *Cranmer*.

† Vol. II. p. 455 *huj. op.* Burnet puts the case very clearly.

whom two-thirds were clergy, and seven of them bishops. Their enquiries were to be extended through the whole range of heretical pravity: the spot, the seed of error and false doctrine was to be eradicated by their labours, whether by the salutary and condign penances which they should prescribe to the penitent, or by the final punishment of the obstinate according to the secular power. They might proceed by the most arbitrary processes known in the ecclesiastical law: and three of them were sufficient, provided that one of the three were a bishop, or Smith, or Petre, or Cox, or May. A more reckless edict was never issued.* But it happily happened that the activity of this Commission, composed so largely of clergy, was not in proportion to their plenary powers: the ardour which it showed was not to be compared with the enthusiastic spirit with which heretics had been hunted in the late reign by the laymen of London. We have seen that hundreds of presentments were made before the citizens who sat in Guildhall

* This Commission was composed of bishops Cranmer, Goodrich, Heath, Thirleby, Day, Holbeach, Ridley: of deans May, Taylor, Cook of Arches, Haynes: of doctors Redman, Latimer, Eyre, Tonge, Cox: of knights Petre, Smith, Ant. Cook, Jas. Hales: of doctors of laws Lyell, Cooke, Rowl. Taylor: and of Gosnold and Cecil. It bore some resemblance in language to Crumwel's Commission to be Vicar General. (Vol. I. p. 244 *huj. op.*) It was very bloated. It may be noted in it; That the young King was made to use his title of Defender of the Faith, not Supreme Head: "Fidei Defensor peculiari quodam titulo vocitatur:" That the Commissioners might enquire "Omnibus aliis viis, modis et formis, quibus melius et efficacius poteritis, de veritate præmissorum, etiam summarie et de plano, ac sine strepitu et figura judicii:" That the obstinate were to be delivered "seculari potestati." The piece about the Prayer Book is as follows: "Necnon omnes et singulos Rectores, Vicarios, clericos et ministros ecclesiasticos quoscunque, ac laicos, cujuscunque conditionis existunt, Librum appellatum, The Book, &c., aut divina Officia in eodem expressa et inserta, vel aliquam partem eorundem, contemnentes, spernentes, adversantes, aut obloquentes, si qui tales suspecti, detecti, aut accusati fuerint, juxta vim, formam, et effectum Statuti in ea parte editi et provisi, puniendum et corrigendum."—12 April. Rymer, xv. 181. It was renewed in the year 1551.

and Mercers Chapel under the Six Articles.* Before the Commission which sat at Lambeth and in the Lady Chapel of St. Paul's, only a few persons in this year at least are known to have been presented: of whom the most conspicuous were Michael Thombe, a butcher, who abjured, and Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent, an unhappy creature, who continued obstinate, and was committed to prison in the vain but merciful hope that she might be reclaimed. The words which she addressed to the commissioners, Cranmer, Smith, Cook, Latimer, and Lyell, who reluctantly condemned her, seemed to indicate how futile the expectation that her curious opinion of the Incarnation might be changed. "It is a goodly matter to consider your ignorance. It was not long since you burned Anne Askew for a piece of bread, and yet came yourselves soon after to believe and profess the same doctrine for which you burned her. And now forsooth you will needs burn me for a piece of flesh, and in the end you will come to believe this also, when you have read the Scriptures, and understand them." Bocher had been in former years a vendor of Tyndale's Testaments and other prohibited books, which she conveyed under her clothes for the use of the advanced ladies of the court: with whom and with Anne Askew she maintained an acquaintance.†

* Vol. II. p. 264.

† Michael Thombe was before the Commission on the 11th of May, 1549: Wilk. iv. 42. Joan Bocher was before them, for the first time, "12 April, tertio anno regis," *i. e.* 1549: and was condemned on the last day of April, in St. Mary's Chapel in St. Paul's. *Ib.* 43. The language used in her case by the Commission bore a great resemblance to that of Cranmer's declaration against Anne Boleyn; "Christi nomine invocato, ac ipsum solum Deum præ oculis nostris habentes," &c. Cf. Vol. I. p. 389 *huj. op.* The meetings of the Commission are thus noticed in the *Grey Friars' Chron.* p. 58: "The 27th day of April, the which was the Saturday in Easter week, the Anabaptists were in our Lady Chapel in Paul's before the Bishop of Canterbury and other commissioners; and

The new Prayer Book appeared to be the signal of a religious war. In the hour when it was first used, five or six counties rose in arms. In the west there were great risings: and in Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Norfolk: even the subjugated Yorkshire was not unstirred. But the consent of contemporary authorities makes it clear that it was only the first of these outbreaks that was caused by zeal for the old religion: and that in assigning the motives of the other insurrections regard must be had to the various impulses that swayed the time. In the west indeed, in the country of the Poles and Montagues, the ancient faith was strong: and it was when the Act for Uniformity inured, and the accustomed order of Divine Service was altered by the new book: it was when they found themselves exposed to a new Visitation, with the abrogation of nearly all the ceremonies of their Churches, that the men of Devonshire and Cornwall flew to arms. Then it was that a real war, unlike the pageant of the Pilgrimage of Grace, spread itself over a large part of the country, and occupied the summer: and although the religious war of England cannot be compared with the terrible convulsions of the Continent, which took place in the same age; yet it was maintained on the part of those who woke it, with a valour and persistence which was worthy of the English name. But the disturbances of other parts of the country were not of this character. Some of them both began and ended before the Western

there one recanted: and the next Sunday, the which was Low Sunday, stood at the cross, and bare a faggot. Item, the next Saturday after, the Bishop, with the residue of the commissioners, sat again. And there was one Joan of Kent, otherwise Joan Bocher, condemned: and a tanner of Colchester recanted, and the next day bare a faggot at the cross, and the next Sunday at Colchester. And that day stood at the cross a butcher of Mary Magdalen parish in Fish Street; and the next Sunday again, for because he made a mock at the first time."

risings.* Others, though contemporaneous with the Western risings, were avowedly unconnected with them, and even of an opposite origin. They proceeded in the main out of the exasperation of the people under the excesses of bad government: and immediately out of the frustration of their hopes in the late Parliament. The people found their petitions against the inclosure of land unheard: the bills which the patriot Hales had drafted thereon had been quashed: and the measuring lines of the rich were daily stretching over hill and dale, severing innumerable acres from the common fund. Instead of the redress of such injuries, they saw a new and prodigious tax laid on the realm by the legislature: the fifth of all property, it was exclaimed, had been granted to the King.† And at the same time they discerned, or thought that they discerned, in the dissensions the weakness of their oppressors. These, not religion, were the causes of the sporadic outbreaks which ranged over the centre of the country, though it cannot be denied that in one case, in the Oxfordshire commotions, the old religion had a share. In other cases, if religion entered into the dispute, it was in the shape of the inconvenient fanaticism of the Anabaptists and other froward children of the Reformation itself.

It seems probable that even from the beginning of

* This appears from the admirably lucid chronicle which the young King has given us of his own reign. "The people began to rise in Wiltshire, where Sir William Herbert did put them down, overrun, and slew them. Then they rose in Sussex, Hampshire, Kent, Gloucestershire, Suffolk, Warwickshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, a piece of Leicestershire, Worcestershire, and Rutlandshire, where by fair persuasions, partly of honest men among themselves, partly by gentlemen, they were often appeased: and because certain Commissions were sent down to pluck down Inclosures, they did rise again."—*Edward's Journal*. He then proceeds to say, "After that they rose in Oxfordshire, Devonshire, Norfolk, and Yorkshire:" and gives an account of these later risings.

† *Orig. Lett.* p. 60.

the year the remonstrances of the commoners of England took the form of popular assemblies or tumults: which were pacified with ease and lenity by Somerset and his fellows, although the continued encroachments of the rich left unremoved the most substantial grievance. But when religious alteration, enforced in prayers and rites, was added to the miseries of the age, then a part of England rose in a resistance so formidable as to threaten for a moment the prosperity of the Reformation. The ancient faith sprang high, even as the death-wound reached her heart. In the history of the struggle, which is now to be related perhaps for the first time in fulness, we shall be called upon to observe equally the valour of the English peasantry, the skilful campaign by which the triumph of the Reformation and of uniformity was secured: and the severity with which the majesty of a legal revolution was vindicated. Nor less will it be necessary to admire the exactness with which the arts and arms of the same revolution were turned against those enemies of the public peace who disparked parks and pulled down inclosures, but did those deeds in the name of the Reformation itself, and to the sound of the English Litany. In the course of an eventful summer we shall be transported from the fastnesses of Dartmoor or the walls of Exeter to the wild tribunal of Mousehold Hill and the towers of Norwich.

The new service book was used throughout England for the first time on Whitsunday, the 9th of June. On Whitsun Monday the parish priest of Sampford Courtenay, a village of Dartmoor in Devon, sixteen miles west of Exeter, was going into his church for the morning prayers, when a group of his parishioners, among them a tailor named Underhill, and Hegar a labourer, came about him, asking "what he meant to do, and what service he would say." That "he

would say the same service that he had said the day before, according to the law set forth," was the answer of the priest. But the villagers replied, "We will keep the old and ancient religion, as our forefathers before us have done, and as King Henry the Eighth, by his last will and testament, took order, that no alteration of religion should be made, until King Edward his son were come unto his full age: he is but a child, and can do nothing: we also will not have any change." The priest yielded: put on his vestments: and said mass, in the old language, with all the customary ceremonies.* The news was carried in an instant through the whole country, the people everywhere "clapping their hands for joy," and determining to have the same in their own parishes.

Four of the nearest justices, who came on the following day to investigate the matter, found the village of Sampford in a threatening posture. When they reached the place, and required to confer with the people, they were bidden to leave all their men behind, and come alone into a close not far off. From timidity, or being like affected, the magistrates complied, though their men were the greater number, and sufficient to have repressed the movement on the spot. A conference was held, but nothing was decided, and the magistrates departed. The exulting commoners spread their triumph far and wide: the commotion rolled westward, and was augmented by a rising in the neighbouring county of Cornwall, where the severities exercised the year before by the Royal Visitation † had left a feeling of irritation which had grown greater through the unabated activity

* He "forthwith ravisheth himself in his old Popish attire, and saith mass, and all such services as in times past accustomed."—Hooker, the "testis oculatus," in Holinshed.

† Vol. II. p. 504 of this work.

with which the commissioners were still pursuing the investigation of the goods of the Churches.*

At this dangerous moment the divisions of the Council concealed, if they diminished, its real strength. On every point of policy there was disagreement between the Lord Protector and the rest. A French war was impending, for Somerset had abandoned the project, which he had entertained, of settling the French difficulties by selling Boulogne for a sum of money, and ending at the same time the lingering feud with Scotland. If this policy had prevailed, it was not impossible that England, in alliance with France, might have stood forth at last in the character of the defender of the Protestants against the irresistible power of the Emperor. But that wide and illusory prospect commended not itself to the body of the Council. They preferred a line of action which would enable them to draw foreign soldiers into England, instead of sending English soldiers to foreign wars. The anger of France was disregarded, and the Scottish ulcer was kept open, while strong defensive measures were secretly taken against any danger that might arise nearer home. The public service in every department was in disorder:

* In the Addenda to Edw. VI. in Mrs. Green's *Calendar of Elizabeth* (1601-3), p. 398, are printed several Inventories of Church goods in Cornwall, which were taken now, or in the former year. Three may serve as specimens.—At Gluviar in Penryn, 3 copes; a set of vestments in crimson velvet, another in cloth of lambskin, another in white damask, another in black velvet, another in blue silk, an old set in white silk: 2 candlesticks, a gilt cross, 2 chalices silver and silver-gilt: 3 bells: a silver censer. 12 March.—At St. Michael's, Helston, 2 copes, 4 vestments, 2 chalices, 3 bells in tower, 2 sacring bells, a censer, 2 streamers, a cloth before the altar. 23 April.—At Mape, a cope, 3 vestments, 2 candlesticks, 2 chalices, 2 bells, 2 sacring bells. Of the vigour of the commissioners at the first of these places, Penryn, it is related that they sold the college church, the prebendaries' houses, the lead, the bells: and withstood certain gentlemen of the county, who sought to have the sale cancelled, and the church converted into a parish church.—*Cal. of Cecil MSS.* p. 75.

peculation on every hand emptied the public purse: piracy had well-nigh swept commerce from the seas: the credit of England had never stood so low. But on the point of self-defence the ruling faction had tacitly gathered all their strength. If the public purse was empty, their private purses were full, and might be opened in case of need. The public purse itself was replenished for the time by loans obtained at a high rate from the Flemish Jews, the interest of which was shamelessly paid in lead and bell metal from the churches and chantries.* The Scottish war afforded a pretext for reorganising the army.† Above all, the force of foreign mercenaries was largely increased. The English service was in bad repute among the hireling soldiery of Europe, the pay being said to be uncertain, and the danger great: but even this fell to the account of the Council. As the lanzknechts and arquebusiers refused to serve unless it were in such numbers as might ensure their good treatment, they were hired in large bodies: and the annals of the Privy Council for this year are filled with the names of Italian, Spanish, German, and Flemish captains, the leaders of bands of trained fighting men, armed with weapons against which the bills, bows and matchlocks of the English peasantry were almost useless, who received the pay of the Government of England.‡ Many of these bravoës were sent

* Froude, v. 159. "Never before, and never since, has an English Government been reduced to shifts so scandalous."

† A Proclamation was issued, 6th April, for this purpose. Strype, iii. 232.

‡ In the unpublished Council Book, in this year, I have observed warrants for the payment of the following leaders, or captains, of mercenaries: and there may be more: Angelo, De Bergamo, De Luciano, Gaspar Pizzoni, Paolo Sardo, Paolo Baptista Spinola, Tiberion Famino, Navara, Pedro Negro, Gasparo Como, Tiberio Perona, who were Italians or Spaniards: Andrea Rheni, a captain of Albanian horsemen: Hani de Housea, Van Brunswick, Van Brochusen, Van Buren, and Van Walderton,

northwards to the Scottish war, whence they would be easily recalled in case of need: * a considerable force, ten thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry were engaged for the defence of Boulogne: † four thousand German horse lay at Calais: ‡ other bands, numbering two or three thousand, were reserved in and about London to compose the agitations of England herself: and it is a thing to be held in eternal memory that the English Reformation, at this great crisis, was carried by the aid of foreign cut-throats, who on their return to their own countries sought absolution for the sin of fighting for heresy. §

Meanwhile Somerset continued to display the contradictory qualities of the aristocratic demagogue: to which

captains of lansquignets. There seem also, to have been some bands under the conduct of Englishmen. Thus one Parker was allowed fifty pounds (Sept. 1549, p. 583), "for conducting the Hungarians into the north." [The Council Book is now published.]

* There were three thousand Germans employed against Scotland in the previous year, 1548. Holinshed, 994.

† The Emperor, as I hear, hath granted to our King ten thousand infantry and five hundred cavalry for the defence of Boulogne. Burcher to Bullinger, 30 May. *Orig. Lett.* 653.

‡ See Paget's letter to Somerset, quoted further on. In confirmation, we find the Council thanking the Emperor for giving licence to soldiers to enter their service: and asking him to allow the soldiers to pass to Calais in small portions to avoid observation. April 6. *Foreign Cal.* p. 50. They also negotiate with captains Ventura, Guevara, Rassow, and Hackford for the hire of two or three thousand men: pp. 30, 33, 38. Dymock, the ambassador at Hamburg, complains of the difficulty of transport, and proposes "to arrest as many hoys on the Thames as will serve for the number of men," and send them to the Elbe or Weser, p. 31.

§ Moryson wrote to the Council in April 1551, "Many Spaniards and Italians this Lent past went to the Bishop of Rome's nuncio (at Augsburg) to be absolved, for that they had served in the wars the King of England." The German mercenaries were generally of the other way of thinking: and one of them, Lunenburg, said that though the pay was small and the hurt and damage great, he was contented to serve a King who favoured the word of God. *Dymock to Somerset*, Tytler, i. 161. As to the bad repute of the English service, see *Froude*, v. 158. One of the accusations of Lord Seymour of Sudeley against his brother was that he meant to enslave England by mercenaries. Tytler.

he seems to have added an attempted imitation of the temper of Henry the Eighth. The distressed people heard promises from his lips; he directed against their rich oppressors menaces and exhortations: but his promises were barren of good, his monitions were based on nothing. His partners in the revolution were exasperated by a high demeanour for which his virtue gave no warrant: and they failed to understand why a man who pillaged and desecrated with as little scruple as themselves should make himself better than they. They could not rely on him. They felt him to be destitute of that instinct for the common cause which might have covered an arrogance that was outrageous, and a violence that was without discrimination. His friend Paget ceased not to warn him of the danger of his conduct: but in vain. At the beginning of May he sent him an urgent letter on his habit of giving offence. "Unless," said he, "you more quietly show your pleasure in things wherein you debate with other men, and hear them more graciously, no man will dare speak to you. You hear me speak gently and graciously in the Council: and I speak more liberally than others: but you use me so sharply sometimes, that, if I were not assured of your favour, I might often be blanked for speaking frankly. Now, if you snap other honest men having occasion by your own appointment to say their opinions, I know not what loss or danger you shall have by it. Of late you are grown in great cholerick fashion, whenever you are contraried. That was the fashion of the King that dead is, and it near cost him his life. A worthy knight whom you had rebuked sorely beyond what was needed, came to my chamber this afternoon weeping, and nigh out of his wits and heart. By the living God, if I knew not how much men of service be troubled withal, I would not write thus much. Remember that words spoken by the Lord

Protector go to a man's heart."* But the intolerable carriage and therewith the unmeaning plausibility and weakness of the Protector remained unchecked: and throughout the months of the great risings we may remark on the one hand the false and dangerous leniency of the head, on the other the resolute ruthlessness of the body of the Council.

Rivers of feeble expostulations and proclamations proceeded from Somerset: from the others came prompt and decisive action. To Russell, Grey of Wilton, Herbert, Paulet, and Speke, the magnitude of the danger close at hand was as visible as it was to Paget at the distance of the Emperor's court. Russell, who as having the most to lose in the West, was the most sensitive and active of all, rushed forth at once into the disaffected region, trusting to raise men by his own influence sufficient to make head against the rebels. Herbert, one of whose parks had been attacked, hurried to the Welsh border, to bring up a foreign force that lay there, and in necessity to succour Russell by moving through Somersetshire. Grey of Wilton with the main body of the mercenaries marched through the centre of England, crushing whatever resistance was made where he appeared, and able to strike irresistible blows either to the left or the right.†

* Strype, iv. *Reposit. G. G. 8 May*. About the same time, 28 June, Paget wrote to Smith that if such severe letters were sent by the Council to their agents abroad, no man would be able to serve them. One of their agents, Dousell, had received just such a letter as, in the late king's time, Crumwel had sent to Hutton, which struck him to the heart and killed him. "A kind heart meaning well is easily with unkindness soon despatched. Wherefore when princes be in sudden heats, and especially without certain ground, we secretaries must temporise the matter with terms convenient, for else no man can be able to serve abroad." *Foreign Calend. Edw. VI.* p. 39.

† Holinshed says that these gentlemen were appointed by the Council, and that Russell held the chief command.

Under the influence of Somerset, gentleness was attempted first. On the news of the western insurrection two gentlemen of Devon, Sir Peter and Sir Gawain Carew, who were at the court, were ordered to proceed to Exeter, to endeavour to pacify the country, to cause the people to disperse quietly, and refer their complaints to the King and Council. But this gentle commission was accompanied by orders, of which the Lord Protector knew nothing, to put down the rebellion with a strong hand: and thus the emissaries of peace went forth with the wings of war.*

On their arrival in Exeter, the Carews were informed that the men of Sampford and their confederates had advanced to the little town of Crediton, seven miles distant, a venerable place, the ancient seat of a bishopric. This they had fortified, cutting trenches across the highways, raising a rampire of earth at the further end of the town, and piercing the walls of a row of barns with loopholes for shot. After a consultation with the justices at Exeter, the Carews rode out to Crediton with all the horsemen that they could collect, and attempted to open a conference with the rebels. This being refused, they attacked the rampire, but found it stoutly manned, and a galling fire opened on them from the barns along the road. They drew off with some loss, and the insurgents seemed to have carried the day, when a serving man of one of the justices set one of the barns on fire. Those who were within ran out, spreading a panic through the rest: the rampire was deserted, the defenders flying to a further point. But more indignation than alarm was caused by the encounter; the cry was raised everywhere that the

* Holinshed. Froude, v. 171. Both the Carews did not perhaps reach the scene of action together. Hooker says that Sir Gawain was in Lincolnshire when the order was issued.

gentlemen were destroying the commoners: and “the barns of Crediton” became the watchword of the insurrection.

A few days after this, another outbreak occurred closer to Exeter. A gentleman of Budleigh Salterton, Walter Raleigh, the future father of a celebrated son, riding into the city on a holiday, overtook an old woman telling her bedes on her way to the church of St. Mary Clist, a village belonging to Lord Russell, about two miles from the city. Raleigh roughly asked her what she did with bedes: that religion was reformed: that now there were punishments for her and such as she, unless they obeyed the laws now to be put in force. The dame went on to church, where the parishioners were at service: and “being impatient and in an agony” she began to exclaim how she had been threatened by the gentleman, that unless they should “give over bedes, holy bread and holy water, the gentlemen would burn them and all their houses, and spoil them.” The villagers swarmed out of church “like a sort of wasps”: and rushed to their town, which they began to fortify. Part of them ran towards Exeter, and overtook Raleigh, who was glad to escape into Topsham chapel, whence he was rescued by some seafaring men from Exmouth. He afterwards fell into the hands of the rebels again: and was kept in confinement to the end of the insurrection.

The Carews, again accompanied by the justices, rode out next morning, which was Sunday, to pacify this new commotion. They found the bridge of St. Mary Clist barricaded, and armed with cannon from the shipping in the river. Sir Peter dismounted and advanced alone toward the bridge: when one of the gunners levelled a piece of ordnance, and would have discharged it, if he had not been withheld by another man. A parley

then ensued, and the commoners consented to admit three of the justices, Pollard, Dennis, and Pard, within their defences for further conference. It was ten in the morning when they entered: the day wore away: the tide rose and fell in the river: the evening came, but they returned not. The party on the bank could hardly restrain their impatience: some were for charging the bridge, but the retainers of the absent magistrates remonstrated against this, lest it should endanger the lives of their masters: some began to try the depth of the water with their lances, if they might ride the river, and enter the village by the side: but they were warned to desist by menacing shouts from the opposite bank. At length the envoys reappeared: and, briefly refusing to enter into particulars on the spot, took horse, and all rode back together to Exeter. At supper, for all supped together, they delivered their message: and it was found to consist of the same terms that had been already proposed by the men of Sampford: that the assembled commoners were willing to disperse and go no further, "so that the King and his Council would not alter the religion, but suffer it to remain and tarry in the same state as King Henry the Eighth left it, until the King himself came to his full age." Hereupon a grave silence followed: and then a warm altercation. Sir Peter Carew, who had perhaps acted as well as might be expected in an advocate of peace having no force to compel peace, and hampered by contrary instructions, fiercely reproached the justices with slender or sinister dealing. But the commoners were felt to have made good their stand. The news of their bloodless victory flew through the country. Every village began to follow the lead of Crediton and St. Mary Clist. The roads were cut, trees were felled, rampires were piled, bridges were broken: and the commoners, augmented by the move-

ment in Cornwall, rose to the number of an army. In Exeter the alarm was so great that the word was given for every one to shift for himself. Many gentlemen left the city by stealth, and were captured outside: many were taken in their own houses, not unwillingly, it was thought, and detained as prisoners; others took to the woods to avoid capture. Carew himself escaped with difficulty and made his way to Russell, who had reached Taunton: by whom he was ordered to report himself in London to the Lord Protector.

The insurrection of the West was now confirmed. The insurgents numbered ten thousand men. They were no mere rabble, though but rudely armed. They were "ten thousand stout and valiant personages," deliberately resolved to stand for the ancient religion, the ceremonies and usages of their ancestors, against the premature and interested alterations which went hand in hand with social ruin.* The White Rose, doubtless, was among them; but only as a memory. The great nobles of the West, the Poles and the Montagues, had perished ten years before on the scaffolds of Henry: and the bitter recollection of their fall alone remained to animate the insurgents. Several gentlemen indeed put themselves at their head: Sir Thomas Pomeroy, Mr. Bury, Mr. Coffin, James and John Rosogan, and John

* The chief authorities for the Western rising are Fox, Hooker the antiquarian of Exeter, and Holinshed, who has incorporated the other two with his own additions. The curiously vulgar and loquacious insolence of Fox, when he has to narrate the doings of opponents instead of the sufferings of martyrs, is avoided by Holinshed, who had as little sympathy with the rising. Thus the "ten thousand stout traitors" of the one is turned by the other into "ten thousand stout and valiant personages, able, if their cause had been good, and succoured by the Lord and Giver of victories, to have wrought great fear," &c. But it is to Hooker, the "oculatus testis," as Holinshed calls him, that we owe the invaluable details and touches that give life to the story. Mr. Froude has made good use of Hooker's narrative.

Paine, of Devon : and of Cornwall, Sir Humfrey Arundel, Mr. Winnislade, and Mr. Holmes : but none of these were of the first rank. Over themselves the insurgents appointed certain captains of humble origin : Underhill and Hegar, the tailor and labourer of Sampford, Paunder a shoemaker, Asheridge a fish-driver, and others of the like occupations. There were many priests with them—"a great multitude of priests"—some of whom became "governors of the camps." They seem to have attempted the organisation of an army, and to have maintained discipline, though they are said to have wasted the country for support. Their purpose was not aggressive : it was to repel religious innovation from their own country. They stood on their own soil : there they entrenched themselves, and remained a month without further movement. But to advance is the only safety of insurgents : and it was in an hour fatal to a cause already doomed that this army of peasants formed the siege of the city, propitious to the Tudors, which had formerly baffled the assaults of Perkin Warbeck.

Meantime, in several Articles, or sets of Articles, all concerning religion, they sent their demands to the King and Council. "Let us have," said they, "the General Councils, and the old Decrees observed : the Six Articles of Henry revived : the Mass in Latin, celebrated by the Priest alone without others communicating : the Sacrament hung over the altar and worshipped, and those who consent not thereto, to die like heretics : the Sacrament delivered to the people only at Easter, and then only in one kind : holy bread and holy water, palms and ashes, images set up again, and all other ancient ceremonies : baptism administered at all times, as well on weekdays as on holidays : souls in Purgatory prayed for by name : our old service of matins, mass, evensong, and procession. We will not have the new Service, nor

the Bible in English. We will have Dr. Moreman, and Dr. Crispin,* and Cardinal Pole restored. We will that no gentleman have more than one servant for every hundred marks that he can dispend. We will that half of the abbey lands and chantry lands in every man's possession, however gotten, be restored, and given to the maintenance of two of the chief places of religion in every county. We will have our children confirmed whenever we resort to the bishop. We will not have married priests. We will have God's service said or sung in the choir, as heretofore; and not God's service set forth like a Christmas play." †

* Moreman was a beneficed priest of Cornwall, who went with Henry in his reformation, and was observed to be the first that taught his parishioners the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ten Commandments in English. In Mary's reign he became Dean of Exeter. *Strype's Cranmer*, bk. ii. ch. x. He was engaged in 1553 in Convocation in the great disputation on the Real Presence. *Fox, Burnet, Cranmer's Rem.* 184. Of Crispin less is known: there were two of the name, both of Oriel College in Oxford. *Ib.* Moreman and Crispin are mentioned together by Sanders as having been imprisoned at this time, which explains the demand of the men of Devon.

† The Fifteen Articles of the Rebels may be seen in Strype's *Cranmer* or in Froude. Besides them there was another set of Articles, nine in number, which they sent also: and from these I have taken the last three given in the text. These nine Articles are in *Holinshed*, p. 1009. As they are less accessible than the others, I add them in full. "1. First, forasmuch as man, except he be born of Water and of the Holy Ghost, cannot enter into the kingdom of God: and, forasmuch as the gates of heaven be not open without this blessed Sacrament of Baptism, therefore we will that our curates shall minister this sacrament at all times of need, as well on the week days as on the holy days. 2. Item, we will have our children confirmed by the bishop, whensoever we shall within the diocese resort unto him. 3. Item, forasmuch as we constantly believe that after the priest hath spoken the words of consecration, being at mass, there celebrating and consecrating the same, there is very really the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, God and man, and that no substance of bread and wine remaineth after, but the very self-same Body that was born of the Virgin Mary, and was given upon the Cross for our redemption; therefore we will have mass celebrated as it hath been in times past, without any man communicating with the priests, forasmuch as many rudely presuming unworthily to receive the same,

These demands, of which several sets, generally equivalent, appear to have been despatched to the several authorities, were answered variously by the King or rather by the Lord Protector, and by the Archbishop. The answers issued in the name of the King were mild argumentative expostulations, containing however some threats and intimating that the voice of "mercy, mercy, and life" might be changed to that of "justice, justice, and death." * The mildness of their tone was due to Somerset, who had already fanned the flame more widely by issuing a Proclamation for the pardon of all rioters

put no difference between the Lord's Body and other kind of meat, some saying that it is bread before and after, some saying that it is profitable to no man except he receive it, with many other abused terms. 4. Item, we will have in our churches reservation. 5. Item, we will have holy bread and holy water in the remembrance of Christ's precious Body and Blood. 6. Item, we will that our priests shall sing or say with an audible voice God's service in the quire of the parish churches, and not God's service to be set forth like a Christmas play. 7. Item, forasmuch as priests be men dedicated to God for ministering and celebrating the blessed Sacraments, and preaching of God's word, we will that they shall live without marriage, as St. Paul did, being the elect and chosen vessel of God, saying unto all honest priests, Be ye followers of me. 8. Item, we will that the Six Articles, which our sovereign lord, King Henry the Eighth, set forth in his latter days shall be used, and so taken as they were at that time. 9. Item, we pray God save King Edward, for we be his both body and goods." This set of articles received a gentle answer written in the King's name, which Holinshed gives also. There seems also to have been a third set which were answered in a conciliatory manner by the King. *See next note.*

* There are two Answers, written in the King's name, and both dated 8 July. One of these is in Fox, Grafton, and Holinshed, p. 1003. The other is in Tytler, i. 178, and Froude, v. 177. It seems probable that this latter was not sent, as Tytler observes that there are three drafts of it remaining, none of them signed by the King. Besides these kingly, there is the archiepiscopal answer, of which presently. And besides these, Mr. Pocock has recently printed, in his Camden volume, a fourth answer by Nicholas Udal, for a specimen of whose ability as a vindicator, see Vol. II. p. 424 of this work. Mr. Pocock has also given an interesting summary of a reply which the Devon commoners, on their part, made to the King's answer to their demands. It seems also to refer to the rougher archiepiscopal answer, as they complain of being called hard names. See Mr. Pocock's *Preface*, p. xviii.

against enclosures.* This he followed by Instructions addressed to Lord Russell, which seemed fitter to prevent a meditated outbreak than to extinguish an actual insurrection.† In the face of such weakness it was in vain

* Strype, iii. 235, 261, 264: it was dated 12 June. See also Mr. Lemon's *Calendar*.

† As these Instructions have not been printed before, they may be given in full. "A Memorial to the Lord Privy Seal for the purposes ensuing. Whereas the King's Majesty by the advice of the Lord Protector and council hath thought meet to appoint the said Lord Russell to reside for a time in the west part of this his Ma. realm, as well for the good governance of his highness's counties of Devon, Cornwall, Somerset and Dorset, in good order and quiet, as also for the better defence of his highness's loving subjects in the same shires in case of any invasion or other attemptate by foreign enemies, his highness's pleasure is that he, the said Lord Russell, repairing to his charge, shall at his first coming to every of the said shires call unto him the justices of peace and such other of the most grave and honest men of every of those said counties as he shall think convenient: by whom and by as many other ways and means as he may he shall inform himself of the state and order of every of the said shires: and finding the same to be in good ease and quietness he shall take such further order for the good continuance thereof, as to him with their advice shall be thought most expedient. But if the people shall be out of frame, and not in such order of obedience as were convenient, the said L. R. consulting with the same justices and others, as is aforesaid, for this purpose, informing himself of the causes of their said unquietness, shall travail by all ways and means possible both to remove the causes thereof, and bring the people with gentleness to such conformity as to their duties appertaineth: by which travail and gentle persuasives if they shall not be ordered to the knowledge of their duties, his highness pleasure is that the said L. R. shall by force of his Maj. commission to him addressed for this purpose assemble such numbers of men within the limits of his commission as may be had, both to repress their obstinate and wilful doings, bring them to the knowledging of their bounden duties, and be also an example to others to attempt the like. In case of any invasion by the enemies, the said L. R. having his Maj. subjects as is aforesaid, shall extend all his good dexterity and courage for repulse of them and defence of the country to the uttermost. And to the intent the same may be in better order for defence, if any such thing should chance, he shall give order, if it be not already done, for the setting up and watching of the beacons in all necessary places accustomed, especially upon the sea coast, in such places and after such order as heretofore hath been prescribed for that matter. And for the better eschewing of all occasion of trouble and unquietness at home in the said shires, his Ma. pleasure

that the Archbishop in his answer to the rebels, assumed a tone of menace beyond the others. "Ignorant men of Devon and Cornwall," cried the Archbishop, "ye ask ye know not what. Some crafty papist has devised these Articles for you: you have been seduced by rank papists and traitors. You know nothing about General Councils and Decrees of the fathers. You know nothing of the history of the Six Articles, which would never have passed if King Henry had not come personally into the Parliament house, and which continued only a year in full vigour. You know nothing of the Mass, or you would know that the very Canon of the Mass itself contains a prayer that all who communicate with the priest may be fulfilled with grace and benediction. And yet you ask that none should communicate with the priest!*" However it is true that you have never heard

is that the said L. R. shall have a special regard to the quiet of the country, giving special charge to mothers and fathers to have an earnest and continual regard to the good governance of their children and servants, and for seeing that clothiers, weavers, folders, dyers, and all other artificers be kept occupied, and that all occasions of unlawful assemblies be avoided as much as may be. His Highness pleasure also is that amongst other things the said L. privy seal shall have a special respect to see his majesty's proceedings touching matters of religion well obeyed and executed, according to the order lately set forth in that behalf. And because we know that sundry ill and seditious persons, for the better attaining of their devilish purposes, have many times used to spread abroad such hard and untrue bruits and rumours as they imagine may best set forth their naughty purposes, the same L. R. (who may well assure himself to be undelayedly advertised from us of all occurrents of importance) shall endeavour himself from time to time to search out the authors or spreaders of the said rumours, causing them to be apprehended and committed to ward, and after further punished according to their deservings. Finally the said L. R. shall once every month at the least advertise hither of the state of the country committed to his governance; and as any other matters of importance shall occur, to signify oftener: whereupon order shall be given as shall appertain." 24 June, 1549, *MSS. Dom. Rec. Off.* vol. vii. p. 40; cf. *Lemon's Cal.* p. 19.

* This demand of the men of Devon seems strange: but the custom of not communicating had grown general; and when we read complaints of the neglect of the Communion which prevailed during the Reformation

that part of the prayer; it is said very softly. You would have the sacrament hung up: a custom which is not used in Italy, nor to be told how begun in this realm.* For what you say of receiving at Easter only, and in one kind, there never has been such a law, nor such a request made before. All these demands are clean contrary to your first demands: for, if they were granted, the General Councils and Decrees could not be kept. As to having Baptism at all necessary times, what hinders you? Nothing in the Book.† As to holy bread and water, and images, you deserve to eat the Bishop of Rome's unsavoury bread, and drink his stinking puddles, and bow down to his idols. You call the new service a Christmas game. It is far more like a game to see the priest talking Latin, and the people listening without understanding, and some walking up and down in church. And you, Cornishmen, say that you know no English. Do you, or the Devon men, know Latin? If you did, you would think some of the fables that you hear in church very like a Christmas game. As to Purgatory, keep you God's laws, that you may go to heaven: or else you will not escape hell. You would recall the English Bible. Is that because you know

and subsequently, it must be remembered that communicants were far rarer before. Persons at the Mass would sigh, groan, bow, nod, knock the breast, but nevertheless would not communicate. So Bucer remarked in his *Censura*, see ch. xviii. in this volume. But they were not expected to communicate. Here we see the men of Devon requiring as the right thing, that none should communicate with the priest. It was with difficulty that the Mass was "altered into a Communion": and that the abuses of "private masses," "sacrifices of masses," and the like, were done away. On these points look at a note or two in ch. xx. in this volume; about the Edwardian Articles.

* Cf. Vol. II. p. 533 *huj. op.*

† This was true; but at least it was recommended in the Book, if not positively enjoined, that Baptism should be administered only at Easter and Whitsuntide. The point seems to be one of convenience only: and, it may be observed, that there are several orders about it in the old English canons: and it was sometimes ordered one way, sometimes the other.

nothing but Latin? You say that the clergy will not long confound heretics if the English Bibles remain. If you had a heretic to confound, would you use Latin or English? When you ask for Moreman and Crispin, you call for Barabbas: they are ignorant, wilful, and crafty men. Pole is a man fit neither for this realm nor for this life: he is of the race of legates; and, if you want him, you want the Bishop of Rome also. Your stipulation about gentlemen's servants is devised by idle loiterers and unthrifths: and such I take you to be. About the abbey lands, you would rob those who have them by just title; among whom you would rob the King himself: and, if you could set up two places of religion in every county, they would be eternal monuments of your abominable behaviour. Go to your knees! You finish by asking a safe conduct for Arundel and Boyer. Instead of safety they deserve perpetual confusion, shame, and death." Amid these oburgations Cranmer generously poured forth upon the commoners the riches of his studies: his theological, his canonical, his liturgical knowledge: and in one passage the author of so many intercessions worked himself up for their benefit into a sort of loyal litany.*

Carew, on his return, was received by the Protector with reproaches: that instead of peace he had carried a sword, and had spread the conflagration which he was sent to quench. In self-defence he produced the separate orders which he had received to deal vigorously: orders which were signed by the King. The lawyer Rich cast his eyes over them, and observed that they wanted the great seal. "These," said he, "are

* He bade them say, "We have erred, we have grievously offended your Majesty, but by ignorance, being so seduced by the crafty persuasions of these most heinous traitors, that we wist not what we did. But pardon us, sovereign lord: have pity upon our simplicity and ignorance," &c. See the Answer at large in Strype's *Cranmer*, or the *Park. Soc.*, &c.

no commission: by the law you should be hanged for your doings." But Carew defended himself stoutly: to have pressed him too far might have divulged the dangerous secret of the discord of the Council: he was employed again, and despatched to Russell with promises of succour.* Paget in the meantime, from his post at the Emperor's court, continued to admonish the Protector against his dangerous leniency. "You promised me," said he, "on the day that we devised to place you where you are, before the breath was out of King Henry's body, that you would follow my advice. Instead of that you make me a Cassandra, to cry in vain. You proclaim a pardon to rebels in arms! When you have done severe justice, it will be time enough to think of pardons. But in England the feet govern the head. In Germany the like tumults were thought nothing, and easy to be appeased, and men of spiced conscience talked about pity and the poor, till that which might have been stopped with the loss of twenty lives cost two thousand: and, by St. Mary, better that than more. Put no more irons in the fire! War with Scotland: war in fact with France: commissions out for this matter, new laws for that, proclamations for another: all coming so thick that the people set nothing by them! Instead of pardons, bring over the four thousand German horse that you have at Calais: send for Ferrers and Herbert with their horsemen from Wales; let Shrewsbury bring all his servants and keepers from Derbyshire, Shropshire, Stafford, and Northamptonshire; and collect your own servants. At the head of all your forces make a progress from shire to shire, holding sessions and doing justice. Quarter the Germans on the disaffected towns, to make them sweat. Take away the liberties of the

* Holinshed, p. 1022.

offending towns. Seize the doers of all this, and ship them to Boulogne to serve as soldiers or pioneers. Give no good words: make no promises." *

By this time the commoners, or rebels, had formed the siege of Exeter. Many, perhaps the greater part of the inhabitants of that warlike city, favoured them: but the expectation of instant success is the ruin both of an operation demanding time, and of a cause that depends on celerity. When they appeared before the place, on the second of July, they found the gates shut, and cannon planted on the walls. The mayor Blackaller, an able man and a determined loyalist, had made vigorous preparations for defence, dividing the citizens by wards for the duty of keeping ward: and securing the assistance of some regular soldiers who were posted in the castle. By his vigilance the besiegers were detained five weeks. They used their knowledge of the country with skill, breaking bridges, entrenching roads, setting pickets at various points of approach, so as to effectually blockade the city. They then assaulted one of the gates, which they burned: but only to find that the defenders had raised a more formidable barrier behind it. Beneath another gate they drove a mine: but the ears of a watchman detected the secret, the vibration of a pan of water, which was carried from place to place, discovered the exact spot of their operations: the strokes of a spade quickly made an opening from above: and the mine was drowned with buckets of water. The ordnance of the commoners, which can hardly have been fit for heavy service, played upon the town; and swept some of the streets: the fire of their matchlocks annoyed some of the houses near the walls: they cut the pipes that conveyed water into the place, and made the lead of

* Paget to Somerset, 8 July. Strype, iv. *Rep. H. H.*

them into bullets. But the streets were presently protected by mounds of earth: the houses adjoining the walls were pulled down: and a spring of water, sufficient for the wants of the besieged, was discovered within the circuit of defence. The blockade was more effective than the active prosecution of the siege. Scarcity of food began to be felt: and then the murmurs of discontent grew loud. The townsmen who were well disposed to the enemy scarcely condescended to conceal the correspondence which they maintained with them. Conferences were held from the walls: messengers passed from the one part to the other: letters tied to arrows were shot to and fro. "The serpent of division and the fire of malice," says the eye-witness Hooker, "envenomed some and scalded others." Some of the oldest families in Exeter were among the malcontents. The warder of one of the gates, a town councillor, boldly walked out with the keys in his hand, accompanied by two confederates, held a conference with the besiegers, and returned. At another time a tumult arose in the townhall, when one Richard Taylor, a clothier, drew his bow, and shot an arrow at one of the loyalists in the presence of the mayor. A dangerous plot was discovered for delivering the castle to the enemy, with the connivance of some of the regular garrison. At length, on a Sunday morning, two days before the siege was raised, a band of the disaffected paraded the streets openly in arms, crying out, "Come out these heretics and twopenny bookmen! Where be they? By God's wounds and blood, we will not be pined to serve their turn. We will go out, and have in our neighbours: they be honest, good, and godly men." The loyalists, as it happened, were in their houses, or at church: and "a broken pate or two" was the worst that happened in the disturbance. But the mayor was driven to such

extremity, that he was preparing to leave the city by stealth, with one hundred of his most faithful supporters, when relief arrived.*

The risings or commotions in other parts of the country, which were simultaneous with that of the West, or little subsequent to it, sprang, it has been observed, from other causes than zeal for the old religion. They were the train of the revolution: they were caused by the miseries of the times. Those who engaged in them refused from the first the invitation of the Western men to make common cause: from whom indeed they were severed by the opposition of creeds, of tastes, and of tendencies.† The radical difference between their enemies escaped not the rulers of the Reformation: who perceived with satisfaction that, save in the West, no person of condition joined themselves with any body of the insurgents.‡ Nevertheless, in one locality at least, the fanaticism of the rulers themselves tempered the general discontent with the indignation of outraged religious feeling. Peter Martyr, the exile of Strasburg, issued from Lambeth, mounted the throne of divinity, and began his prelections on the Eucharist, about the end of May, in the university of Oxford. The full history of his exploits must be reserved for the proper

* Holinshed, p. 1022.

† Cranmer certainly says that the rebellions in other parts, such as Norfolk, "first were excitated by the papists and others which came from the western camp, to the intent that, by sowing division among ourselves, we should not be able to impeach them."—*Notes for Hom. on Rebellion, Rem.* 189. But Holinshed says that though the Western men sent envoys to other disaffected parts, their overtures were rejected.

‡ In the "Sermon in the time of the Rebellion," which is attributed to him, Cranmer recognises the Socialist tendency of the Eastern risings. *Rem.* 195. Somerset said to Hoby, "It seemeth no other thing but a plague and a fury among the vilest and worst sort of men: for, except only Devonshire and Cornwall, and they not past two or three, in all other places not one gentleman or man of reputation was ever amongst them, but against their wills, and as prisoners."—Burnet, *Coll.* 36.

place: here it is sufficient to say that he convulsed the venerable seat of learning, and spread disaffection far. Theological controversy raged in the schools, riots in the streets of the city: the county, the neighbouring counties caught the fury: the parish priests in many places mingled in the commotion, spoke boldly for the old religion, and denounced in heretical innovation the cause of every ill. Exigency roused vigour, or uproar drew attention: and, though Russell lay helpless at Taunton, while Exeter was beleaguered, it was upon Oxfordshire and Berkshire that the main body of the foreign army of the Council was directed under the command of the brave and skilful Lord Grey of Wilton. His formidable column of thirteen hundred men found no resistance worthy of the name in the tumults of peasants: but the pageant of justice in the form of martial law, followed by a rapid series of executions, struck terror, restored tranquillity, and commanded the applause of Sir Thomas Smith. The hand of punishment fell heavy both on the laymen and the clergy: many livings in Oxfordshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, and Northampton were rendered vacant by the suspension of the incumbents from the steeples of their churches: and the enraptured votary of the revolution (than whom few men more able and less scrupulous were then alive) could only exclaim that the doings of Lord Grey were worth ten thousand proclamations.*

* Smith to Cecil, 19 July: *MSS. Dom.* viii. 33 (Lemon, 20). Some of Grey's doings are preserved in a document of the same date, which seems not yet to have seen the light. Here it is. "The Order devised and taken by the Lord Gray with the advice and consent of the gentlemen of the county of Oxford assisting him at the town of Witney, the 1st of July, for ordering and appointing the said gentlemen, whose names be underwritten, to cause further execution to be done in sundry towns within the said county of certain traitorous persons in the absence of the said Lord Gray, who being otherwise directed by the King's Majesty's letters, cannot further proceed in his own person for the execution of the King's

Something also was made by taking and selling the bells out of the churches, leaving them one apiece to ring for the new order of things:* and, after such success as this, the victorious general turned westward to the help of Russell and the relief of Exeter.

Ma. Commission to him directed for the execution of evil disposed people in the counties of Berks, Bucks, Northampton, and Oxford. First, it is thought good by the said Lord Gray and the rest that these traitorous persons whose names are underwritten shall suffer execution in the several towns under immediately or else the next market days following in any of the same towns to be kept, according as the other like offenders have in other places suffered, and after execution the heads of every of them in the said towns severally to be set up in the highest place in the same, for the most terror of the said evil people. It is also ordered and thought good by the said Lord Gray that the sheriff of the said county with the rest of the said gentlemen, whose names are here underwritten, dividing themselves with the forces shall cause the said traitorous persons to be safely conveyed to the said towns, and to be present with them and to cause the execution to be done accordingly.

THE NAMES OF THE GENTLEMEN.

Sir Ant. Coope, Kt. Sheriff.	Wm. Dormor, Esq.
— Jn. Williams, Kt.	Humphrey Ashfielde, Esq.
— Wm. Barandyne, Kt.	Jn. Crocker, Esq.
— Wm. Raynesford, Kt.	Vincent Power, Esq.
Leonard Chamberlain, Esq.	Thos. Gibbons, Esq.
Rd. Fynes, Esq.	Jn. Denton, Esq.
Wm. Feronor, Esq.	Rafe Langston, Esq.
Sir Jn. Brown, Kt.	Jn. Ogle, Esq.
Sargeant Pollard, Esq.	Jn. Andrews, Esq.

PERSONS APPOINTED CONDIGNLY TO SUFFER WITH TOWNS.

John White of Combe.

Rd. Tomson (Vicar of Donstewe) to be hanged at Banbury.

Sir Henry Mathew, parish priest of Dedington, to be hanged at Dedington.

Jn. Brockyns, craftsman, to be hanged at Islip.

Wm. Boolar of Watlington, to be hanged at Watlington.

Two of the most seditious which are not yet apprehended to suffer at Tame.

Two other of the most seditious to be hanged at Oxford.

Rd. Whytlington of Dedington, weaver, to be hanged at Byssetor.

The Vicar of Chipping Norton to be hanged upon the steeple there.

John Wade, parish priest of Bloxhame, to be hanged on the steeple there.

Jn. Bowldry of Haseley, to be hanged at Oxford.

* Froude, v. 186.

The ancient Lord Russell, who bore among the men of the revolution the venerable name of father, was a man of undoubted ability and courage: but, on his first advance, he had found himself insufficient to cope with the formidable army of the Devonshire commoners. Hovering between Taunton and Honiton, he had witnessed the failure of the embassy of the Carews: and had been unable to prevent the siege of Exeter. The money which he had brought with him by grant of the Council became exhausted: the men who had been attracted to his standard deserted it daily, until he was left almost alone with the licensed preachers who formed part of his equipment.* He was in great perplexity and "agony": † when a warrant for money on the mint at Bristol, and the timely assistance of three of the richest merchants of that town, enabled him to hire more men; and at the same time the Carews returned from London with some reinforcements.‡ By this time a body of the enemy had pushed their way to Fenington Bridge, a place within three miles of his headquarters at Honiton. Russell rode out with all his forces and attacked them. A warm combat took place for the possession of the bridge, which was carried: and Russell, crossing the river, found the main body of the commoners drawn up

* Russell had licensed preachers with him. Strype, iii. 262.

† Holinshed.

‡ Holinshed's account is that Russell was left alone, till he was assisted by the three Bristol merchants, who procured him "a mass of money" with which he hired more men. But it seems from the MSS. Privy Council Book that his friends in London were not so unmindful of his necessities. On his first advance he had two warrants issued the same day (19th June) for £100 and £200 (p. 536). On the 10th July he had a warrant on the mint at Bristol for £500 (p. 546): which was probably what induced the Bristol merchants to move. On the 19th July he had a warrant for £2000 to be sent to him (p. 550): and another for £5000 (p. 555) on the 30th July. Later on, when his campaign was over, there was a warrant for £4000 to be conveyed to him for the pay of his army, 14th Aug. (p. 565).

in a meadow beyond. He charged and routed them, though not without "good store of blows and bloodshed": but his followers turning to the spoil, the fight was renewed by a body of three hundred Cornish men, led by Robert Smith, a gentleman of St. Germain's. Russell recalled his men, and charged again. The Cornish men fought with desperate courage, but in the end they were forced to give way, and were pursued for three miles by the victorious loyalists. In this bloody little action there fell three hundred of the commoners, "very tall men, lusty, and of great courage": on the other side the loss was not inconsiderable, and among the wounded Sir Gawain Carew was hurt by an arrow.*

Scarcely had Russell achieved this first success, when he was joined by Grey, with the mercenaries and a licensed preacher. This seasonable contingent consisted mainly of the bands of Captain Gesman of Hanover, and Captain Paolo Baptista Spinola of Genoa, two famous soldiers of fortune. The cavalry of the former, the lanzknechts, were formidable: but the latter, who marched at the head of three hundred drilled infantry—"three hundred shot," as they were distinctively called—was irresistible.† Russell assumed the chief command: and, after a week of preparation, advanced with confidence, 3rd August, towards the lines which the commoners had formed round the city.

Honiton is distant from Exeter not more than twelve miles: but, by leaving the high road, and taking to the downs southward, the march of the royal army was considerably lengthened: and Russell halted for the night at a windmill belonging to a gentleman named Cary, which was situated on a commanding eminence. This station was destined instantly to be the scene of a fierce conflict. The arrival of the enemy had not

* Holinshed, 1028.

† *Ib.*

escaped the vigilance of the neighbouring village of St. Mary Clist, which was probably one of the outlying posts of the beleaguering army : and the commoners there assembled resolved, with extraordinary temerity, to anticipate the attack. Scarcely had Russell occupied the mill, when the half-armed peasantry rushed forth to storm it. Up the steep ascent they sprang with desperate impetuosity : but few came down again. The trained fighting men of Italy stepped forward, arquebus in hand : file after file, they delivered their deadly fusilade : and the greater the courage, the greater the slaughter of the assailants. At the end the licensed preacher Coverdale, who was afterwards rewarded by the see of the disputed city, preached a sermon, and celebrated a thanksgiving on the field.*

The next morning, which was Sunday, the victors advanced to attack the village of Clist, into which heavy reinforcements, commanded by Sir William Pomeroy, had been poured during the night by the commoners. The village was covered, in the usual manner, by rampires, or earth-works ; and behind these stood six thousand resolute men. The attack was made simultaneously at three points : at one it succeeded, where Sir William Francis, a gentleman of Somersetshire,

* This battle of Cary's Windmill was desperately contested by the Devonshire men. "They were of very stout stomach, and also very valiantly stood to their tackle, yet in the end they were overthrown, and the most part of them slain."—*Holinshed*, 1023. To Mr. Froude belongs the credit of bringing before modern readers some of the heroic incidents of the religious war of England, which was smothered in Burnet, and such histories. Of this battle he says, "the half-armed Devonshire peasants were ill-matched against trained and disciplined troops. Few who went up the hill came down again : they fell in the summer gloaming, like stout-hearted, valiant men, for their hearths and altars : and Miles Coverdale, translator of the Bible, and future Bishop of Exeter, preached a thanksgiving sermon among their bodies, as they lay with stiffening limbs, with their faces to the stars."—*V.* 191. There is the sense of necessitarian limitation in this : but still it is well meant.

intrepidly forced a passage: and the commoners thereupon found themselves compelled to quit the rest of their works, lest they should be taken in the rear. They gathered themselves together in the town, or central part of the village; their leader, Pomeroy, with some skill, concealing himself and his immediate followers behind a thick screen of shrubs and bushes on one flank. The assailants advanced into the town, when Pomeroy sounded a charge with drum and trumpet; the alarm of an ambush spread among the royal troops, and they recoiled, closely followed by the main body of the commoners. They retreated to their waggons, which stood outside the town: but were quickly pushed beyond them; and for a moment all seemed lost. Their munitions, armour, treasure, and ordnance were actually in the hands of the commoners; when, unhappily for their cause, instead of improving their advantage, these peasant soldiers began to rifle the booty: though some of them were still sufficiently in hand to endeavour to post the captured artillery where they deemed that it might be used against the enemy. In reality the battle was still to be fought.* The royal troops, in good order and with restored confidence, continued their retreat even to the hill which had been the scene of the conflict of the day before: where, after consultation, it was resolved to renew the attack, and to repeat the tactics of the barns of Crediton. Russell, who numbered the village among his own vast acquisitions of territory, unhesitatingly bade the soldiers, as they entered, to fire it. Sir William Francis again led the way: but this time, perhaps to avoid the fire of their

* This must have been the battle that Sanders vaguely describes: that while the men of Devon were driving back with their arrows the German horsemen, they fell into disorder about the baggage, and were routed by the troops that had fled, but now returned to the fight. *Schism*, Bk. II.

own lost artillery, he guided the troops through a deep and narrow lane, the banks of which were lined with men who, in lieu of better missiles, showered stones upon the advancing column. Francis himself was stoned to death: but his followers gained the town, and, as they entered, set fire to the houses, which were crowded with combatants. The main body of the commoners stood, as before, in the middle of the town, where they were somewhat disordered by the rush of the defenders of the burning houses, who sought to join them, at the same time that they were exposed in a mass to the shot of their adversaries. They maintained the fight with great obstinacy: but in the end they were broken with terrible slaughter. It now only remained to win the bridge, which had been blocked with heaps of earth and beams of timber. On the top of these was seen standing a single gunner, with his piece levelled. The adventure seemed dangerous: but on the offer of a large reward a soldier advanced. In an instant he was blown to pieces. The whole army paused: and the resolute gunner was coolly reloading, when he was cut down from behind. A detachment, headed by Lord Grey, had found and crossed a ford, though the river was rising with the tide. Resistance was now at an end: the day was won for the revolution: and a thousand Englishmen lay dead amid the blazing ruins of this village. Besides those who perished by the sword, many were burned alive in the houses, many were drowned in attempting to cross the river. "The fight was very fierce and cruel, and bloody was that day."* The fight was over, but not the slaughter. The Lord Grey, ascending a hill on the other side of the river, to view the country, discerned a large body of men moving in the direction of Woodbury. Believing

* Hooker in Holinshed.

that a fresh force of the enemy was approaching, he gave the alarm to Russell: and the order was passed to kill all the prisoners, who outnumbered their captors. The alarm was false: but the expedient, untried perhaps in warfare since Agincourt, was carried into execution: and the bloodshed of the day was doubled or trebled.

On the next morning Russell found a new encounter awaiting him, as stern and obstinate as those of the two previous days. A large detachment of the besiegers of Exeter had marched under cover of the night, and entrenched themselves strongly on the heath of Clist: a wild region which extended even to the foot of the hill, the blood-stained windmill hill, from which he had not yet removed his camp. At daybreak they opened fire: it was found impossible to dislodge them from the front; but the covert of some enclosed ground in the rear enabled a party to steal round, and assail them unexpectedly in flank. They fought with unabated ardour: and the victory was only decided by their almost total extermination. "Valiantly and stoutly stood they to their tackle, and would not give over so long as life or limb lasted, and in the end they were overthrown, and few or none left alive: great was the slaughter, and cruel was the fight." Lord Grey himself, who had felt the Scottish pike at Pinkie, declared that "such was the valour and stoutness of the men, that never in all that he had been in had he known the like."*

The way to Exeter was now open: whither the victorious army marched, 6 August. The commoners had raised the siege, and were stolen away, each man for himself. On the very day of his arrival, Russell was joined, his force was doubled, by Sir William Herbert, who had made his way from Wales at the head of a

* Hooker in Holinshed.

thousand men, Welsh and other strangers: thus skilfully or accidentally completing with exactness the compass of a concentric campaign. Russell, for the city was wholly destitute of food, forbore to enter Exeter. He encamped outside, and received the visits of the famished inhabitants, some of whom so gorged themselves with fresh meat, as to incur from nature the penalty which had not been inflicted by their enemies. For the more sufficient revictualling of the starving town, however, the victor took severe, if necessary, measures. Above his tent he reared the royal standard of the red dragon: and thus having proclaimed martial law, he gave over the whole country to indiscriminate pillage. Every soldier was permitted to seek his own best profit: and the Welshmen were so particularly active that in the short space of two days they furnished the city with cattle lifted from all parts, which they sold to the citizens for their own benefit. The lands of Arundel, Winislade, and Berrie, the rebel leaders, were given to the two Carews: to others, who had done good service, the lands, houses, and goods of other leaders.

Russell remained at Exeter twelve days: not only distributing rewards, but executing vengeance. In several places, both in the city and country, he caused gallows to be erected, and put to active use. Among those who suffered were eight priests, who were "chief governors of the camps" of the insurgents, and a still more notable character in those parts, Parson Welsh, the Vicar of St. Thomas in Exeter. This clergyman was of good family; strongly attached to the old religion, and equally remarkable for courtesy of demeanour, bodily prowess, and proficiency in games and exercises.*

* His portrait, drawn by one who evidently knew and admired him, brings a remarkable man before us. "He had many good things in him: he was of no great stature, but well set, and mightily compact: he was a

His merit in one respect might have procured him a pardon in less dangerous times; for he had saved Exeter during the siege from the fate that was so remorselessly inflicted on Crediton and St. Mary Clist by the loyalists. A plan for firing the city, which had been laid by the advice of a foreign gunner, the only stranger that the commoners had among them, was about to be executed, when it was forcibly prevented by the vicar at the head of a band of men. "Do what you will," said he, "to take the city by policy, force, or dint of sword, and I will be with you, and do my best; but to burn a city shall be hurtful to all, and good to no man: I will never consent thereto; but here I will stand with all my power against you." But it was alleged against him that he maintained "the old Roman and Popish religion" in his church: that he taught the people to condemn the reformed religion and the King's proceedings: that he was a principal leader in the rebellion; and that he had hanged a serving man who was detected secretly conveying letters to Lord Russell. The execution of Welsh was committed to one Duffield, who displayed therein both alacrity and ingenuity. The gallows was erected on the top of the tower of St. Thomas's. The vicar, who had prepared himself by a short confession, was brought into the churchyard dressed in his "popish apparel," and merrily bedecked besides with the various utensils of the old ceremonies: a holy water bucket, and a sprinkle, a sacring bell, a set of bedes, and "other like popish trash." A rope was tied round the middle of his

very good wrestler, shot well both in the long bow and also in the cross bow: he handled his hand gun very well: he was a very good woodman and an hardy: and such an one as would not give his head for the polling nor his beard for the washing. He was a companion in any exercises of activity, and of a courteous and gentle behaviour."—*Hooker in Holinshed*. The expression about not polling his head may mean, not ready to give in.

body; and all went merrily aloft to the top of the tower. There he was received by the executioner, who had ascended, it is likely, in a more usual manner: and hanged in chains. "Very patiently he took his death": and very long he remained hanging dead.

These spirited proceedings were suddenly interrupted by the intelligence that the commoners were again in arms, and no further off than Sampford Courtney, the original scene of the insurrection. The chief leaders indeed, Arundel, Pomeroy, Coffin, Underhill, were still at large: they had rallied the relics both of the Devonshire and Cornish men: and were prepared, after so many reverses, to try another field. A more desperate resolution was never entertained: for the army of Russell, augmented by Herbert, lately reinforced by three hundred fresh mercenaries,* and fed by continual submissions and offers of service, now numbered ten thousand men. Nevertheless, the last stand of the commoners of the West showed no abatement of the courage and enthusiasm which had hitherto animated them: while, in the general features of the engagement, the battle of Sampford Courtney strikingly recalled the hill, the village, and the heath of Clist. Russell marched from Exeter to Crediton on Friday, 15 August: and the next day made his way towards the camp of Sampford. The commoners had occupied the line of advance with scouts and pickets, who were not dislodged without heavy skirmishing; and it was not till Sunday that the royal army reached the memorable village. The place was found to be covered by a fortified camp in front, in which were posted the main body of the enemy. The attack was led by Grey and Herbert: the great ordnance

* In the Council Book, p. 567, there is, under 16 August, a Warrant to Richmond, Herald-at-arms, for money, "for conducting 300 strangers to my Lord Privy Seal."

opened fire until the pioneers had cleared the way for the advance of the arquebusiers, who drove and attempted to follow the commoners into the town. As they pressed onward, however, they were suddenly attacked in flank by Arundel with such fury that the day seemed to hang in doubt. "We wished our power a great deal more," said Russell, "not without cause." Grey was forced to leave Herbert, and hurry back to bring up the reserves; returning, he attacked Arundel with artillery, and completely engaged him. Thus relieved upon the flank, Herbert was able to storm the village in front, from which the commoners retreated, leaving six hundred dead, among them their Captain Underhill, the bold tailor of Sampford. Herbert then turned to attack Arundel on the further flank: against whom on the other side Russell was leading that part of the army which had not yet been engaged: while Grey in front threatened a decisive charge. Under the prospect of the triple shock, the commoners, who had fought for an hour desperately, lost heart and fled. Seven hundred of them fell in the pursuit: and a far greater number were made prisoners, among them Arundel himself. Sixteen cannon were taken. Of the loyalists not more than ten or twelve slain, though many were wounded, testified less to the obstinacy of the conflict than to the superiority of arms and skill.* A party of the defeated, under Mr. Coffin, held together, and made good their retreat into Somersetshire; but they were overtaken at Kingsweston by Sir Peter Carew, and routed, Coffin himself being made prisoner. Altogether, from the beginning of the month of August, it was believed that more than four thousand of the Western men had fallen in battle: a computation which seems to exclude those who died by the other chances of war. The loss on the

* Russell to the Council, *Stryke*, iv. 422: *Froude*, v. 195.

other side was never reported, but was said to have been not inconsiderable, especially among the "Burgonians" or foreign mercenaries, "who were abhorred of the one side, and nothing favoured of the other."* The employment of these auxiliaries added to the fury of the contest, in which mercy was demanded or expected on neither part. Never before had it been to be told in English story that English rulers had bought from foreigners the blood of their own countrymen.

The indefatigable Russell now passed into Cornwall, to execute vengeance on the insurgents and their leaders. His chief instrument in this work was the Provost Marshal, Sir Anthony Kingston: a man who seasoned with some pleasantry the severity of his office. The mayor of Bodmin, Boyer, had been active in the commons cause: but his friends had been endeavouring to make peace for him, on the plea that he had been coerced against his will. When Kingston reached the town of Bodmin, he sent the mayor the message that he and his company intended to dine with him. This seemed a sign of favour: and Boyer made ready for his guests. Before they sat down the Provost Marshal took him aside, informed him that execution was to be done in that town, and desired him to have a new pair of gallows erected by the time that dinner should be done. At the end of the banquet the magistrate reported that the gallows were ready. Kingston took him by the arm, and walked with him to the spot. "Think you, Mr. Mayor," said he, "that they be strong enough?" The answer was that they were. "Then get you up into them: for they are provided for you."—"I trust," said the astonished host, "that you mean no such thing by me."—"Sir," answered Kingston, "there is no remedy: you have been a busy

* Hooker.

rebel: and therefore this is appointed for your reward." And that was his reward. In the same neighbourhood a miller, who had reason to fear the approach of the Provost Marshal, absconded: persuading his servant, "a good tall fellow," to represent him. Kingston, coming to the mill, ordered the supposed master to be hanged on the next tree for a busy knave: and on hearing him cry that he was not the right man, bade him be hanged nevertheless, if not for a busy, then for a false knave. When he was dead, the bystanders protested that he was but a servant of the real offender. "And how," said Sir Anthony, "could he do his master better service than to hang for him?"* Thus through the parts affected ranged the Provost Marshal and the ready rope: but the more distinguished prisoners, Pomeroy, Arundel, Winislade, Berrie, Coffin, and Holmes, were reserved for the solemnity of law and the eminence of Tyburn.†

The agrarian rising in the eastern counties, which took place at the same time with the insurrection of the West, sought in a rough manner to couple the acceptance of the Reformation with the redress of the social injuries of the times. To the people there it seemed that a reformation which let in the rich upon the poor; which, though liberal in putting down doctrine and ceremony, was active in setting up hedges and palings, was not exactly the thing wanted: that something truer and more beneficent might easily be exhibited: that it was not impossible to reform the Reformation. A gathering of the peasantry of Norfolk at Wymondham to witness an annual play or show,

* Grafton and Holinshed.

† Holinshed: Council to Russell, 21 Aug., *MS. Dom.*, viii. 47 (*Lemon's Cal.* p. 21): Russell, Grey and Herbert to Council, *Ib.*, 54: *Lemon*, 22.

was prolonged and regulated as a permanent assembly, which occupied itself in filling the ditches and tearing down the fences by which neighbouring gentlemen had separated their recent acquisitions from the common lands. The ability of a tanner of Wymondham raised him to the head of the movement, and of a force which gradually swelled to sixteen thousand men: but Robert Ket was not a mere craftsman: he was a man of substance, the owner of several manors: * his conduct throughout was marked by considerable generosity: nor can the name of patriot be denied to him who deserted the class to which he might have belonged or aspired, and cast in his lot with the suffering people. Within a mile of the city of Norwich a standing camp was formed on Mousehold Hill: and Ket and his fellows, assuming the style and title of "the King's Friends and Deputies," proceeded to impress upon the country their notion of a proper reformation. In all that followed it is impossible not to admire the temper of the English people. For seven weeks the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Kent, lay at the mercy of an army of peasants: but during the whole time violence and bloodshed were restrained: law and order, though of a rude fashion, were enforced. The parks of the gentlemen might be invaded, and their cattle driven off: it is probable enough that great waste was made of their goods: some of them were detained in the camp, and, if they tried to escape, they were ironed. The people made themselves very good cheer of the flocks and herds: they probably took peculiar pleasure in devoting to their own ill-provided stomachs the thousands of

* He was "wealthy and well landed." Strype gives the names of several of his manors, iii. 271. See also Blomefield's *Norfolk*, ii. 183: a valuable work, which gives from the city accounts many particulars not to be found elsewhere of Ket's rebellion.

sheep that grazed the acres that had lately maintained the ploughman and the reaper : they relished very much the venison, swans, ducks and capons which they found fattening for more delicate palates.* But at least the lives of the gentlemen were safe : the honour of their families was respected : and, if they were made to smart in purse, they were not exposed to indiscriminate pillage. The exactions which they paid were levied by appointed commissioners. A rough justice and ceremony was observed. In the middle of his camp on Mousehold Hill, the popular leader selected a lofty and venerable tree, which by wooden cross-pieces from bough to bough he converted into a commodious booth and platform, and gave it the name of the Oak of Reformation. The designation denoted the opinion that reformation was not yet fully come : but that it was to be accepted so far as it was come : and that it was coming more and more. With himself and his fellows he associated the mayor of Norwich and some of the citizens : and under the spreading branches of the oak held daily a session or court for the trial of questions arising out of a new, a truly glorious, but not a sempiternal state of things.†

* Holinshed has enumerated and lamented these victims of the insurrection.

† "They found out a great old oak, where the said Ket and the other governors or deputies might sit and place themselves, to hear and determine such quarrelling matters as came in question. Afore whom sometime would assemble a great number of the rebels, and exhibit complaints of such disorders as now and then were practised among them ; and there they would take order for the redressing of such wrongs and injuries as were appointed : so that such greedy vagabonds as were ready to spoil more than seemed to stand with the pleasure of the said governors, and further than their commissions would bear, were committed to prison," &c. Holinshed, 1030. Ket is said to have carried his notion of being the king's deputy so far that "with two Assistants chosen out of every Hundred he kept his King's Bench, Chancery, and all other courts" under the Oak of Reformation. Fuller, 393. The oak was fitted for the purpose by nailing cross-pieces on it, and roofing it with boards. Blomefield's *Norfolk*, ii. 162.

As to religion, it cannot be doubted that among the followers of Ket there were many of the wilder children of the Reformation : Anabaptists, and socialist insurgents who sometimes bore the name of Gospellers.* But all conformed to the English service : which was read twice daily in the camp. The vicar of one of the Norwich churches, Coniers, was appointed their chaplain : and two licensed preachers who were in these parts, Robert Watson and Matthew Parker, were allowed to preach to them without molestation, and even to warn them of the danger of their enterprise, and admonish them to desist from it.† This popular commotion appears gracious and noble in comparison with the atrocious frenzy which has again and again turned the uprisings of other nations into orgies of unspeakable crime.

The magistrates and divines of Norwich passed in safety between the city and the camp : so excellent was the temper of the commons. And yet the zeal of Matthew Parker once led him into a little danger, which he shared with his brother Thomas Parker : and an episode in the life of one who afterwards rose to the throne of Canterbury, may vary the general narrative which leads to the siege of Norwich and the slaughter of Dussindale. Coniers was saying the Litany : the

* The communist or socialist element, in these insurrections, and the name of Gospeller, is recognised by Cranmer, in the Sermon on Rebellion, which is attributed to him. There is also a treatise of the same year, called *The Hurt of Sedition*, by Sir John Cheke, preserved in Holinshed, p. 1042. See also Strype's *Cheke*. These writings, amid much that is merely homiletic, throw some light on the times. Cranmer adopts a very different tone to the Norfolk men from that which he had used to those of Devon. He distinguishes them indeed from the latter, who had been "persuaded by subtle papists under pretence and colour of religion to withstand all godly reformation : " whereas the Norfolk or eastern insurgents had erred in the other way, taking the work of reformation on themselves : and he owns the greatness of their provocations.—*Rem.* 190.

† See their names in the list of Licensed Preachers, Vol. II. p. 485 of this work.

rebellious host were gathered to listen to the English order of Common Prayer:* the sun of a drouthy summer by likelihood was shining on the heath, when Matthew and Thomas approached the Oak of Reformation. Led by zeal, Matthew ascended into the tree, and delivered an oration to the rebels to eat moderately, to be unrevengeful, to take no man's life, to respect any messenger that might come from the King, and above all to leave their rash enterprise. Suddenly he was interrupted. A voice exclaimed, "How long shall we suffer this hireling doctor, who, being waged by gentlemen, is come hither with his tongue, which is sold and tied to serve their appetite? But for all his prating words let us bridle them, and bring them under the orders of our law." A murmur followed. "For his fair tale told," it was cried, "we should bring him down with a mischief with arrows and javelins." The alarmed preacher looked round, and to his ears or imagination the mention was followed by the clatter of weapons: but the menace proceeded only from a few on the outskirts of the crowd: of those that were near him none desired to harm him. The well-timed interposition of the *Te Deum*, which was raised by the chaplain and the choir, diverted the multitude: Matthew descended, and with his brother hurried toward the town. He had well nigh gained the gate, when he perceived that he was followed: his enemies in the crowd had observed his retreat, and now overtook him with the inconvenient demand to see the license by which he had made bold to preach to them. Leaving his brother to shape an answer, the future archbishop suddenly exerted his agility, and shot through the wicket. On the following day, in one of the city churches, where he officiated, he delivered a

* Soames is curiously in error to say that "the Latin mass with all its rubrical formalities was said daily among the rebels."—*Ref.* iii. 448.

second exhortation against rebellion: but at that early stage of the insurrection the occupants of the camp seem to have entered the city at will, and Matthew beheld in the congregation the attentive faces of the very men who had terrified him the day before. His eloquence failed to dissipate a fixed idea that possessed them: they came to him at the end, and told him that they should presently want his four horses to serve the King. Parker ran home, unshod his horses, pared their hooves, daubed them with coloured matter to give them the appearance of misery and exhaustion, and turned them out to grass. His enemies on their arrival disdained to take the sorry brutes; which, on their departure, were transformed into serviceable roadsters, and carried their master and his servants safe to Cambridge.

This curious kind of rebellion subsisted without interruption to the last day of July; when a royal herald appeared at the Oak of Reformation, and commanded the commoners to disperse, proclaiming a free pardon to such as should obey. Many were ready to go: they had enjoyed a rare holiday, and now a vague sense of enormity filled their minds: tears rolled down their cheeks: blessings on the clemency of the King burst from their lips. But their leader was of stouter stuff: and, not unconscious of the merit of his efforts to prevent excess, "Kings and princes," said Ket proudly, "are accustomed to grant pardons to such as are offenders. I need not any pardon, since I have done nothing but that belongs to the duty of a true subject: forsake me not, I pray you, friends, for I am ready to spend my life in the quarrel." There was great resolution in this: for the leader might have accepted the pardon with the rest: by thus speaking he cast his life to the winds. The herald denounced him as a traitor, and withdrew himself, followed by the mayor of Norwich, who seems to have

acted a double part throughout, and by some other citizens and yeomen. The gates of Norwich were now shut : something was done to arm the walls : * and shots were fired on both sides : but this was soon ended by a truce : and the commoners, not understanding how much the interposition of the King's authority had altered matters, requested permission to pass through the city, as heretofore, to get victuals : for victuals began to grow scarce among them. This being refused, they came down in great number, and attacked the city. A confused combat ensued, in which there seems to have been little loss of life, if any : though arrows were shot ; and the determination of some young lads among the assailants was remarked, who pulled the shafts out of their bodies, and gave them to their own bowmen to shoot back. In the end the commoners took the city, or rather swarmed into it, with little difficulty. † They held it for a short time, and used their victory moderately. The chief violence that they did was to seize the

* Some curious particulars have been preserved in the city accounts, which seem as if there was no great zeal in the defence. "Paid to two men that made that night 120 pellets of gunshot, 16*d*. : for 214 pounds of lead, 10*s*. 8*d*. : and a bundle of large brown paper, and 15 pounds matches divided among all the gunners that night : Bishops gate rampired with earth that night. A piece of ordnance carried to the old Stath Yard. The two brethren of the Appleyard watched that place that night. Sir W. Paston's two great guns carried to the castle. A bundle of small brown paper and match sent to the castle to shoot certain iron guns there," &c. Blomefield, ii. 168.

† A somewhat less terrible account of this scramble has been left by one who was in it. It would seem that what roused the rage of these rebels the most was the tantalising view of a barrel of beer. "At a gate between Bishops Gate and Hospital Tower were placed six pieces of ordnance, &c. : against which came great numbers of boys to take the water : but they were with the arrows and shot letted of their purpose. And this writer till noon was in aid of them, and being sent for a barrel of beer to the dry army, was met by a great number which came through the river, and so scared the gunners away and others, that some ran to raise the city for more help," &c. *Norwich Roll*, *ap*. Blomefield, p. 168. The writer adds that the rebels, when they got in, "robbed shops and did much violence."

artillery, and to apprehend and carry to their camp some of the citizens, among whom was the mayor. The name of this magistrate, which was that of a fish, prompted the jest that a cod's head should soon be sold cheap in the camp: but the thought was father to the wish here: the mayor's head was not in danger.

The Council now deemed it time to interfere decisively. The bulk of their forces were engaged in putting down the other risings, or in the war with Scotland. To Norfolk nevertheless they contrived to devote a small band of Italians under a captain named Malatesta: to these were added the household troops of many nobles: and the Marquis of Northampton, accompanied by some of the Council itself, by Sheffield, Wentworth, Denny, Sadler, Cornwallis, others, marched on Norwich. The city was opened to them.* On the next morning, while the rest of the royal forces kept the walls, Malatesta and his Italians issued from the gates opposite the hill of the commoners, designing to exhibit the graceful spectacle of the easy triumph of martial skill over numbers and ignorance. As soon as they were seen, the commoners swarmed out of their cabins: and, while some advanced to engage the strangers, others began to run round to get between them and the walls. The Italians liked this so little, that they hastily cast themselves into the form of a ring, and retreated into the city, leaving one of their number in the hands of the enemy. Him the English, contrary to their clemency toward their own countrymen, stripped naked, and hanged. From this time it seemed that war was to be waged in earnest. Under cover of night, the commoners made a furious assault upon the city. They

* William Parr, Marquis of Northampton, was, according to Fuller, "more acquainted with the witty than the warlike part of Pallas, as complete in music, poetry, and courtship."

were beaten back with the loss of three hundred slain : but the situation of the royal army was so precarious, that Northampton sent a herald to renew the offer of pardon. It was contemptuously refused. "We seek nothing," said the commoners, "but to maintain the King's royal estate, the liberty of our country, and the safety of the commonwealth, which is oppressed by the gentlemen: This we will do, or die like men in the quarrel." The assault was renewed, and for the second time Norwich was taken by the rebels. The marquis fled to Cambridge with the wreck of his defeated army, Cornwallis was made prisoner, Sheffield, a young lord who had voluntarily shared the expedition, was slain. Being surrounded in the fight, he took off his helmet to show what he was : when a butcher knocked him on the head. The triumphant commoners, for the battle had been desperate, seemed inclined at the moment to forget their moderation. They set fire to the city, but the flame was soon quenched.* They searched for their vanished enemies in the houses of the citizens : and, while they caused great terror, committed some depredation. But the timely exhibition of bread and beer caused fury to abate : magnanimity returned : and what they had robbed on that day, on the next they tied in bundles, and flung back into the shops of the citizens.

It was now evident that a main army and a good general were required to subdue these insurgents. At first the Lord Protector resolved to repair in person to the seat of war : and letters were issued, in the King's name, to the gentry of Essex, and probably of other

* "They threw fire upon the tops of the houses, which flew from house to house with fearful flames, and in small time consumed great part of the city ;" *i. e.* a street of houses, a hospital, four gates, and some other buildings. But "the clouds commiserated the city's calamity, and melting into tears quenched the flames." Blomefield, 174.

counties, to raise their servants, tenants, and friends; to equip, in especial, as many demilances, or light horsemen, as they could: and to meet the Duke at Walden.* The orders were obeyed: but, the danger being so great, it was deemed necessary to entrust the cause of the Council to a surer hand, and a more puissant force. A large body of lanzknechts had been recently despatched to the north: and, for the closer prosecution of the lingering Scottish war, the command had been confided to the intrepid Earl of Warwick. The destination of the general was altered: Scotland was relinquished, the English garrisons were brought away, the works which they had defended being levelled with the ground: the German mercenaries were recalled, and ordered to proceed by forced marches to the disaffected region. But before they could arrive, Warwick, who was at the town of Warwick when his new appointment reached him, hastened to Cambridge with some newly levied troops, put himself at the head of the broken army of Northampton: and appeared, 22 August, before the gates of Norwich. The commoners, apparently unprepared for so rapid an advance, lay half within and half without the city, mingled with the distracted inhabitants and the trembling magistrates. The herald, whom the royal general sent forward with an escort of cavalry,

* Strype (iii. 272) gives one of these Letters. It presents the Norfolk men in dark colours. Ket is said to have "taken upon him our royal power and dignity and called himself master and king of Norfolk and Suffolk." This is an interpretation of Ket's style of "King's deputy." He and his followers are described as "killing, spoiling, and keeping in fetters and chains gentlemen, yeomen, farmers, serving men, and other honest men: robbing ladies and widows' houses: seeking nothing but spoil and subversion of us." The letter is dated 6 August: and the rendezvous at Walden was appointed 17 August. On the other hand Holinshed, who drew his information on the spot, has nothing that answers to all these grave charges, especially that of "killing." He inveighs heavily against the insurgents, but has very little to charge them with.

entered the gates unopposed, and passed between files of armed men, who received him with cries of "God save King Edward." He went onward to the camp of the insurgents; where he made an oration against rebellion, and renewed the offer of a general pardon. It was received with gladness by some: by others with suspicion. To these the royal coat upon his back looked like some cope or vestment pilfered from the churches. "This is no king's herald," cried they, "he is made out by the gentlemen in a gay coat patched together of vestments and church stuff: he is deceiving us: and in his pardon he brings a barrel full of halters." Ket himself was not in that part of the camp: but the herald moved to another, and found him. He began his oration again, Ket offering no interruption, but listening attentively, when an unlucky boy suddenly threw himself into an indecent posture, and shouted an impudent jest. An arquebusier of the herald's company levelled his piece, and shot the offender dead. In an instant the cry arose that the gentlemen were seeking by a false herald to disarm and then to murder the commons. It would have fared ill with the royal messenger and his men, but for the rebel leader, who kept with them, and saw them off the ground. Ket indeed would have returned with them, and sought the presence of Warwick, to have attempted a pacification: but his followers were too enraged to permit him. Immediately after this tumult, the earl forced his way into Norwich on one side, while those of the commoners who were within were gathered to defend the other. About one hundred and thirty of them were slain in the streets: and those who were taken alive to the number of three score, were hanged in the market-place. On the other hand, Warwick's military train, which now arrived, passing through the city without receiving orders

to halt, inadvertently kept on the march till it reached the camp of the enemy, and fell into their hands.

For two or three days the commoners made several partial assaults on the city: in which they had considerable success, capturing some of the guns which Warwick had mounted at the gates but could not supply with powder. The royal troops were too few to defend the whole circle of the walls: and were compelled to block gates, break bridges, and barricade the ends of streets. So desperate at the moment was their strait, that Warwick was urged to fly from the city; and join, before they could join him, his expected reinforcement of waged foreigners. The ignominious counsel was rejected: the earl declared his resolution to perish where he stood rather than retreat. He drew his sword: the other gentlemen with recovered spirits did the like: and, according to "the ancient custom of men of war in great danger," they kissed each other's blades, whilst he dictated, and they swore a solemn oath to vanquish the enemy, or die like men. The activity of one Captain Drurie, the chief of a band of arquebusiers, afforded them some protection by continually checking the nearer approach of the enemy:* and, after two days of peril, the safety of the royal army was ensured by the happy arrival, August 26, of the mercenaries from the north. If in this interval the commoners had attacked with all their strength, there can be little doubt but that Warwick would have shared the fate of Northampton.

The sight of the "strangers," who were fourteen hundred in number, roused the English commoners to

* Drurie's men seem to have been Welshmen: at least Welshmen are described as serving the guns. There are several payments to "captain Drurie and his band" in the Council Book. Nearly three hundred pounds were paid them in October of this year.

fury. A side movement, which the Earl of Warwick executed by the aid of his new auxiliaries, cut them off from their supplies of victual: and an ambiguous prophecy, that the country clowns should fill Dussindale with blood, inspired them with the confidence of victory.* Setting fire to their camp on Mousehold Hill, they descended into Dussindale, a deep and narrow glen, a mass of fifteen thousand men. There they entrenched themselves, and awaited the attack. In their front rank, chained together, stood those gentlemen whom they held in captivity: and the barbarous expedient tarnishes their memory, though the gentlemen outlived the dangers of the day. Their artillery seems to have been posted and served with some skill: the first shot struck down the royal standard: but this empty achievement ended their success. Warwick gave the signal to his mercenaries. The Germans advanced, Captain Drurie with his band advanced, and poured in a volley, which they followed by a charge with levelled pikes. In an instant the huge mass of the commoners was broken in two: and into the gap the light horse, or demilances, sprang sword in hand. The commoners fled in confusion: the horsemen followed in chase: and in a pursuit of three or four miles the slaughter of three thousand five hundred peasants, and a greater number wounded, fulfilled a deceptive prophecy, and concluded one of the most bloody and least glorious days in English history.† The conduct of the victorious general

* The country gnuffes, Hob, Dick, and Hick,
With clubs and clouted shoon,
Shall fill up Dussindale with blood
Of slaughtered bodies soon.

For three days they had lived "with water for drink, and eaten their meat without bread." Somerset to Hoby, *Strype*, iv. 427.

† The proper, the official thing to say was, that there were not more than a thousand commoners slain. So the Council wrote to Wotton at

however was marked by commendable mercy, and even generosity. Around the artillery, protected by a trench and palisade, a body of the more desperate still stood at bay, determined to fight to the last. Warwick offered them a free pardon. They answered that they had no guarantee, but that his pardon was a barrel of ropes and halters. He completely surrounded them with his troops: then rode alone into their midst, and pledged his word for their lives. The commons flung down their arms, with cries of "God save King Edward." But when all was ended, came the execution of vengeance. The Earl himself indeed was inclined to lenity, though those who had shown less resolution were for exacting a bloody retribution. "Are we," said he, "to play the ploughman or the carter in such work?" But, on his departure, the ferocious severity prevailed which generally marks an oligarchic victory. Robert Ket and his brother William were sent to the Tower, and remitted to their county: where Robert was hanged in chains on Norwich Castle, William on Wymondham steeple. Nine others of the principals were hanged, drawn, and quartered on the Oak of Reformation: thirty at the city gates: forty-nine at the market-cross. In all not less than three hundred are said to have perished by the hand of the executioner. The moderation which the insurgents had shown was ill requited: but these horrors have escaped the notice of history: and the authors of a ruthless butchery have actually obtained the praise of clemency.*

Paris, Froude, v. 214. So Somerset wrote to Hoby, Strype, iv. 427. But Holinshed, who particularly informed himself, gives the higher number.

* Holinshed, who knew so much, merely speaks of the execution of the two Kets. Fuller only mentions them, and the nine who suffered on the oak. Mr. Froude knows of no others, and therefore adds, not unnaturally, that "the executions, considering the times and the provocation, were not numerous" (V. 214). Blomefield however gives the real

In Yorkshire the rising, which was somewhat later in time, was more insignificant in character, and in motives more confused. On the twenty-fifth of July, St. James' Day, one William Ombler, a yeoman of Easthesterton, his nephew Stevenson, and the parish clerk of Seamur, by name Thomas Dale, revolted. They began by firing the beacons round about: by which means the people were speedily brought together,

number; and adds a shocking description of the cruelty of the mode of death (*Norfolk*, ii. 181). Among the sufferers were two "prophets," or fanatics, of whom one was nicknamed Bishop Rugge, being of the same name as the Bishop of Norwich: and also Miles, "the cunning cannoneer," whose shots did so much mischief to the King's army. He was lamented because he had spared the city when he might have damaged it.

It may be worth notice that the commotion, which was so dangerous to his prelate, was celebrated by Alexander Neville, Archbishop Parker's secretary, in prose and verse, in Latin. His history *De Furoribus Norfolkensium* is mostly derived from Holinshed: his poem *Kettus* was joined to Ocland's *Anglorum Prælia*, and in 1575 and in 1582 was recommended by the High Commissioners to the Bishops to be read in schools instead of the heathen poets "propter orationis elegantiam." Blomefield reprinted it. The final battle is thus described:

Tertia jam totum lux illustraverat orbem;
 Consedere suis castris Dudleius heros
 Et Socii, fortisque cohors quæ venit ab urbe
 Londino, prope Norvicum florentibus arvis.
 Quod simul audierat plebs rustica, plena timoris
 Cepit se densis nemorum occultare latebris
 Nusquam properepens: postquam iis audacia crevit,
 Tempore quo motæ cita perturbatio mentis
 Frangitur, irrumpunt: in apertam promptius itur
 Planitiem: nemo est visus memor esse pericli
 Instantis, junctis armati curribus omnes
 Stant circumsepti. Regis contra agmina magnis
 Procedunt animis, cantu resonante tubarum.
 Pugna inter turmas committitur acris utrasque:
 Vulneribusque datis illos violentius urget
 Varvicensis atrox: tandem cum cedere campo
 Hinc pudor haud sineret fugiendo pericula fœdè,
 Illinc audaces faceret mors certa rebelles,
 Una repugnando pars occidit, altera summa
 Non nisi vi superata cadit: sed fortiter obstat
 Hic dux Dudleius, ne cunctos mactet ad unum, &c.

and the authors of the alarm declared their reasons. "God's service," said they, "is laid aside, and new inventions, neither good nor godly, put in place by the King's proceedings: the gentlemen and the rich men oppress us, and ever favour these novelties: there is a prophecy now to be fulfilled, that there shall no king reign in England: that the gentlemen shall be destroyed; and the realm be ruled by four governors, to be elected by the commoners, holding a parliament in commotion, to begin at the south and north seas of England: already in the south it is begun by the men of Devon: We of the north shall meet them at one place, and compass all." Thus it will be seen that religion and a wild socialism were mixed together in the northern discontent. But the moderation which marked the doings of the south, was wanting here. At the first stir they caught four gentlemen: murdered, stript, and left them naked on the wold. They gathered head until they reached the number of three thousand: a dissolute array of rioters, who roamed about, marauding and spreading terror, but without either purpose or resolution. On them the proclamation of the free pardon operated more kindly than on the men of Devon or Norfolk: and from the twenty-first day of August, Ombler the rebel found himself alone. He rode from town to town, using the prince's name, in which he charged the constables and people, where he came, to repair to Hunmanby; designing there to raise his banner again. But twelve miles from the appointed place he was espied, chased, and apprehended. The like fate befel the chief of his late companions, to the number of seven: and within a month the city of York witnessed the committal and execution of the leaders of an ill-omened insurrection.

CHAPTER XVI.

A.D. 1549.

THE observations made by the learned strangers who were now in England, were no unintelligent commentary upon the condition of their adopted country and the character of the times. The arbitrary manner in which everything was done in the revolution was remarked by Bucer: and the want of teachers, which was in great part no doubt attributable to the silencing of the pulpits.* “All,” said he, “is done by ordinances, which the greater part of the people obey very grudgingly: superstition is met merely by removing the instruments of superstition: along with spiritual bondage there is carnal liberty. The powerful nobility would reduce the sacred ministry into a very narrow compass: and are altogether unconcerned about the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline.”† Dryander, a not inconsiderable Lutheran, whom Cranmer had planted in Cambridge, perceived the destitution of preachers, and that the tendency of England was not to form an entire body of definitive doctrines, but to reform the public worship in churches.‡ The carnal liberty was very prevalent: and the wild opinions, Anabaptist or other, were a glaring ember that burst to flame at every breath. These foreigners

* As to that, see Vol. II. p. 529 *huj. op.*

† *Orig. Lett.* pp. 543-4.

‡ *Ib.* p. 350.

however all rejoiced in the freedom, which was allowed them in England, of debating the matters of religion: and even thus early several bodies of them appear to have been permitted in London to have their own churches and mode of worship. Among their leaders some contrariety of opinion might be observed on the great disputed subject: and while Bucer, and with him Fagius, still maintained the Lutheran sacramental doctrine, or something like it, Peter Martyr, who at one time passed for a Lutheran, had expressed himself already in terms which could not be distinguished from the opinions of some of the school of Zurich.* With Martyr went Dryander, Ochinus, Alexander, and the rest.

Under these influences the sensitive Primate, so anxious to unite England by a Concord with the Continent, so often baffled in attempting this with the Lutherans, seems to have resolved to renew the effort in an Helvetian direction. The Consensus Tigurinus, an agreement among the doctors of Zurich, to which Calvin also adhered, afforded the opportunity or temptation at the beginning of the year: and the official

* It is difficult, perhaps it is useless, to distinguish the varying sacramental opinions among the foreign divines: but at least it may be said that, while by the indignation of Sanders and of others after him no distinction is drawn between Zwinglian and Calvinist, it was not in the Sacrament that Calvinism marked an extreme. "We have to guard against two errors," said Calvin, "that we may neither by undervaluing the signs disjoin them from the mysteries with which they are connected; nor by extolling them beyond measure obscure the glory of the mysteries themselves." *Inst.* iv. ch. 17. Hence he occupied a mediate position between the Lutheran and Zwinglian. He agreed with much of the teaching and language of the former, but took something away from it; he agreed with all that Zwingle said, but added much to it. Among the varied shades it is difficult to disentangle the exact opinions of one divine or another: the same man was not always consistent with himself. But of the more important of them, Martyr and Bucer, we shall on occasion remark the peculiarities.

guardian of the faith of England made his overtures and despatched his emissaries hither and thither. Unwilling, it may be, to move without the great Protestant doctor, he sent to Melancthon the advanced Alasco or Laski, with a fresh invitation to join the gathered chorus of the church from Italy and Germany, and to give aid in composing a work that should embrace the chief subjects of ecclesiastical doctrine, and transmit to posterity the uncorrupted truth.* To Zurich was despatched a more dignified embassy, the experienced Christopher Mount; who bore a circular letter written in the person of the young King himself, in which the religious agreement of England and Zurich was assumed and acknowledged.† This letter went round to Berne, and perhaps to other States: and a Council was proposed to be held for the settlement of religion.‡ However this curious development of the gregarious instincts of the Archbishop came to nothing: England preserved her independence and her Catholicity. In vain, on the other hand, was the persuasion put forth by the Emperor about the same time, that England should join the Interim.§

The Universities and the other abodes of learning had shared from the beginning in the troubles of the times. The estimation of learning was contempt: of academical success the recompense was scanty and uncertain: and parents refused to devote their offspring to an unapplauded poverty. The grammar schools dwindled: a hurrying crowd of half-starved or of basely

* Cranmer's Rem. p. 425.

† Edward VI. to the Senate of Zurich, Oct. 1549. *Orig. Lett.* p. 1.

‡ The Council of Berne to Edw. VI., Dec. 1549. *Ib.* p. 717. From what they say about safe-conducts, they seem to have thought that the Council was to be held in England.

§ "The Emperor had strongly urged upon the ambassadors the settling of a form of religion agreeable to the Interimistic doctrine." Byrchman to Bullinger, Dec. 1549. *Ib.* p. 344.

pampered students flitted through the courts of the colleges; for neither poor nor rich stayed long enough to complete their learning to advantage. The preferences of the Church being now less the rewards of scholars than the spoil of unlettered laymen, the greatest part of the encouragement of learning was taken away: and Oxford and Cambridge, retaining no shadow of their ancient dignity, were scarce able to fill their foundations: much less could they boast the former throng of the volunteers of learning.* In their depression the two Universities felt heavier the stroke, which they now received, of a Visitation by royal Commissioners; and seemed in danger of actually sharing in dissolution the fate of the monasteries.

“We,” the boy of England was made to say, “we, Supreme Head of the Church of England and Ireland, have already reformed convents, and parish churches, and private churches. Now it is the turn of our Academies. They indeed have been first in our mind, though we approach them last:† and we desire that from their fountain and their root may flow and grow the streams and seeds of arts, morals, discipline, culture,

* “It would pity a man’s heart,” Latimer exclaimed at the beginning of the year, “to hear what I hear of the state of Cambridge: what it is in Oxford I cannot tell. There be few that study divinity but such as must of necessity furnish the colleges, for their livings be so small and victuals so dear, that they tarry not there, but go everywhere to seek livings, and so they go about. Now there be a few gentlemen, and they study a little divinity—Alas, what is that? . . . There be none now but great men’s sons in colleges: and their fathers look not to have them preachers.”—*Serm.* p. 178, P.S. Ascham wrote to Cranmer about the same time that “the University was in so depressed and drooping a condition, that very few had hopes of coming thither at all, and fewer had any comfort to make long tarrying when they were there: and that abroad it retained not so much as the shadow of its ancient dignity.” Strype’s *Cran.* bk. ii. ch. vi.

† “Quod cum fecissemus in aliis Conventibus et Parochiis ac privatis Ecclesiis Regni nostri Angliæ, licet postremo sumus aggressi, tamen prima fuit cura in Academias nostras oculos ac mentem adicere.” This language shows that very sweeping designs were meditated.

learning, virtue: that abundant provision may be made for letters, so that not only England and Ireland, but all the world may be filled with light. We therefore appoint seven Delegates, or Commissioners, any one of whom however may suffice for business, to visit each of the Universities, and also the foundations of Windsor, Eton, and Winchester. Let them visit all colleges, halls, hospitals, and other places: let them visit them head and members, root and branch, depriving, sequestrating, and otherwise condignly punishing the lazy and vicious. The contumacious let them correct by ecclesiastical censures, and also by incarceration and other remedies. If they find money spent in solemnities or feasts, or in lectures public or private, or on choristers and singers under pretence of the so-called daily service of the Church, or on boys learning grammar, let them turn it to other uses, as the maintenance of fellows and scholars studying philosophy and other arts, either in that college or another. Let them turn out bad presidents and masters, take surrenders, make unions of so many colleges as they see fit, convert chantries, examine statutes and incorporations, alter the forms of divine service, and the exercises, disputations, public lectures, and collations for degrees and honours. Let them give new statutes and injunctions to the residents, and punish them, if they violate them; and they may abolish and make nothing of any former statute or ordinance that may be contrary to those that they may give. Let them encourage the study of Civil Law: and in Oxford they may encourage it by pouring into All Souls all the students of Civil Law that are in New College, and into New College all the students of Arts and Divinity that are in All Souls. They may do it in Cambridge by dissolving two or more colleges, and founding a new one out of them to be called by our name, or any other name that they may

prefer. And in either place let them found a college of medicine. And if there be anything else, not expressed in their Commission, that may seem to them, or any one of them, necessary to be done, let them do it by all means: for we have the greatest confidence in their industry, gravity, and integrity." In these glorious instruments the number of Visitors assigned to Oxford was nine; for Cambridge it was seven. But the disparity may be explained. At the head of the Oxford list stood the formidable name of Dudley, Earl of Warwick; and it was not necessary to name a revolutionist of corresponding rank for Cambridge. She had him already in her Chancellor, the Duke of Somerset. At the tail of the Oxford Commission a lawyer and a squire were combined to balance the single dignity of the King's physician. In the body of the instruments, by a careful disposition, bishop answered to bishop, secretary to secretary, comptroller to comptroller, doctor to doctor, preceptor to preceptor, dean to dean. One or two names were the same in both.*

The rumour of the impending danger awoke in the Academies something of the precaution by which in the dissolution of the monasteries some of the religious had

* The two Commissions are given in Rymer, xv. 178 and 183. That for Cambridge bore date 12 Nov., 1548: that for Oxford, 8 May, 1549. They are in the same terms, with the necessary differences. The Oxford one is also in Wood's *Hist. et Antiq.*

Oxford.

Earl of Warwick.
Holbeach, Bp. of Lincoln.
Ridley, Bp. of Rochester.
Comptroller Paget.
Secretary Sir Wm. Petre.
Rd. Cox, regię juventutis
institutor.
Dean Haynes.
Christ. Nevison, Leg. Doct.
Rd. Moryson, Esq.

Cambridge.

Goodrich, Bp. of Ely.
Ridley, Bishop of Rochester.
Comptroller Paget.
Secretary Sir Thos. Smith.
Jn. Cheke, regię juventutis
institutor.
Dean May.
Dr. Windrie, King's Physician.

endeavoured to save a portion of their goods. The colleges began to alienate lands, to conceal plate, and to prepare themselves in other ways to evade the full fury of the tempest of inquisition. But the Visitors were prompt. Scarcely had they received their Commission, when they sent a letter to the heads, inhibiting all alienation or selling of lands and tenements, all appointment of offices, all exercise of jurisdiction, whilst the Visitation hung.* Some months afterwards they came themselves, a party of them, and began the Visitation, in May. They peremptorily cited before them all heads, fellows, scholars, and students, to exhibit their charters, grants, and statutes. The absent they proclaimed contumacious. They made all to swear to the abolishment of the Bishop of Rome and to the supremacy of the King. They presented each of the Universities with new statutes. They encouraged any man to present bills of accusation against any magnate. They went from college to college, trying the accused, enquiring after concealed goods, expelling heads and fellows, converting funds, and in all things carrying out their instructions with the greatest vigour. But at Cambridge their success received a momentary check from the unexpected scruples of one of their own body. The Bishop of Rochester, Ridley, was upon the Commissions for both the Universities, though he went but

* "Understanding that some men of late hath taken upon them to sell and alienate away the lands, tenements and goods of the colleges, and do other things to the prejudice of his Majesty's Visitation,—We have thought good to inhibit on his Majesty's behalf you all, that in no wise ye attempt to go about to sell, give, or alienate away any lands or tenement or any other goods movable or immovable, to the University or colleges appertaining. Or to make any election, confer or give any benefice, office, or dignity in the said University or colleges, graces for degrees only excepted, during the time that our said Visitation doth hang," &c.—Visitors to Vice-chancellor and Heads, 8 Nov. 1548. Cooper's *Camb.* ii. 25. It is plain from Wood that the same letters were sent to Oxford.

to one of them: a position which he held by way of ornament. The grace, the religious zeal, the dignified pretexts, the flowing words were to be supplied by him: he was to preach the sermons; to control, because the design grew to include the downfall of the scholastic theology, the disputations that were to be held: to perform in the seats of learning the duty of advocate of the Revolution, which had been so faithfully discharged on wider scenes by Cranmer. But Ridley was a stiffer man than Cranmer. He had not been acquainted beforehand with the full scope of the Visitation, nor allowed to see the Commission. He had only received a mandate to be one of the Visitors: and when he applied to Dean May for further information, he had been told to be easy, for that it was only meant to put down Papistry and advance learning.* When he witnessed the beginning of the work, and heard the Commission read publicly on the spot, he was astonished at the extent of it. He saw new statutes promulgated to his beloved University: bills exhibited against men who may have been his former friends: the Master of St. Peter's College tried on a shameful and slanderous accusation. Then he found that it was

* "A little before Easter, I being at Rochester, received letters from Mr. Secretary Smith and the Dean of Paul's, to come to the Visitation of the University, and to make a sermon at the beginning thereof: whereupon I sent a servant up to London to the Dean of Paul's, desiring of him to have some knowledge of things there to be done, because I thought it meet that my sermon should have somewhat savoured of the same. From Mr. Dean I received a letter instructing me only that the cause of the Visitation was to abolish statutes and ordinances which maintained Papistry, Superstition, Blindness, and Ignorance: and to establish and set forth such as might set forth God's Word and good learning. And else, the truth is, he would show me nothing: but bad me be careless, and said there was information how all things was to be done: the which, I take God to witness, I did never see, nor could get knowledge what they were before we were entered on the Visitation two days, although I desired to have seen them in the beginning."—Ridley to Somerset, 1 June. Burnet, *Coll.* 59.

proposed to make a union of Trinity Hall and of Clare, the college of his friend Latimer. He saw the Master and fellows of Clare refuse to be dissolved, and struggle for two days against the persuasions of the Visitors: so that it was resolved at length to dissolve them without their consent, in spite of their resistance, by the royal power. The prerogative indeed was risen under the Protector Somerset to a greater height than it had yet attained. If the society of Clare had been a convent of monks in the late reign, they would have been deprived of their seal, confined within their walls, and starved to a surrender. The time past sufficed for that: and the Commissioners were proceeding to scatter the college without more ceremony, when Ridley interposed with a protestation. It seemed to him too high a stretch. Thereupon his brethren in office complained of him to Somerset, the Chancellor of Cambridge: that he barked, that he dishonoured the King, and dissuaded the rest from executing their office. Somerset chastened him briskly in a letter. The bishop replied by a dignified vindication of his right and determination to act according to conscience. Somerset advised him to resign. Then (it must be confessed) Ridley withdrew his opposition, expressed his willingness to deprive the Master and fellows of Clare: and was succoured by the intercession of his fellow agents.* But Clare and

* I have put together what I can find of this little trouble of Ridley's. —1. The Visitation was begun on the 6th May. Cooper, *Hist. of Camb.* ii. 27.—2. The Visitors send their report to Somerset, that Clare Hall resisted the proposed union with Trinity Hall: and that they had passed it over at present, and gone on to other colleges: 18 May. By the same post Ridley writes privately to the Protector, that it would be "a sore thing, a great slander, and a dangerous example to take a college founded for the study of God's Word and apply it to the use of students in man's laws without the consent of the present possessioners." This letter contains a laudation of Latimer, who had been educated at Clare, which is interesting from such a hand. Latimer seems to have been in poverty,

Trinity were not defenceless yet. Though the fellows of Trinity were willing to resign, the imprisoned Bishop of Winchester, who had been head there, is said to have opposed a vigorous protestation against the union. To the representation of the necessity of fostering the faculty of Civil Law by a new foundation, Gardiner's answer is said to have been that a faculty would be better promoted by promoting the present professors of it than by grand schemes for the future: and that Trinity Hall, as it stood, could breed more civilians than all England advanced according to their deserts. He was in truth apprehensive lest some curious accident should occur between the dissolution of the old college and the beginning of the new: by which, while the proposed foundation remained unlaied, the funds should disappear. His alleged opposition was in character: and the impending expugnation was abandoned for the older process, familiar in the monasteries, of undermining. A new Master of Clare Hall, the orthodox Madew, was substituted for the stubborn Swinburne, who was expelled: and at Trinity the place of the president Harvey was filled by the elegant Latinist Haddon.* Howbeit the scheme languished

and Ridley tries indirectly to get Somerset to do something for him. These two letters are in the Parker Soc. Ed. of the *Writings of Bradford*, p. 369. Cf. Lemon's *Cal.* p. 16.—3. The Commissioners write to Somerset to complain of Ridley. Letter lost.—4. Somerset writes Ridley a smart letter, which is lost, about his "barking."—5. Ridley answers that it is part of his office to bark: that he had been kept in the dark, &c. 1 June. Burnet, *Collec.* 59.—6. Rogers writes to Smith that Ridley still objects, and that the Master of Clare is very stiff. 9 June. Lemon, p. 18.—7. Somerset to Ridley that he would not force his conscience: that he had spoken to Cranmer about him, who said that Ridley probably feared lest divines should be diminished and lawyers multiplied, &c. 10 June. Burnet, *Coll.* 60.—8. Rogers to Smith that Ridley is now willing to deprive the foundation of Clare. 15 June. Lemon, p. 18.—9. Commissioners to Smith: regret that Ridley is recalled, and hope that he may stay to the end. 15 June. *Ib.*

* Fuller (*Cambr.* 126) is the authority for the alleged resistance of

amid the following troubles of the Lord Protector : and though afterwards renewed, came finally to nothing.

For the rest, at Cambridge might be noted the remonstrant attitude of the learned Dr. Redman, the Master of Henry's magnificent foundation of Trinity College : a man who had already encountered trouble in the course of the Revolution. He belonged to the school of Gardiner : and shared the dislike of his master to the Book of Homilies, to which the Visitors held it to be part of their office to require the college to subscribe. Redman hung back for some time : and in other colleges others were encouraged by his example. But he was a man of more learning than resolution. The Visitors had not reached his college, when he appeared before them with a written explanation or interpretation of certain sentences taken out of the Homilies. "If," said he, "these sentences may be interpreted thus, though in strictness they may seem to import another sense, I am content to subscribe." The novel expedient was allowed : and Redman's opposition to the Revolution was at an end.*

Gardiner : and it is likely that Gardiner made some expostulation from the Tower. But Fuller seems wrong in supposing that Gardiner was still the President of Trinity Hall : and he is certainly wrong in thinking that he was also Chancellor of Cambridge at the time, and that Somerset deposed him, and took the office himself. Somerset became Chancellor when Gardiner was sent to the Tower two years before, in 1547. Cooper's *Camb.* ii. 6. The obstinate Swinburne of Clare, it may be added, remained in his mastership, and compelled Madew to have him turned out by a special Commission a year or two later : he was reinstated in Mary's reign. Cooper.

* "Mr. Doctor Redman hath this day been before the Visitors, and bringing with him an interpretation of three sentences picked out of the Homilies, and declaring and making protestation that he trusted the said sentences meant none other thing but according to that his interpretation, though the very word straitly taken might seem, as he thought, to import another sense ; he was contented to subscribe : and so did. In other colleges some do stick, and have refused to subscribe, hanging, it is thought, only upon Dr. Redman's judgment. Now he hath done, I think the rest will willingly follow."—Rogers to Smith : 29 May, Cambridge. MSS.

At Oxford, the suspension of statutes, before the Visitation began, prompted and encouraged an outbreak of zeal among the reformant students, which was worthy of the mobs of London or Portsmouth. The licensed preachers declaimed in the pulpits. "Sons of her of Babylon" was the salutation that greeted the doctors of the Old Learning when they appeared in the street. Shocking outrages were committed in the colleges. One of the junior fellows of Magdalen, in the college chapel, at mass, on the Vigil of Easter, in the sight of a great congregation, many of whom had come from the country for the celebration, advanced to the high altar, and dashed the symbols of Christ's Body to the ground. Of the same society another fellow snatched a thurible from the minister; a bachelor dragged a priest from the altar and flung his book down: a band of scholars armed with axes broke into the choir of the chapel, and chopped in pieces the service books to the value of more than forty pounds.* The Visitors, or the working part of them, arrived, as in Cambridge, in the beginning of May: Holbeach, May, Nevison, Moryson: Cox was there already. The prefatory sermon was preached, not by Ridley, who was engaged at the other University, but by Peter Martyr, who made a pregnant discourse: that all things by human degeneration went from good to bad: that here things were gone from bad to worse: that now the time of reformation desired by all good men was come, to reform a great Academy, to make it a seminary of good learning, to the benefit of the Church

Dom. Edw. VI., vol. vii. 23: cf. Lemon's *Cal.* p. 17. This may certainly be regarded as the earliest case on record of subscribing in a "non-natural sense." Poor Redman died two years later: and how he was persecuted on his deathbed by men of the New Learning asking him questions and taking down his answers like attested depositions, may be read in Fox. He was suspected of changing his opinions "either for softness, fear, or lack of stomach."

* Wood's *Hist. et Antiq.* p. 270.

and of the schools. The Visitation proceeded in the same way as at Cambridge. Colleges were summoned, deeds examined, alterations made, funds converted. Collegiate chantries were seized, and chantries of churches of which colleges were patrons: out of them were founded some exhibitions for students, but the greater part of them disappeared. The choristers and grammar boys of the college schools were turned out: there were forty or fifty such boys in some colleges: and the schools themselves were suppressed. For this measure the better accommodation of students provided, since all things had pretexts, the pretext: but the dismay and petition of the townsmen, deprived of the means of educating their sons, preserved, and Magdalen still possesses, one of those ancient seminaries. The Visitation had been delayed, not perhaps without design, until the Act for Uniformity had inured: and it was part of the office of the royal delegates to abolish the mass and the other old services, to remove the embellishments of the chapels, and to establish the new Book of Common Prayer. They imposed new statutes on the University, which were contrary in most things to the old laws. But they proceeded not in their Commission so far as to make unions of colleges: nor erected they the proposed new college of medicine.*

The ardour of Cox, the Dean of Christ Church, the Chancellor of the University, was observed on this occasion. As constant a correspondent of Bullinger of Zurich, as an active reformer, Cox was a great harbourer of strangers. At the beginning of the year he had welcomed Peter Martyr to the chair of theology, and the society of Christ Church: into the society of Christ

* Wood, *ut supra*. These "Statuta Edwardina" remained in force until the present Statutes of Oxford: they are in some college libraries: in New, for example.

Church he had inserted both Stumphius and John of Ulm. He is said to have used his power of Visitor to provide for his friends and clients with a liberal disregard of the statutes of colleges: which statutes to be sure were all suspended. But of all the proofs of vigour with which his name is associated posterity has the greatest reason to lament the destruction of books and manuscripts, nay of whole libraries, which was now encouraged by him. The ravages of Layton and of Henry the Eighth, thirteen years before, were resumed, exceeded, and completed in this Visitation. The losses of learning cannot be computed when no fragment remains by which to estimate them: and Merton College, the ancient abode of Occam and of Wickliff, lost a cart-load of manuscript treatises in theology and the sciences, the labours of an illustrious fraternity. Great heaps of books from Baliol, Queen's, Exeter, and Lincoln colleges were set on fire in the market-place. The University library itself, afterwards refounded by the munificent Bodley, was so utterly exterminated, that not a single book or manuscript was left: it had been so large that the University afterwards found it worth while to sell the empty shelves on which the numerous volumes had reposed. Of this horrible ravage the blame ought no doubt to be shared by the other Visitors and by many of the residents: but it is Cox whom history has charged; and for his activity in the business the Chancellor received the reproachful nickname of the cancellor of the University.*

Public disputations, the arrayed contests of arguments and authorities, in which contradictory opinions were brought into the strongest collision, had been made in other countries a notable instrument of the Reformation from the beginning. In England the solemn and

* Wood: Fuller, 392: Mackray's *Sketches of the Bodleian*, 12.

authoritative employment of these usual academic exercises marked in this year a distinct point of departing, a meditated advance in the alteration of religion. The Universities were made to ring with the combats of commissioned divines: the mediæval theology was formally assailed in her most sacred seats: and, when Peter Martyr at Oxford, at Cambridge Ridley, Perne, or Madew, thundered in the schools, it was noted by the discerning that now within the realm for the first time in the age the great Catholic doctrine of the Presence, or rather the received explanation of the nature of the Presence in the Sacrament, was put under question by men reputed learned. In particular the exploits of Peter Martyr in that University which has been often thought less luminous than her sister, kindled in the deeper obscurity a beacon or a conflagration which struck more sensibly the eyes of the observers.*

* Bishop Gardiner said, in 1551, on his trial, that at the time when he preached his famous sermon on St. Peter's day in 1548, "the very Presence of Christ's Body in the Sacrament and mass was not in any controversy among learned men." In this he was confirmed by his witnesses. Dr. Bricket said that at that time "there was no controversy or contention among learned men of the Presence: for the King had sent forth Proclamation that no man should speak unreverently of the same otherwise than the Scriptures should bear." Richard Bruern of Christ Church said that "when the controversy of the Sacrament began he knew not: but he did not remember any that did openly read, teach or dispute of it in Oxford till Peter Martyr began." Hugh Weston said, "There was no contention of the Presence among learned men within their realm until Peter Martyr began to preach it at Oxford." White, then of Winchester, said that "since Wickliff's time (who afterwards reconciled himself) no learned man had called the Presence in question, till Peter Martyr in his lectures in Oxford called the thing in question. Before that the doctrine was received, acknowledged, and agreed upon by the whole clergy and temporality learned of this realm, and by acts of Parliament and synods established, and by the prelates and other learned men set forth in books and open sermons." John Young, fellow of Trinity, said that "before the time when Gardiner preached his sermon, there was no controversy in Cambridge among learned men of the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament, but it was known and taken universally for a true Catholic doctrine." George Bullock of St. John's, Cambridge, said the same: and Christopher

Already, at the beginning of the year, a disputation seems to have been held in London among some of the bishops, Cranmer, Ferrar the new incumbent of St. David's, Heath, and Thirlby, in the presence of the King and the Duke: on which occasion the uncle observed with surprise, the nephew with the pleasure of gratified sagacity, how much the travelled Thirlby savoured of the Interim.* In the familiarity of Lambeth the learned fugitive Peter Martyr gave utterance to opinions which seemed of the Tigurine type. But Peter was destined to a wider scene. He took possession of Oxford: and there his language upon the great subject of the Sacrament caused in no long time a violent agitation. At first indeed he was measured and dubious: nor in the end can he (I think) be said to have denied the great doctrine of the Presence. When he arrived there, he chose to open his academical prelections with the First Epistle to the Corinthians, which enabled him to launch into the matters of controversy. He chose Ash Wednesday for the occasion of a sermon against fasting, and declaimed against Papists and Pharisees, and the pitiful Constitutions which set a difference between one kind of meat and another. When he ended

Malton of Baliol. Redman himself, one of the most eminent theologians of the age, said that "so far as he remembered, there was no contention or controversy, in the matter of the Presence, among the prelates or learned men of this realm." See Gardiner's *Matter Justificatory*, Art. xxxvii., and the Depositions thereon, in Fox, 1st Edition, or reprinted in *Church Historians of England*. All this seems to tally exactly with the remark of Peter Martyr, after the disputation on the Sacrament in Parliament at the end of 1548, that "the difficulty of the Presence still remained." See Vol. II. p. 545 *huj. op.*

* When this disputation was ended, the Protector accosted the King with an expression of surprise, saying, "How very much the Bishop of Westminster has deceived my expectation." "Your expectation!" the King replied, "he may deceive, but not mine." When the Protector asked why, "I expected," said the King, "nothing else but that he who has been so long with the Emperor, as ambassador, should smell of the Interim."—Burcher to Bullinger, 22 Jan. *Orig. Lett.* p. 645.

his discourse by crying with a lamentable voice "Parcite sanguini Christi, parcite animabus vestris," he is said to have moved the admiration of many: nor is it without likelihood that many were ready to applaud the pleasant doctrine that the right way to spare their souls was not to be too hard upon their bodies. But, as it regarded the Sacrament, his lucubrations were considered by a competent and hostile critic to have been moderate in their tone. Doctor Richard Smith, his predecessor in the chair of theology, listened to his lectures with the ears of a rival, and declared that at first Peter Martyr spoke like a Lutheran.* It was only when, after finish-

* Smith said, "Peter Martyr at his first coming to Oxford, when he was but a Lutheran in this matter, taught as D. Smith now doth: but when he came over to the court, and saw that doctrine misliked them that might do him hurt in his living, he soon after turned his tippet, and sang another song." On this Cranmer remarks, "Of M. Peter Martyr's opinion and judgment in this matter, no man can better testify than I; forasmuch as he lodged within my house long before he came to Oxford, and I had with him many conferences in that matter, and know that he was then of the same mind that he is now, and as he defended afterwards openly at Oxford, and hath written in his book. And if D. Smith understood him otherwise in his lectures at the beginning, it was for lack of knowledge." Answer to Smith's Preface, *Works*, 373, Park. Soc. But Peter appeared dubious, or even Lutheran, to others besides Smith at this time. Hooper declared that "Peter Martyr and Bernardine stoutly defend Lutheranism." *Orig. Lett.* p. 61. Hooper however was not then in England. But John ab Ulmis, in Oxford at the time, said something of the same. "He has also maintained in like manner the cause of the Eucharist and Holy Supper of the Lord, that it is a remembrance of Christ, and a solemn setting forth of His death, and not a sacrifice. Meanwhile however he speaks with caution and prudence (if indeed it can be called such) of the real Presence, so as not to seem to incline either to your opinion or to that of Luther."—To Bullinger, *O. L.* 378. (This letter is wrongly dated 1548: it clearly refers to Martyr's lectures of this time.) And yet, so dubious was Martyr, the same John had written a week or two earlier to Bullinger jubilantly: "Peter Martyr has openly declared to us all, on this very day on which I write this letter, what was his opinion on this subject: and he seemed to all of us not to depart a nail's breadth from that entertained by yourself. Nay, more, he has defended that most worthy man, Zwingle, by the testimony of your opinion, against his adversaries, who falsely object to him that he makes the Sacrament a mere sign: he moreover declares those persons to be out of their senses who make the Body of Christ to be

ing his exposition of the eleventh chapter of the Epistle, Peter delivered an additional exercitation on the Sacrament, that the Old Learning was roused to attack him. Bills were posted on the churches, announcing that a disputation would be held next day : and though this is said to have been done without the knowledge of Smith, it was to him that Oxford looked to maintain the honour of her schools.

Richard Smith had the reputation of the first schoolman in England. He had written in defence of the

without any local habitation, uncircumscribed, in many places at once, void of shape, and so on."—2 Mar. 1549. *O. L.* 388. Peter Martyr himself fully bears out these representations. He published his lectures in the same year, with a long dedication to Cranmer. It is evident that they were much smoothed up, and they are arranged in the form of an extended "*Tractatio de Sacramento Eucharistiæ*" in four parts : transubstantiation, consubstantiation, representation, and his own opinion. His treatise is almost wholly taken up with confuting the first of these doctrines : he pronounces the second to be "*crassa æstimatio*," though he explains that in his opinion it was not held "*ita ut una hypostasis efficeretur*," by those who maintained it : and declares that he had heard credibly "*Lutherum non tam crasse revera ista de re sensisse*." On the third he says "*Zwinglium non adco tenuiter de Sacramentis credidit*," as to reduce them to bare signs. The extreme language used by both Luther and Zwinglius he explains by their mutual desire to save each other from opposite errors. He has no wish to differ from either : "*non quod in animo habeam singulares præstantissimosque homines taxare, aut Lutherum aut Zwinglium*," for Zwinglius held not empty signs, nor Luther any conjunction of sign and thing save a sacramental conjunction. He then strikes his own balance : that there is a change effected in the sacrament (*Sacramentalis mutatio*) : that the Body of Christ is joined therewith in three degrees, by the union by which we are members of Him, by the meaning of the words, and in a less degree by the signs and their meaning : "*Christum conjungi nobis dum communicamus eximia copula, ut qui maneat in nobis et nos in eo : qui deinde proximo gradu jungitur verbis atque id per significationem : copulatus tertio loco symbolis, atque item per significationem, quæ tamen est minor quam illa sit quæ pertinet ad verba*." The efficacy of the Sacrament, he adds, is of the intervention of the Holy Spirit : since the partaking is after a spiritual manner, "*quomodo spiritualiter manducabimus absque Spiritu Sancto?*" *Opera Eucharist.*, p. 620, Ed. 1562. It is evident that his words might be very variously interpreted. He seems to hold a position lower than *representation* (which was Bucer's opinion), but above bareness.

Mass, and in defence of unwritten verities, or traditions : and his treatises were deemed afterwards important enough to employ the pen of Cranmer to confute them. But hitherto Cranmer had directed his power, not his pen, against him : and from the beginning of the reign Smith had been exposed to great trouble and humiliation. He had recanted at Paul's Cross, and again in Oxford : and when on the latter occasion he attempted to draw a distinction between recanting and retracting, and said that in London he had retracted but not recanted, he was forced to repeat his recantation publicly in Oxford : and was then deprived of his professorship. Against the encroaching Florentine who occupied his seat, Smith was willing enough to enter the lists : and attended by a crowd of supporters he went down to the schools. A warning of what was intended reached, but deterred not Peter : he too proceeded to the scene of combat, surrounded by his friends, receiving on his way the formal challenge of his rival. Entering the Divinity School, and taking his usual place in the pulpit, he told his adversaries that his first business was to deliver his ordinary lecture, but that he would after frame himself for a disputation. His lecture he finished without change of countenance or faltering, but not without some impatient interruptions : and then Smith and the others called upon him to dispute. Peter excused himself : that he was not prepared, nor could be, since, contrary to the practice of the schools, he had never seen, but his adversaries had taken care that he should not see, the propositions to be disputed. He was met with the taunting answer that the man who had made so many lectures on the Sacrament should be ready upon any question concerning it. As he still hung back, Smith proposed one or two arguments, which his party urged and repeated with great applause. Peter

then said that he would not undertake so great a matter without a license from the King. He was assured that all should be done regularly, the points proposed, moderators appointed, notaries present to write down all the arguments. To this he demurred that there was not time to make all these preparations: and at last positively refused the disputation. A tumult then arose: but the crowd was dispersed by the Vice-Chancellor, Wright, who summoned Smith and Martyr before him, to settle the conditions of a future encounter. Great reluctance was still displayed by Martyr. He declined altogether, unless the questions should be proposed in the same order that he had observed in his lectures. This was conceded. Then he declared his abhorrence of scholastic terms, as barbarous and ambiguous. He would only use the words *carnally* and *corporally*, since the Scriptures spake only of the Flesh and Body of Christ, and knew nothing of such terms as *matter* and *substance*: he would have admitted, however, the adverbs *really* and *substantially*.* This also seems to have been allowed. Hereupon he demanded a delay of ten days: and again obtained his petition. But the whole matter was finally deferred for a much longer period, not without the management of Peter, it was thought: and at last it was laid before the Privy Council, who ordered the disputation to be conducted before moderators appointed by themselves. In the interval Smith disappeared. He had been seized by the authorities, perhaps on the

* Wood. "De vocibus corporaliter et carnaliter, quia videntur ambigua, dico me illas accipere: atque si dictum fuisset realiter et substantialiter, neque hoc discrimine facessam negotium disputando. Cur autem adverbia magis derivaverim a nominibus carnis et corporis quam a re et substantia, ea est causa, ut me sacris literis accommodarem, quæ cum sacramenti mentionem faciunt, rei atque substantiæ nomina non habent, sed tantum corporis, carnis, et sanguinis: ideo scripsi corporaliter et carnaliter." Peter Martyr, Præf. ad Disput. *Op.*, 665.

pretext of the tumult in the schools: and kept in prison till he found security for his good behaviour. On his release he fled from Oxford and the kingdom: a course which was found expedient by others of the Old Learning about that time.* It was plain enough that the disputation would not be fairly conducted. The moderators whom the Council appointed were none others than the royal Visitors when they arrived to ravage the University: whose Visitation was opened, as it has been seen, in an official sermon by Peter Martyr himself.

His adversary removed, and some weeks elapsed, the Florentine took the offensive part: and a challenge, affixed to the door of St. Marys', proclaimed his eagerness to meet any champion of the Old Learning. He was gratified: amputation had only favoured growth: and where Smith had been Tresham and Chedsey appeared: Tresham one of the original canons of Christ Church, Chedsey one of the chaplains of Bonner. The lists were set May 28, in the presence of the Visitors, Cox, Holbeach, Haytes, Moryson, Nevison: of whom Cox was president, or chief Moderator. The contest was warm: the credit of Peter was supported at one point by the voluntary zeal of Doctor Cartwright, who interposed some arguments: at another time the reluctant silence of Tresham, who was waiting for some papers, was compensated by the admission of Philip Morgan, a divine whose skill in philosophy had gained him the name of the Sophister. The ardour and the armouries of the combatants were

* Smith seems to have been a man of learning beyond his judgment. In his book on Tradition he maintained positions which seemed to Gardiner to be frantic. See Strype's *Cranmer*. He was, however, very badly used: and there were others among the Oxford residents who now supported him, who had partaken of his sufferings. Cole and Oglethorpe gave him their countenance against Martyr: and Cole and Oglethorpe, like him, had been forced to a former recantation by Cranmer. It must be added that Smith is said by Strype to have been a man of somewhat immoral character.

still unexhausted after four days, when the Moderator called for a cessation, in terms of laudation which left the victory doubtful. "For four half days," said Doctor Cox, "we have listened and admired. Well have ye fought, my countrymen! Your consciences ye have discharged, ye have adorned this Academy. And what has Peter been? Peter has been a rock for firmness, and a martyr in adducing testimonies. But if (as the proverb has it) Hercules should not go against two, what was Peter against all comers?*" He has repressed the vain rumours that he dared not defend his opinion: he has satisfied the expectation of the King and Council. And how quiet all has been! No tumult: all desirous only of the truth. Oh, it has been a Christian velitation! But search the Scriptures, and wander not among Fathers and Councils. That is our advice: and as to these controversies, we pronounce no decision. They are not perchance ended, but deferred, so long as it shall seem good to his royal Majesty and to the prelates of the Church of England." But the swollen passions of the gladiators were not so easily demitted. Both sides, each disputant, claimed the victory: and all, though with various success, strove to record their achievements and draw the ear of posterity. Peter Martyr wrote and sent to the Privy Council a relation of the controversy: which he afterwards republished in his works, admitting and complaining that throughout Oxford he was falsely held to have been put to the worse. "The streets, the houses, the shops, the taps abound with insults against me and my disputation." Peter might be expected to give the advantage to

* Si ne Hercules quidem contra duos, quid Petrus solus contra quoscunque?"—Strype's *Cramm.* App. 44. This seems meant to be ambiguous. According to Sanders, Cox interposed frequently to help Martyr, and finally broke up the conference in haste, lest he should be utterly defeated. But Cox himself, in his final speech, intimates that he had not intervened.

himself: but not even the partial memorial which he composed is the record of the combat that has been hitherto best known to the English reader. A still more partial historian, to whom, chiefly, several generations have looked for the knowledge of the Reformation, so far improved upon Peter himself as to omit all the arguments of Peter's adversaries, preserving Peter only. On the other hand, Tresham, the chief disputant on the other side, lost no time in charging Peter with falsity in his relation to the Council; to whom he sent his own, together with an epistle of wrath. "A scandalous, impudent old madman is here, depraving and subverting the truth. I have disputed with him: and he has published the Disputation, but full of new adjections, inversions, false sentences, and omissions, with calumnious marginal annotations. I therefore send your most honourable Council a true version of the affair, imploring you to let it be published *cum privilegio*." But the Council published not Tresham's relation: and neither the too partial historian, Fox, though the manuscript fell into his hands, nor any of Fox's modern editors, have brought it to light. The like mischance has befallen the other disputant Chedsey. He too composed an account of the Disputation, and it seems likely that he solicited the Council to publish it. Two copies of his manuscript remain: the one, like that of Tresham, among the unprinted collections of John Fox: the other in the dust of a college library. Thus Peter Martyr triumphed, if not in the field, in the cabinet, in the printing office, in the suffrage of history, in the opinion of posterity.*

* Peter Martyr's *Disputatio de Eucharistie Sacramento* was published as soon as possible: and he published it in his works. It has a colophon from the Visitors or Moderators, to say that he had made no alterations: but whether this was in the first edition of it, or added by reason of Tresham's accusations, I cannot tell. He may be supposed to have used the report of the notaries, who were certainly present at

In the sister University the burden of a theologic revolution was not confided to foreign hands : nor is the counterpart of Peter Martyr to be sought in Martin Bucer. It was not until the year was near an end that Bucer departed from the shades of Lambeth, along with the learned Fagius, to his post at Cambridge. He was attended by the mistrustful murmurs of the advanced Gospellers. "The Lord preserve our England from him and Fagius!"—"They will pervert Cranmer, and make him worse."—"If they should both die, England would be happily rid of two men of pernicious talent."—"Bucer is a hireling."—"He dotes on the Eucharist." So cried Burcher or Uttenhovius.* Their aspirations were fulfilled. Fagius died very quickly : nor was the life of Bucer prolonged beyond another year. The latter opened his office of theology at Cambridge in a mild and harmless exercitation : and expressed his disapprobation of the course of Peter Martyr at Oxford.† Ridley, not Bucer, was the equivalent of Peter Martyr ; and, about three weeks after the Oxford Disputation, a similar scene at Cambridge gave scope to his opinions, the disputation. Tresham's Epistle and Relation were not printed at the time. They are among the *Foxii MSS.* in the Harleian Collection, No. 422. The Epistle was published by Strype, *Cran. App.* 46. The relation has never been published. Chedsey's relation is in the same volume in the Harleian Collection : and there is a transcript of it in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford. It has never been published.

* *Orig. Lett.* pp. 61, 583, 651, 662, 666.

† Martyr sent to Bucer the theses which he had maintained at Oxford ; to which the latter proposed some amendments : *Strype*, iii. 190, 325. He also caused Martyr to modify some of the positions in his published Tractatio. "I am as sorry for Master Martyr's Book as any one can be : but that Disputation took place, and the propositions were agreed upon before I arrived in England. By my advice he has inserted many things in the preface whereby to express more fully his belief in the Presence of Christ." To Brentius, May 1550. *Orig. Lett.* 544. It may be presumed that, when he had thus modified Peter's doctrine, he agreed with it : for about the same time he said that he should teach nothing contrary to the opinion of Peter. *Orig. Lett.* 82.

and completed the symmetry of this memorable Visitation of the Universities. At a set digladiation of three days, beginning June 20, the royal visitors or delegates, Ridley, Goodrich, May, the learned Cheke, who was not a refuser of monastic lands, and Windrie the King's physician, presided as moderators: the selected combatants attacked or defended the usual opinions concerning the Eucharist. Ridley, it is true, was a judge not a disputant; he was the presiding Moderator: but he was a judge who interfered continually on one side, overbearing the other, so that he seemed to sustain half the battle. It was perceived or imagined that he went further than Peter Martyr in excluding mutation in the Sacrament, though after all he appears to have maintained the Real Presence. At the end he gave an elaborate "Determination," entirely ignoring the disputants and their arguments, but setting forth at length "what I do think and believe myself, and what others also ought to think of the same."* In this affair several men who afterwards rose high in the Church were engaged, Grindal, Pilkington, Guest, Glin: Dr. Perne, who, like Smith of Oxford, had recanted formerly, argued for the opinions to which he had been converted: while on the other hand the submissive behaviour of the upholders of the Old Learning, and the apologies with which they produced their reasons, gave to the Cambridge disputation some of the appearance of a sham fight.† In these

* One of the disputants, Langdale, afterwards wrote a confutation of Ridley's Determination: "Confutatio Catholica Nicolai Ridlæi Determinationis de Eucharistia." Paris, 1556.

† The joy of Fox, who gives this Disputation in full, has exclaimed, "It is to be noted that Peter Martyr in his answer at Oxford did grant a change in the substances of bread and wine, which in Cambridge by the Bishop Dr. Ridley was denied." But Ridley seems to have held Catholic doctrine: the Real Presence somehow. In one place he says, "I grant that there is a mutation of the common bread and wine spiritually into the Lord's bread and wine, by the sanctifying of them in the Lord's

exhibitions the scholastic philosophy in England made the last struggle and expired. Smith and Tresham, Glin and Langdale, were the last of the schoolmen. The scholastic terms, hitherto familiar in theology, were now refused with open ridicule: for who now comprehended them, or the conceptions which they had embodied? We have seen Peter Martyr at Oxford rejecting the

Word: but I deny that there is any mutation of the substance." In another, "Theophylact denieth it to be a figure, but he meaneth that it is not only a figure." He says, in other places, that in the Sacrament there is no change of substance or accidents, but that the substance acquired new accidents: these he afterwards calls properties: that the substance of Christ is not there, but the properties thereof. "I acknowledge not His real substance to be there, but the properties of His substance." He also said sublimely that the properties of God are God: "What is in God is God." And again, "I do grant it to be Christ's true body and flesh by a property of the nature assumed to the Godhead: yea, and we do really eat and drink His flesh and blood after a certain real property." It has been denied in the present day that Ridley was a Catholic doctor. At all events he was used to be reputed one. His name, and large extracts from his works, head the *Catena of English Divines* who held the Real Presence, which was published in 1855: *Oxford, Parker.* This Cambridge Disputation was managed very orderly.

1ST DISPUTATION, JUNE 20.

New Learning.
Dr. Madew

Old Learning.
Dr. Glin.
Mr. Langdale.
„ Sedgwick.
„ Young.

2ND DISPUTATION, JUNE 24.

Old Learning.
Dr. Glin.

New Learning.
Mr. Grindal.
„ Perne.
„ Guest.
„ Pilkington.

3RD DISPUTATION, THE SAME DAY.

New Learning.
Mr. Perne.

Old Learning.
Mr. Parker.
„ Pollard.
„ Vavasor.
„ Young.

metaphysical terms substance and matter. At Cambridge, Madew the defendant and Ridley the judge in the disputation were equally contemptuous of the "blind glosses" of the schools. In the universities, the broad bosom that had been spread to receive it, the scholastic philosophy had found itself straitened indeed from the beginning of the revolution. In Henry's days Crumwel, as chancellor of Cambridge, had signalised his rule by prohibiting lectures to be given on the doctors who had written upon the Master of the Sentences : * thus excluding the greatest names of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The insults heaped by Crumwel's emissary Layton on the memory of Duns in Oxford, the proudest sanctuary of the Franciscan theology, have been recounted.† Now came the end of all : and this momentous Visitation was justly felt and acknowledged to be the death and burial of Scotus and the Scotists.‡

In the silence of the pulpit, the religious agitation of the age expressed itself upon the stage : and in the infancy of the English drama the scenes, so soon to be shaken by human passions, were too often rent by the rage of contending zealots. The Old Learning appears

* "That neither in the University, nor in any College or other place, should any lecture be read upon any of the doctors who had written upon the Master of the Sentences : that all divinity lectures should be on the Scriptures according to the true sense thereof, not after the manner of Scotus . . . that students in arts should read Aristotle, Rodolphus Agricola, Philip Melanchthon, Trapezuntius, &c. : not the frivolous questions and blind glosses of Scotus, Burleus, Antony Trombet, Bricot, Bruliferius, &c." Cooper's *Cambr.* i. 375.

* Vol. I. p. 303, *huj. op.*

† "Juvenes quidam malæ mentis Scoti et Scotistarum Funus appellantes."—Wood, *Hist. et Antiq.* In the next year John ab Ulmis, a vigilant creature enough, recorded that Duns Scotus and the schoolmen were all driven away by virtue of an oath ministered at Oxford : and that the fathers and the Scriptures occupied their place. *Orig. Lett.* 412. The Scotists are used for all the schoolmen, because they were the peculiar glory of England, as the Thomists of Paris. Duns himself, Bradwardine, Occam, and others, a glorious series, belonged to us.

to have descended to plays and interludes to demonstrate their contempt of the New: but, in this it should be noted that they followed with unequal steps the example of their adversaries. From the opening of the Revolution the reforming faction had resorted to rude ballads, interludes, dialogues, and even plays, for the depravation of the doctrines and observances of the Church: some of their best pens, from Skelton to Bale, had attained an unsurpassable excellency of scurrility. In the booth or tavern such performances might have been endured: but they who indulged in them, taking the hint no doubt from the Mysteries which were still in vogue in some places, invaded the churches, at times by force, mocked the clergy, and burlesqued the rites of religion in front of the very altars on which they were celebrated. Troops of boys were maintained by some to sing against the Sacrament, in ridicule, perhaps, of the choirs in churches: * and to such a length were these profanations carried, that the sanguinary Bishop of London, Bonner, in the late reign, had required, that persons who forcibly entered churches and chapels in his diocese, to perform plays, games, or interludes, should be presented before him. † Now that the Old Learning retaliated too effectively in more proper places, it was time for authority to interfere: a Proclamation ‡ came out, in the middle of the present year, to prohibit all theatrical representations whatever,

* Vol. II. p. 268, *huj. op.*

† That no parson, vicar, or curate permit any manner of common Plays, Games, or Interludes to be played, set forth, or declared within their churches or chapels. . . . And if there be any of your Parishioners, or other persons, that will obstinately and violently enforce any such Games, Plays, or Interludes to be declared, set forth or played in your churches or chapels, to make relation of their names to me, &c.—Bonner's *Injunctions*, *Burn. Coll.* iii. 26. Cf. the remarks of Maitland, *Essays*, p. 258.

‡ This Proclamation was of 6 August: it ordered all playhouses to be closed to All Saints Day, 30 Nov. The cause assigned was that plays were set forth containing "matter tending to sedition, and contemning of sundry good orders and laws: whereby were grown, and daily did grow

for some months: so that in the new liberty, while the pulpit mourned, the stage likewise languished; the booth, the barn, and the playhouse.

Of the pillage and destruction, that were unabated still, a remarkable example was afforded at this time by the Lord Protector. Somerset had entertained for some time the design of building a magnificent palace to transmit to posterity the illustrious ducal title that he had assumed. To pull down Westminster Abbey was his first project; to use the site and the materials, at the same time dissolving the bishopric. But the hasty sacrifice of half their patrimony, which the Dean and Chapter made, averted an act of which posterity, since what has been preserved remains, can estimate how great the enormity would have been. To the Protector's brother, whose head was on his shoulders at the time, they presented twenty manors to secure his intercession: as many more to the Protector himself: and the costly redemption, it is somewhat touching to relate, brought the death of the chief person concerned in making it. The Dean, sometime Prior of the former Benedictine Convent of Westminster, had, at the dissolution of the monasteries, signed away half the possessions of his house. Now, after so brief an interval, to be obliged to part with the moiety of the remnant, it preyed upon his mind: and Benson died soon after of a broken heart.* Of how many bargains, sales, exchanges, alienations, of which the clergy have received the blame, might not the fate of this unfortunate dignitary illustrate the secret history! The baffled ruler, on this grateful repulse, cast his eyes upon a part of the Strand, where a parish church and

and ensue much disquiet, division, tumults, and uproars within the realm." Fuller, who has preserved the Proclamation, says that "the popish priests, though unseen, stood behind the hanging or lurked in the tiring room," and ridiculed "the new religion and the principal patrons thereof," p. 291. It was time to stop all that.

* Heylin.

the houses of three bishops, Worcester, Lichfield and Llandaff, promised a convenient site and large material. He pulled them down to the ground and began his palace on the spot with the ruins. These not sufficing for the spacious design, he returned to Westminster, proposing to destroy St. Margaret's church, and turn the parishioners into the nave of the Abbey Church. No sooner, however, had the workmen begun to erect their scaffolds, than the parishioners assailed and drove them away with stones, clubs, and arrows : nor was the attempt resumed by a revolutionist whose courage never flamed high against resolute opposition. He turned eastward. St. Paul's presented the prey of a cloister, a chapel adorned with a piece of curious workmanship called the Dance of Death, a fair charnel-house, and the chapel thereto adjoining. Them he demolished : he converted the stones, iron, timbers and lead to the use of his mansion : the dead he left to be buried in the fields. His work still requiring more, he blew up the steeple and the greater part of the church of St. John of Jerusalem, which had been splendidly re-edified by one of the latest priors ; and employed all the stones for his purpose. By these extensive acts of sacrilege was reared the first structure called Somerset House : which he who built was never to inhabit.* The further course of the revolution of the rich against the poor may be marked by the various donations in which the Crown parted with more remnants of the monastic and of the collegiate spoil : when may be observed the superior fortunes of the Earls of Bedford and Warwick, of those old monastic partners John Bellow and Sir Michael Stanhope, of Sir John Cheke, and of Sir William Sharington.†

* Heylin. Stow.

† I have got out of Tanner the more remarkable grants of the remaining little monasteries and of colleges about this time :—

The exiled Pole, after his attempt to vindicate himself in the eyes of the son of Henry,* still despaired not of his native country: and followed his epistle to Edward by overtures to Somerset and Warwick. "I am ready to give information," he wrote to Warwick, April 6, "of all which my love to God and my country hath long stirred my mind to communicate: I can do this better in the Council with your aid. I have no particular designment, but only the wealth universal, especially of them that do well." † At the same time he sent two messengers to Somerset: to whom a month later, May 6, he wrote an alarming letter.‡ "I demand," cried he,

2nd Edward VI.

Avebury, Wilts. little mon. *Sir Wm. Sharington.*
 Charleston, Wilts. little mon. *Sir Wm. Sharington.*
 Droitwich, Worcest. Coll. and free chapel, *suppressed.*
 Aulcastre, Yorks. Coll. *Jn. Halse and Wm. Pendres.*
 Beverley, Yorks. Coll. *most of the prebendal houses given to Mich. Stanhope and Jn. Bellow.*
 Egleston, Yorks. Præmonstr. little mon. *Rt. Shelley.*
 St. Peter's Chapel, York. *Thos. Goldnay and Walt. Caly.*

3d Edward VI.

Thorney, Cambr. Bened. great mon. *Site to Earl of Bedford.*
 Wighton, Cumb. Hosp. *Thos. Dalston and Wm. Denton.*
 Polestow, Devon. Bened. nun. little. *Earl of Warwick.*
 Athelington, Dorsets. Hosp. *Sir Mic. Stanhope and Jn. Bellow.*
 Pool, Dorsets. friary, *Jn. Churchill and Wm. Samways.*
 Maidstone, Kent, Coll. *Lord Cobham.*
 Spalding, Lincoln, large Bened. *site to Sir Jn. Cheke.*
 S. Chad's Coll. Shrewsbury; *site to Jn. Smithson and Jn. Chalderton.*
 Tettenhall, Staff. Colleg. Ch. and free chap. *Walt. Wrottesley.*
 Wolfrechester, Warw. Carth. *Ric. Felde, Ric. Woodward.*
 S. Williams Coll. York. *site to Sir M. Stanhope and Jn. Bellow.*

As to the chantries, there is among the *Cecil MSS.* (*Cal.* p. 75), a "Book of incumbents and stipendiary priests of any late college, chantry, or service dissolved, having pensions," Sept. 1549. The total sum of pensions was over eleven thousand pounds.

* Vol. II. p. 527 *huj. op.* † Tytler, i. p. 166 : Vol. II. 529 *huj. op.*

‡ I have not seen this letter which seems to be lost, but have endeavoured to reconstruct it out of Somerset's answer to it, of June 4, which is in the Record Office, *MSS. Dom.* vii. 28. I may add that I had

“a conference with the King or his commissioners! I offer a place indifferent and safe for the purpose. The condition of my country, how truly horrible it is! Knowest thou how horrible, how perilous? The King is a child. Woe to the realm whose king is a child! What examples may be seen of that in your own histories! Think of Henry the Sixth; and of the unhappy end of the children of the Fourth Edward. Think of your own brother, his miserable fall: and let your heart be moved by your own private grief. You are surrounded by the most terrible neighbours, even if you

copied this letter (Somerset to Pole), which is of immense length, believing it to be unprinted: but finding now that Mr. Pocock has printed it, in his new volume of Letters, for the Camden Society, Preface, p. xi, I gladly relieve my pages of it, remarking, 1. That Mr. Pocock has omitted a passage near the end, which was added and then struck out: “And if ye be able further to declare according to the truth of God’s word and good learning, we are not so absolutely wedded to our fantasy, but we would reform that which should be proved to be amiss.” 2. That the passage in which Somerset sends the Prayer Book to Pole seems to be a postscript in his own hand. 3. That the letter adds to the negative evidence as to the Prayer Book having been passed through Convocation. Somerset merely says, “By a common agreement of all the chief learned men in the realm the thing of long time and maturely debated among them which had most opinion of learning in the Scriptures of God, and were likeliest to give least to affection, as well Bishops as other equally and indifferently chosen of judgment, not coerced with superior authority nor otherwise invited, but of a common agreement among themselves, there was first agreement on points, and then the same coming to the judgment of the whole Parliament, not severally divided but all men admitted to the hearing and debating at large, before all states and persons hearing what could be said against it, by one whole consent of the upper and nether house of the Parliament finally concluded and approved, and so a form and rite of service, a creed and doctrine of religion by that authority and after that sort allowed, set forth, and established by act and statute, and so published and divulged to so great a quiet as ever was in England, and as gladly received of all parts.” 4. That Pole wrote a long reply (of which there is an Italian version epitomised in *Brown’s Venet. Cal.*) in which “he accuses Somerset of an impudent lie concerning the agreement of the Bishops on the new Book of Common Prayer, and denial of the popular commotions on this account, noticing how notorious are the dissensions both amongst the Bishops and the people.” *Pocock.*

know it not. There is the Emperor. Think you that he has forgotten the abominable business of the Divorce? He may be moved to invade the realm of England with irresistible power. There are France and Scotland, always your enemies, with whom alone ye find it hard to deal. All may be joined against you: since to all you have given a common cause by your schism from the See of Rome. And above all, what an extreme peril and danger is there in the dissension among your own bishops upon the chiefest points of religion! Think moreover of the private perils both of your King and of yourselves his Councillors. The King's title is ambiguous: now, in his nonage, is the time for to redress the case both of him and of yourselves. Oh, my country, how I love thee! How fain would I return in my old age, and kiss my native soil." To this effusion Somerset returned an elaborate and somewhat contemptuous answer; and in dismissing Pole's messengers sent him a copy of the Book of Common Prayer. The thought was entertained at Rome, it may be added, before the end of the year, of investing Pole once more with the character of legate, and sending him to the Emperor, to the Most Christian King, and to the nation of the English.*

The Bishop of London, from the time when he resisted the Visitation of St. Paul's at the beginning of the reign, had neither courted, and had escaped, the dangers which beset the prelates of the Older Learning. Warned, it may be, by his former ill success, he obeyed in the letter the frequent admonitions of the Reformation: he retired so far as it was possible out of view, and was cautious and taciturn. But he never ceased to be an object of suspicion. The fewness of his

* "Ad Anglos ad unitatem et gremium ecclesiæ redire volentes." See De Monte's letter to Card. Farnese, *ap. Baron. Ann.* Sept. 21, 1549.

sermons, the laxity of his rule, admitting transgressions of uniformity, counterbalanced the inoffensiveness of his demeanour, when in a dangerous time a struggling administration desired an active official in a lofty place. He was in marked contrast with his willing dean, the very busy May. A strict watch was kept: but for long it was impossible to find anything against him. At length it was discovered that though he certainly celebrated Holy Communion according to the new Book at the high altar of his cathedral church, yet in the private chapels of the edifice he permitted certain customary masses to be continued, as the Apostles' Mass, or Our Lady's Mass, disguised under the name of the Apostles' Communion, Our Lady's Communion. The same thing was done, it may be observed, in other churches of the London diocese: * and, as in the new Book the Communion was said to be "commonly called the Mass," it was not an unfair reprisal, it may be thought, to call commonly the Mass the Communion. If Bonner connived at this, it may be observed that he acted but upon the principle of the royal Visitors of the Universities, who had allowed certain masses to remain for the time in the college chapels.† But the same note sounds different on different instruments. Bonner received, June 24, a letter from the Council, ordering such masses to be used no longer: "the same being for the misuse displeasing to God; for the place, Paul's, in

* "The public celebration of the Lord's Supper is very far from the order and institution of our Lord. Although it is administered in both kinds, yet in some places it is celebrated three times a day. Where they used heretofore to celebrate in the morning the Mass of the Apostles, they now have the Communion of the Apostles: where they had the Mass of the Blessed Virgin, they now have the Communion, which they call the Communion of the Virgin: where they had the principal or high Mass, they now have, as they call it, the high Communion." So wrote the vigilant Hooper at the end of this year, Dec. 27. *Orig. Lett.* p. 72.

† Wood says that they allowed to remain the masses *Dominæ* and *Crastinum*.—*Hist. et Antiq.*

example not tolerable; for the fondness of the name, a scorn to the reverence of the Communion." This he properly sent to the Dean and Chapter, directing them to proceed accordingly.* In a month, 23 July, a second missive, longer, of a general tenor, charged him to be diligent in setting forth the new Book, in furthering religion and the King's proceedings, threatening him at the same time with the danger of negligence.† As they still remained unsatisfied, the Council next employed against them the device by which they had succeeded in imprisoning Gardiner. A sermon was the thing. They summoned him before them, administered some "private injunctions" to him; and ordered him to preach a sermon at Paul's Cross upon certain prescribed topics, the unlawfulness of rebellion, the uselessness of ceremonies without inward religion, and the King's power in nonage. A ready-made homily was laid before him, so vigorous and long that he needed to have done little more than rehearse it. He was to preach that rebels deserved not only death but eternal damnation, and to be in the burning fires of hell with Lucifer the father of rebels: that whatever masses or holy water the rebels

* Fox, Heylin, Grey Friars' Chron., 59; Wilkins, iii. 34; Burnet, Cardwell. [Compare the account in Gasquet and Bishop, p. 239.]

† This letter is of importance, as it contains the passage which has been relied on to prove that the First Prayer Book went through Convocation. "Whereas after great and serious debating and long conference of the bishops and other grave and well-learned men in the Holy Scripture, one uniform order for common prayers and administration of the Sacraments hath been and is most godly set forth, not only by the common agreement and full assent of the nobility and commons of the late session of our late Parliament, but also by the like assent of the bishops in the said Parliament, and of all other the learned men in this our realm in their synods and convocations provincial."—Fox, Wilkins, Cardwell. This seems conclusive, but it is not: the plural form "synods and convocations" marks the shuffle. It was never passed by York. In the Act of the Six Articles (31 H. VIII. 14) is a similar instance. Cf. Vol. II. p. 133 note, of this work. Strype in his *Cranmer* says that this letter was sent not only to Bonner, but to all the bishops.

pretended to have among them were but as the sacrifice of Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, who were swallowed down alive into hell : that external ceremonies were but exercises of religion, appointable by superior powers, in which the magistrates were to be obeyed, only valuable so long as inward things were there, such as innocence, humility, knowledge, charity and obedience : that the King by the example of Josiah was to be as well obeyed as if he were thirty or forty years of age. Until the sermon was preached the bishop was confined to his own house, though there was no charge against him.

Unlike Gardiner, the taciturn Bonner has left no kind of record of the transactions against him : transactions of which the strangeness and arbitrariness must now arrest us. The reflective mirror, the resonant plate, by which genius gives back some little of the lights and voices of the age, may well have been wanting to Bonner : or he may have been gifted with indifference to public opinion, the rare quality which, being joined with integrity and intellect, makes up the character of public virtue. Though to another the temptation to vindicate himself from calumny might have been irresistible, though in age and disgrace he survived his active life long enough to have written the memoirs of his times, he wrote nothing : he wrote nothing during the long term of enforced retirement on which he was now about to enter. No person in history has opposed to utter obloquy so profound a silence. We have little to check the hostile representations on which the ill fame of this prelate chiefly rests : but even from 'them it is manifest that Bonner knew how to defend himself under attack as well as to keep silence under reproach. He delivered his sermon, 1 September, before a vast auditory : and was forthwith denounced for it in a formal manner by John Hooper, a formidable name,

who thus enters history,* and William Latimer, the incumbent of St. Laurence, Poultry. The information which they laid bore the proper title of Denunciation, an admitted process in ecclesiastical law: it was a voluntary concerted deposition, of swollen verbiage, to the effect that Bonner had entirely omitted the last point that had been prescribed to him, of the King's nonage: and had not fully declared the other two: but that he had treated of other things "distant and diverse, and such as would move the people into disorder and sedition." The deponents protested that they proceeded from no malice, but out of a loyal zeal for the King. A Commission was issued a week after, 8th September, to examine Bonner on this Denunciation, or on any other matter that might be alleged against him: a curious tribunal, composed of the metropolitan, a bishop, two laymen, and the dean of the see of the examate: Cranmer, Ridley, Sir William Petre, Sir Thomas Smith, and Doctor May: who sat in Lambeth chapel,† and were invested with the curiously combined powers of suspension, excommunication, im-

* Hooper had been giving one of his lectures on the same day. "The Bishop of London preached 1 Sept. at St. Paul's to a most numerous congregation, and maintained with all his might the corporal Presence in the Lord's Supper, which Hooper had strenuously opposed in that day's lecture." Micronius to Bullinger, *Orig. Lett.* p. 557.

† The Denunciation and the other documents connected with Bonner's case are preserved by Fox, who says that he got them and his whole narrative from the original Registers. "The Registers of these affairs of Bonner's remain in the hands of Peter Lillie, then being Register to the foresaid Commissioners." Burnet and Collier, who in the main follow Fox, seem to have overlooked this reference, and to have thought that he got his narrative from Bonner's Register: for Burnet refers to Bonner's Register, and Collier makes the remark that the oaths which Fox puts into Bonner's mouth were not in the Register, *i.e.* in Bonner's Register. Unless therefore we assume that Fox altered his documents most unjustifiably, we must conclude that there were two originals of Bonner's examinations: 1. The Register made by Peter Lillie, and used by Fox. 2. The account inserted by Bonner himself in his own Register.

prisonment, deprivation, or other penalty that might seem good.

Bonner, on appearing before this Commission, September 10, adopted a demeanour which marked his sense of its character. He came in his scarlet habit with his rochet upon it : * he kept on his cap : he made as though he saw not Cranmer the president. When the latter addressed him, "What," said he, "my lord, are you there? Troth I saw you not." Receiving the grieved reply, "You would not see," he answered, "Well, you have sent for me : have you anything to say to me?" The Commissioners, or probably Cranmer of them, beginning to open their business, Bonner interrupted on a word : "My lord," said he, "I would that one thing were more in honour than it is : the blessed Mass. You have written well of the Sacrament : I wonder you do no more honour it." The Archbishop answered with bitter wit that for Bonner to say that his writing was good was to say that he understood it not. "I think I understand it better than you that wrote it," was the reply : and the rejoinder, "I will make a child of ten understand as much therein as you."

Cranmer, like all revolutionists, was fond of attributing stupidity to those who differed from him. As the wrangle proceeded, the metropolitan spoke of the Presence in the Sacrament in so shocking a manner, that the suffragan exclaimed, "Oh, your Grace, I am right sorry to hear you speak those words." † In the end Bonner delivered a written Protestation against

* Grey Friars' Chron., 63.

† Cranmer spoke in the same manner in which Ridley, who sat by him, had formerly called those who spoke "worse than dogs or hogs." Vol. II. p. 483 of this work. Even Fox, who has steeped the whole narrative in his own colours, feels it needful to make for him the apology that he spoke so "somewhat to nip the gross absurdities of the papists."

the competency of his judges, required and received a copy of their Commission, and of the Denunciation; and protested against the two Denouncers, as being of his own clergy, as men of evil repute, and known heretics.

At the second sitting the bench was adorned by Sir Thomas Smith, who had not appeared before in the case. The bishop objected to his presence: that by law the same men ought to continue from first to last. "If that be the law," said Cranmer, "it is an unreasonable law."—"I have forgotten my law," said Secretary Petre, "but the custom of the realm is otherwise." This was true enough: and none knew better than the veteran who had been on every Commission from the beginning of the Reformation, how the process was abused. Commissions of large numbers were issued, and then limited by clauses empowering two or three of all the persons named: and of these, one or other would be absent from time to time. Bonner must have known that three out of the five who were named in the Commission might try him: but he wished to prevent them from relieving one another. Smith, an able but unscrupulous and ill-tempered man, then put in his word. "My lord of London, as cunning as you make yourself in the law; there be others here that know the law as well as you. These be but quiddities and quirks invented to delay matters: but our Commission is to proceed summarily and *de plano*: and to cut off such frivolous allegations."* The bishop then put in a formal answer to the Denunciation: objecting that the two Denouncers were of his own clergy, noted heretics, and thereby excommunicate; that they had made a public uproar against him soon after

* This was true: it ran "to hear the said matter, &c., summarily and *de plano*." These were ecclesiastical processes, and are mentioned, *e. g.* in the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*.

his sermon,* and for these reasons were unfit to be taken in evidence against him, according to the law. "If such a law there be," said Cranmer, "it is the law of the Bishop of Rome. If my cause and matter be good, what should I care who accuse me; yea, although he were the devil of hell?" Bonner said that it was the law of the realm: whereon the Archbishop told him that he was too full of the law: and wished that he had as good a knowledge of God's law. "Seeing your Grace falleth to wishing," said Bonner, "I can also wish many things to be in your person." Smith insolently rejoined that the bishop sought to delay justice by quiddities, like thieves, murderers, and traitors. "Say you so to me?" quoth the bishop, "I thank you. I could say somewhat of you also, were ye not in the place ye be." He went on to object that whereas the two Denouncers declared him to have received certain Injunctions from the King by the hands of the Lord Protector and the Council, he had received none such: that he had received a writing from Smith, but neither signed nor sealed by the King's hand or seal, nor subscribed by any of the Council: and yet that he had complied with the Injunctions, however informally delivered. In proof of this he quoted a large part of his sermon: that he had inveighed against rebellion, and brought in Korah, Aaron, Saul, and the rest: that he had exclaimed against masses and holy water and other ceremonies, as palliatives of rebellion; and that when he spoke about rising against the King, the King's minority was manifest to all. He said that he had spoken specially against the rebels of Devon, Cornwall, and Norfolk, and that, if he

* I cannot say to what "public uproar" Bonner referred: but it is a proof of the tyranny of the times that, after the trial was begun, Hooper was bidden by Cranmer to preach at Paul's Cross, October 22, "and there he spake much against the Bishop of London."—*Grey Friars' Chron.*, 63. Another preacher named Gold did the same a few days afterwards.—*Ib.*

were called in question by heretics, it was not for failing to do what was commanded him, but because that, considering the general contempt of the Sacrament, he had set forth the Catholic doctrine, that therein was the very Body and Blood of Christ.* The Denouncers then handed in a paper of some further Articles: and, the well-known oath *ex officio* to answer truly having been ministered to Bonner, he was asked whether he had written his sermon, and what counsel or advice he had used in making it. That he had not written it, but only certain notes: that he had used his own counsel in making it, and that his chaplains were often without cause suspected of his doings, was the answer: by which the bishop saved Harpsfield, Bourne, and Chedsey, his chaplains, from the trouble.

The third sitting, September 16, was opened by the Denouncers: that all was false that Bonner said against them: that they had not assembled themselves unlawfully against him on the day named by him: neither had the one seen the other until some days after that day: that they were not heretics. They spoke with many solemn asseverations. Bonner plucked Hooper's book on the Sacrament out of his sleeve, and proposed to show him a heretic from his own writings. Hooper trying to speak, the bishop bade him put up his pipes, and read a sentence out of the book, which he said to show Hooper's opinion. The people in the court began laughing at his excited behaviour: whereupon he applied to them his favourite but not very virulent objurcation of woodcocks.†

* Bonner's sermon is said to be preserved among the papers at Hatfield House. *Cal. of Cecil MSS.* p. 80. I regret that I have not seen it.

† Among those who shared in this appellative was Simon Micronius, Hooper's friend, Superintendent of the Dutch Church. "He behaved with so much effrontery and stubbornness (for I was present and saw everything that took place) that you would rather call him a buffoon than a bishop." To Bullinger, *Orig. Lett.* p. 557.

Cranmer told him that it was of no use to try to make the people believe that he was called thither about the Sacrament, but on other matter: and when he attempted to speak again to the people, he was sternly silenced by the Commissioners. Turning to Cranmer, "In one of your books," said he, "you affirm the verity of the Body and Blood of Christ to be in the Blessed Sacrament: in another you have the contrary opinion; which is a marvellous matter:" and he began pulling a book out of his sleeve. Cranmer retorted, as before, that a boy of ten knew more of the Sacrament than the Bishop of London: and that he would defend his books. In truth there was about Bonner an obtuse want of that comprehension that might have understood Cranmer's books: he could not see that contradictions are phases: or at least that if contrary opinions be put in several places by the same author, they are not meant to be brought together.

The other Commissioners interposed: and Bonner proceeded to answer these last Articles of the Denouncers. As these merely repeated the former charges, he repeated his former answers: but added, concerning the King's power in minority, that he had made full notes and collections, of which two of his chaplains were to have reminded him: but that he had lost them at the moment, his memory failing also, and being distracted by having a long bill or declaration handed him into the pulpit to read aloud about a victory over the rebels.*

* Bonner said that this bill "being of some good length confounded his memory." It might well: for it was a long letter in which all the former directions of the Council about his sermon were repeated, and then, *on the third page* of the writing came the order to declare the victory over the rebels. This last order ran as follows. "After our hearty commendations to your Lordship: Forasmuch as Almighty God hath now sent to the King's Majesty victory over his Highness' most unkind and vile traitors, the case being somewhat altered, we have thought good to admonish you thereof, and to will and require you to declare the same to

He added that where he was charged to allow Mass and Evensong in Latin after the old rites, he had ordered his archdeacons and officers to enquire diligently about that, but heard of none, except it were in the house of Lady Mary, or in the houses of the foreign ambassadors. The judges said that his explanation was insufficient, that they would take him *pro confesso*, and yet receive witnesses against him *ex abundante*: and the first witnesses in the case appeared. Among them were Sir John Cheke, and John Joseph the licensed preacher, a former monk of Canterbury; who along with the rest were challenged in writing by Bonner in a very searching manner. He asked them whether they had been present at his sermon, how long they tarried, in what place they sat, and near whom: * with what mind they came to hear: whether they were known sacramentarians or heretics: whether any of them had been

your Audience in your next sermon: And to add to your other instructions this clause herein concluded: warning you not to fail thereof, and to exhort the people to give most due thanks therefore to Almighty God, as appertaineth.

"God Almighty of His most infinite Justice and Mercy hath now declared to all men who can or will take example thereby how much He is displeased with disobedience and rebellion. So that we shall not now need to read old stories, or to hearken what has been done thousands or hundreds years past. For even in our eyes and sights, In our time in this present year, God hath showed His power, will, and most high justice in punishing of rebellion. Both in Devonshire and Cornwall, where the greatest fountain and well was, which is now so punished and subdued, that there is none, as I am informed, of the heads and doers unpunished, or unapprehended ready to punishment. And also in Norfolk, where a most pernicious sort of rebels and traitors were gathered together. Shewing the fruit of rebellion, that is, Spoil, Robbery, Filthiness, and to themselves and their prime utter destruction and perpetual infamy." MSS. Dom. Ed. VI., vol. viii. 37 in Rec. Off. Cf. Lemon's *Cal.* p. 21. The manuscript of Bonner's sermon itself contains a note that the bill about the rebels was sent to him by the Council *the day before*. Cecil MSS., *Cal.* p. 80.

* It is observable that the two Denouncers themselves, Hooper and W. Latimer, nowhere positively said that they had been present at Bonner's sermon.

religious persons, monks, canons or friars, and had become loose. But whether these witnesses gave evidence, or were cross-examined by the bishop, appears not. They vanish from the scene.

By the day of the next session, September 18, the Commissioners, feeling the force of the bishop's exceptions against their authority, had provided themselves with a royal instrument of scope enough. Doubts and ambiguities, the boy was made to say, might arise upon the Commission of the Commissioners: but if it were defective, there should be no ceremony nor delay on that account: let them go on, and do exactly what they liked.* The bishop, notwithstanding, made bold to protest again against the authority of his judges, and their whole manner of proceeding: and went over the whole ground again to show (what was certainly true) that they had no right to hold him *pro confesso*. Cranmer complained of his contemptuous behaviour: "it was indiscreet to call the people woodcocks." Bonner answered sarcastically, that he showed himself "a meet judge": and that he had used so opprobrious a term because he saw the Denouncer Latimer giving the people signs with his hand to say Yea, yea, or Nay, nay, and to laugh at him. This Latimer denied: that he only raised his hand for silence. Then Smith likened the bishop to the rebels: that as they rejected letters and pardons, saying that they were gentlemen's doings,

* "Doubts and ambiguities have and may arise: as, whether you may proceed not only at the Denunciation, but also by mere office: and whether ye may as well determine as hear the said cause. . . . We do now interpret and declare that ye should proceed as well by mere office as by way of Denunciation, and by either, and by any other ways and means at your discretions; and as well determine as hear, cutting away all superstitious delays. . . . We send this declaration, supplying all default, ceremony or point of law which shall or may arise in your doings by any default of words in our said former Commission," &c. Rymer, Wilkins, Cardwell, &c.

made under a bush, not sent by the King and Council, so he denied the validity of the proceedings against him. The judges then administered another oath, and a new set of Articles concerning the old grounds of censure, and brought in fresh witnesses, Sir John Mason, Sir Thomas Chaloner, William Cecil, Armigal Wade and William Hunnings, clerks of the Privy Council. Through them they designed to bring in the bishop *pro confesso*. The bishop, still protesting the nullity of their receiving and swearing, exhibited the same interrogatories that he had put in against the former witnesses. He also laid an information for concealment of treason against William Latimer, who, on his own testimony, had heard but not denounced certain persons speaking irreverently of the King, saying that he was a babe fitter for bread and milk than making laws. Nay, he went further, and charged the Commissioners themselves with concealment of treason: who, when Latimer recited this before them, neither controlled him, nor made him denounce the offenders. Thus the imputation of lawlessness was passed from side to side.

The next day Bonner was unable to attend through sickness, and sent his servants to make his excusation. Smith sent them back with a severe message: that if their master thought to play the part of a new Becket, he might fortune to be made shorter by the head: that if he appealed, it must be to the same King who had made them judges, and to the Council: with what result there could be no doubt. This was very true: but Smith gave both counsel and judgment, if he knew that Bonner was about to appeal. On the following day the bishop appeared, and delivered his answer to the last Articles: with a protestation that he meant to answer only as he was bound by the laws of the realm; and not to say contrary to his former answers; which if he

had by chance done, he revoked, saying now as then, and then as now. He added however a more explicit declaration of his opinion that the King had power in minority: and a formal exception or recusation of Sir Thomas Smith, on the ground that he was incompetent to judge him, being his open and notorious enemy, who had shown him malice throughout the proceedings, and among other words had likened him to thieves, murderers, and traitors.* “I said it, and say it again,” answered Smith, “since we may perceive it by your doings: and I will be your judge still, until I be otherwise inhibited.” The bishop retorted that, as Smith was a King’s Commissioner, Secretary, and Councillor, he revered him: but as he was Sir Thomas Smith, “I say ye lie upon me, and I defy you.” The others told him that he deserved imprisonment for his behaviour. “Send me where you will,” said the bishop, “except ye send me to the devil, for thither I will not go for your commandment. Three things I have: a small portion of goods, a carcase, and a soul: the two first ye may have, though unjustly: the other ye get not, for I commit it to the hands of God.” Smith told him that he should know that there was a king. “Yea,” said the bishop, “but that is not you.” Smith answered that they would make him know who it was: and they ordered him to depart the chamber, while they consulted.

Outside the door, while he waited, the bishop told his chaplains not to look sad. “My trouble,” said he, “is for God’s cause, and I am merry and of good comfort. What grieveth me is that Hooper and such vile heretics are licensed to preach in my diocese, and in their preachings to rail at the blessed Sacrament of the altar, and poison my flock. I will live and die, and am

* The whole of this document is well worth reading: it is in Fox.

ready to suffer death in the opinion that the verity and presence of Christ's Body and Blood is there. As ye are Christian men I charge you to go to the Mayor and Aldermen of London, and pray them, when such detestable heretics do come to preach to them, that they depart out of the place, and do not hear them, lest they both hurt themselves and encourage others. I require and charge you to do this." Perceiving some of the Archbishop's gentlemen listening, he charged them also to report all such erroneous preachers to their master, and to advertise him of the speeches which they had now heard.

When he was recalled, he delivered a written Appellation from the Commission to the King, which was drawn up certainly in a very vigorous and lucid manner.* "I appeal," said he in effect, "To the supreme Prince who gave me my bishopric, against men who would harass me in it." The Commissioners however, disregarding this, proceeded to examine his answer to their last Articles, requiring some further explanation: while Bonner maintained that he was not bound to answer more, nor would, so long as Secretary Smith sat there.

* This document deserves to be read at length in Fox. The pith of it is as follows. "Though I, Edmond Bonner, attained my bishopric by the benevolence of Henry VIII., and was lawfully elected and translated to it, with its rights and appurtenances, and have since possessed the same in peace, keeping residence and hospitality, and exercising my pastoral office as the laws require: a man of good fame and name, neither excommunicate, suspended, interdicted, nor criminous: always obeying readily the commandment of the Church, and other my superiors in all lawful causes; nevertheless fearing upon certain probable causes, likely conjectures, threatenings, and assertions of certain injurious men my enemies, or at the least such as little favour me, that great damage may come to me on the premises, or part of them; and lest any man by any authority, commandment, denunciation, inquisition, office, or at the request of any person or persons, may attempt prejudice or hurt to me in my said dignity either by my excommunication, interdiction, sequestration, spoiling, vexing, and perturbing by any manner of means: do appeal," &c.

Smith threatened him that if he persisted in that course, they would take other order with him to his pain. Bonner answered that Smith was ignorant of the law, and that he would not answer otherwise than as the law compelled him. Smith then committed him to the Marshalsea for contempt: and bade the officer keep him so that no man might come to him, or that he should sit by him himself. The bishop made answer that it would have become Smith to have left this to his Grace of Canterbury, who was first in the Commission, and Smith's better. As he was led off, he added that he required no favour at Smith's hands: that he might put bolts on his heels and iron round his body, if he would. To Cranmer he said, "I am sorry that I, being a bishop, am thus handled at your Grace's hand: but more sorry that ye suffer abominable heretics to practise as they do in London and elsewhere, infecting and disquieting the King's liege people. I require you to abstain from this, or I will accuse you before God and the King."

There were two other sittings of the Commission upon Bonner; in which the same scenes of recrimination were repeated. He stuck to his exceptions, protestations, recusations, and appellations: and was not to be beaten out of them: saying that unless he had been brought from prison by force he would not again have appeared before judges who both had put him there and yet commanded him to make answer. He was then declared to be contumacious and guilty or *pro confesso* on the Articles to which he had not fully answered: and the formal sentence of deprivation was pronounced upon him. He instantly declared the sentence to be *lex nulla*; but, so far forth as it appeared to be *aliqua*, he appealed against it as *injusta et iniqua*: and demanded whether he were to go back to prison. It

was answered that as his behaviour argued greater treason than his judges had known in him, they would not discharge him. He returned to the Marshalsea, from which he issued several petitions to the King and Council: but his appellation to the King, though he got it heard, brought no redress.*

This, the first great ecclesiastical cause since the first Act for Uniformity, has attracted less notice in history than it might. It is seldom that four such notable characters as Bonner, Cranmer, Ridley and Hooper, to say nothing of Smith, have been so closely engaged: never four who were destined so signally to exchange the parts which now they played. Politics and personal feeling partly obscured the ecclesiastical bearings of the case: but still we may see in it some of the features which have marked ecclesiastical cases since the Reformation. The mixture of two incompatible systems of law is discernible; and the difficulty of getting justice out of law in ecclesiastical cases. The victim, it is true, was of higher degree than most of those who enter courts or undergo commissions: but he was denounced by the voluntary zeal of a couple of bitter fanatics: he denied the competency of his judges: every plea that he urged was treated with ridicule: his contempt of court produced imprisonment without term. On the other hand, his judges renewed and interpreted their powers in going along: and this, though monstrous in itself, was the mark of a scrupulous anxiety which has scarcely been needed since: and the charges laid against him accumulated deprivation upon imprisonment, a complication which has seldom been witnessed. The vigour and address of Bonner were great: but throughout the

* In the Marshalsea Bonner was made to lie eight nights in straw with a coverlet, in the month of January, the marshal having taken away his bed, because his prisoner refused to give him a present of ten pounds. *Grey Friars' Chron.* 65.

proceedings there was the evident determination to prevail against him by whatever means: and all was foregone from the first.*

The troubles of the Lady Mary concerning her Mass, a contemptible episode in the history of Uniformity, began early, and recurred throughout her brother's reign. As soon as the English service was confirmed by the Act, Mary was required by the Council to adopt it, instead of the Latin Mass which was celebrated in her household. The faithful daughter of Katharine gave them thereupon her opinion of their doings with great plainness of speech. "I see men, whom my Father made from nothing, take usurped power upon them. He put them in trust, they were sworn upon a book, to execute his Will: and they have broken his Will, and made laws contrary to it, contrary to the customs of all Christendom, contrary to the law of God and the Church. But if you have forgotten my Father, neither God nor nature suffer me to forget him. I will keep his laws, as he left them, until my Brother come to years of discretion: who will then receive my obedience better than the doings of those who take a piece of his power upon them in his minority. You all consented to my Father's laws, and at the time you seemed to all outward appearance to like them very well: and now ye find fault in me for keeping what ye then allowed. You found no fault with those among you who ran half a year before that which ye call a law, and before the bishops came together. Surely I should have as much pre-eminence to continue in keeping a full authorised and impartial law, as they had to break that law, and to use alterations of their own invention, which were contrary both to it and to that which ye

* Strype has given an account of Bonner's trial, but he merely follows and abridges Fox. *Cran.* bk. ii. ch. xi.

now call a law.”* The Council again required her to conform: and to send to them the comptroller of her household, and her chaplain.† Mary refused to do either, repeating her expostulations, and desiring to be left in peace with her conscience: as for her comptroller, she could not spare him, and her chaplain was sick. A more peremptory mandate, and a fiercer remonstrance followed: and then the chaplain, Doctor Hopton, appeared before the Council: to whom he affirmed that he allowed the earlier liturgy of the reign, the Communion Office of the former year. They gave him a written answer to his lady's letters: in which, after the manner of the polemical writers of the age, they took her allegations parcel by parcel:‡ and sent him back

* Ellis, i., ii. 161. The letter is undated, but must have been written at this time. The expression “before the bishops came together” seems to refer to the meeting of the Windsor Commission about the Prayer Book.

† The entry as to these things in the MS. Privy Council Book is as follows. “Sunday, 16 June. Upon information, made to the Lord Protector's Grace and the Council, that the Lady Mary's Grace, contrary to the King's Majesty's proceedings and the laws of the realm established in that behalf by the last Act of Parliament, did use and have Mass said openly in her house, refusing to have there celebrate the service of the Communion; whereby it appeareth to his Grace and their lordships it might be thought she might seem to the world to disallow and be offended with the proceedings of the King's Majesty her brother. Their lordships wrote to her Grace in that behalf, giving to her advice to be conformable and obedient to the observation of his Majesty's laws, to give order that the Mass should be no more used in her house, that she should embrace and cause to be celebrated in her said house the Communion and other divine services set forth by his Majesty: and that her Grace would send to the said Lord Protector and Council her comptroller and Doctor Hopton her chaplain, by whom her Grace should be advertised from their lordships more amply of their minds, and advised to both her contentation and honour.” Fox gives the letters. Strype (iii. 239) adds many particulars.

‡ Fox. This answer seems to have been prepared beforehand, since it was dated June 14, and to have been continued down to Mary's last letter, which was of June 27. It is remarkable as containing a declaration that the Act for Uniformity was “by long study, free disputation, and *uniform determination of the whole Clergy*, consulted, debated, and concluded.” This may be added to the authorities cited by those writers

with instructions which they commanded her to obey.* About the same time information was received which seemed to implicate Mary with the great risings of the commonalty. Her retainers were said to attend seditious assemblies: the priest of Sampford Courtney was said to be one of her chaplains: her receiver, Pooley, to be a leader of the rebels of Suffolk, where her house was situated: another of her gentlemen, named Arundel, to be active in their cause. Of this they wrote to complain, 18 July, adding that her incomppliance in religion gave countenance to the disturbances. Mary instantly vindicated her servants, 20 July: denying that she had either chaplain or other acquaintance in Devon, that Pooley went among the rebels, that Arundel, who lived near London, ever did more in those parts than wait on her house. For herself she said that her proceedings gave no courage to the insurgents, for that all the rising in those parts was touching no part of religion: that it was rather their alterations and unlawful proceedings that gave occasion to the commotions.† On this the King her brother was made to write to her, marvelling that she refused the Book of Common Prayer, but giving her a dispensation to have private service in her chamber.‡

who hold that the First Prayer Book of Edward went through Convocation.—Joyce's Engl. Synods, 471.

* "We have heard your chaplain, Dr. Hopton; and in like manner informed him for the declaration of such things as we have instructed him to utter unto you; whom we require your Grace to credit therein accordingly." July 7.—Strype.

† Strype: Lemon's *Cal. Domest.* p. 20.

‡ This permission was ascribed to the softness of Somerset, and said to have been used by Warwick against him. The former "gave her license to attend Mass and have access to her sacrificing knaves," said John of Ulm to Bullinger; but Warwick was very angry with him, and said, "The Mass is either of God or of the devil: if of God, all ought to have it: if not, as we are taught by the Scriptures, why should not the voice of this fury be equally prescribed to all?" *Orig. Lett.* p. 439. As this Dispensation bears affirmatively on the question whether the First Prayer Book went through Convocation, and seems not to have been

The foreign policy of the Protectorate had failed everywhere. The daring conveyance of the young

printed, I give it. There are three copies in the Record Office, one a fragment, the other an unsigned draft, the third a modern copy of this, endorsed "not sent." It runs thus: "Most dear and entirely beloved Sister, we greet you well. And where after long and serious debating and conference of sundry grave and well learned prelates, and other learned men in the Holy Scriptures, we have by the advice of our dearest uncle and the rest of our Privy Council, *with one full and whole consent both of our clergy in their several synods and convocations*, and also of the noblemen and commons in the late session of our Parliament, established by the authority of our said Parliament one godly and uniform order for Common Prayer, to be used in the Church, as well as the celebration of the most blessed Communion as at the administration of all other Sacraments, service, and ceremonies to be used in any part of this our realm, or other our dominions, with charge to all our subjects to use the said order only, and none other, in any their common and public prayers, or administration of the Sacraments, upon such pains and penalties as in the said statute more fully appeareth. Forasmuch as the premises have been foreseen, considered, debated, and set forth *with one agreement of all the states of our realm*, and by the authority of our said Parliament as is aforesaid, we have somewhat marvelled, and cannot but still marvel very much, what grounds or reasons have or do move you to mislike or refuse to follow and embrace that which by all the learned men of our realm hath been so set forth, and of all other our loving subjects obediently received. And yet, knowing your good nature and affection towards us, we cannot think any other matter in this your refusal than only a certain grudge of conscience for want of good information or conference with some godly well learned men: for remedy whereof, like as we have heretofore appointed to be declared unto you that we were pleased to appoint any such of our prelates or other learned men as we might understand by your suit to be most agreeable unto you, so do we now eftsoons signify the like unto you by these our letters. And in the mean time for the good affection and brotherly love which we bear toward you, we have thought good in respect of your weakness to dispense both with you and your chaplain or chaplains and priests, for the hearing and saying, or causing to be read or said, any other service or common prayers than be set forth and agreed upon by our said statute, so as the same service, for fear of seducing of other our loving subjects, be used and said in your private closet or chamber, and in the presence of yourself and such ladies, gentlewomen, and other your servants of your own family, only not exceeding the number of twenty, as you shall thereunto appoint: whose names by you so to be appointed we require you to cause to be immediately signified unto our said uncle and Council, to the intent order may be given for their charge accordingly." August. MSS. Dom. Ed. VI., vol. viii. pp. 51, 52, 53. Lemon's *Cal.* 22.

Queen of Scots to France, her betrothal to the Dauphin, frustrated the hope of the union of the crowns of England and Scotland, while the fall or abandonment of the strongholds, which were designed to have exposed the heart of a defeated nation to the occasional visits of an invader, betrayed the weakness of England on her own borders at the moment when her relations with the Continent were most precarious. France, which had succoured Scotland, now resolved to wrest from the grasp of her ancient enemy the keys which opened her own territory. A long-impending war was proclaimed. Boulogne, the last acquisition of Henry the Eighth, was attacked: the surrounding forts were captured, and the town itself was closely invested. To purchase peace with both countries by surrendering what could no longer be held was the prudent proposition of the Lord Protector: a proposition which, savouring of ignominy, was rejected by the rest of the Council, and used against him by the malcontents among them, who were bent upon his ruin. The Protector turned to the Emperor. To Brussels, where the Imperial court lay, he despatched in the summer his only friend, the trusty Paget, faithful as yet, to assist the resident ambassador Hoby in renewing the former alliance that was concluded between Charles and Henry.* The intelligent comrades perused the venerable document in the company of the Imperial counsellors: with them they wrangled over the various stipulations: and, though they failed to resuscitate the compact, one or two of the points raised by the contention may be of the lasting importance that warrants the notice of history. The hollow obsequiousness of Somerset, the most facile, the most disappointing of public men, was found to have passed the boundaries of the seas, and to be

* As to that, see Vol. II. pp. 299, 353 *huj. op.*

celebrated in the Empire. "No justice can be got from England in the redress of injuries," exclaimed the Imperialists. "Where is justice denied?" asked Paget. "You use no justice at all," was the answer, "your nation are thieves upon the sea: our subjects cannot get justice in England."—"Would you arrest a whole nation on one knave mariner's complaints?" said the English envoy. "It has never been seen that justice was denied: but when one of your subjects thinks himself aggrieved, he runs to Monsieur le Protecteur; and he, setting aside all the King's affairs, must attend to Monsieur le Mariner; or else the latter runs home with the open cry that there is no justice in England! You yourselves would have a goodly office to attend to every man's private business. You would not do it. You would send all such to the ordinary justice: and in like manner your subjects ought to go to the ordinary justice, that is, the Admiralty."* At a certain stage in all revolutions the same thing may be seen: the high power undertaking everything, and disappointing everybody. On another point both parties were of one opinion: the superiority of the prerogatives both of the Emperor and of the King of England over that of their less powerful brother the French King. France, which the great English lawyers of former ages had considered the example of a miserable slavery, appeared now to German and Englishman alike the home of freedom, a country in which despotism was not unchecked. "The French King," the Imperialists remarked, "can give no part of his patrimony, nor bind his country without his Parliament of Paris, and his three Estates: the King of England and the Emperor have a greater prerogative." Two or three long conferences were held, and many

* Somerset's Court of Requests, which he held in his own house, diverted many suitors from the ordinary courts.

civilities passed, but the alliance was not renewed : and Paget, who ever watched with anxiety the course of the Protector, returned home to witness his fall.*

The fall of Somerset had been inevitable for a year, but, like all catastrophes, it seemed sudden at the last. A significant portent announced it. The Earl of Southampton, Wriothesley, the reputed leader of the Old Learning, one of the original executors of the Will of Henry the Eighth, who had been dismissed the Council that the Will might be laid aside and the Protectorate set up, reappeared at the Council Board. He came mindful of his former injury, desirous perhaps to head a religious reaction, but destined only to subserve the dark and dangerous Warwick, and to be remitted to obscurity.† However his services to Warwick were

* The instructions of Paget, and the letters sent home by him and Hoby jointly, were first printed by Burnet. *Coll.* i. 39, 40, 41. Burnet, to whom we owe the observation that "the most remarkable passage in their conversations was concerning the limitations of the French crown and the freedoms of the English," adds that "the prerogative of the King of England at that time was judged to be of that extent that in a letter written from Scotland, one of the objections against marrying their Queen to the King of England was that an union with England would much alter the constitution of their government, the prerogatives of the King of England being of a far larger extent than those in Scotland."

† "When Wriothesley, Arundel, and Southwell conspired with the ambitious and subtle Alcibiades of England, the Earl of Warwick, to pull down the good Duke of Somerset, King Edward's uncle and protector, out of his authority, and by forging a great many of false letters and lies to make the Protector hated, brought to pass Warwick's purpose, who then for a while but they three? Wriothesley, that before was banished the court, is lodged with his wife and son next the King. Every one repaireth to Wriothesley, honoureth Wriothesley (as the Assyrians did to Haman), and all things as done by his advice : and who but he? Arundel is promised to be next the King, groom of his stool, or controller of his hose at the least. Southwell, for his whisking and double dealing, must be a great counsellor in any wise. But what was the end? The Earl, as crafty as the rest, seeing that his desire should not take place, if these men might have that they hoped for, so handleth matters that Wriothesley is fain in the night to get him out of the court to his own house : whereupon narrow examination ; fearing lest he should come to some open shameful end, he either poisoned himself, or pined away for

not small. He and the Lord Chancellor, Rich, uttered speeches which came abroad, and were echoed widely. The glory of everything was ascribed to Warwick: to Somerset the disasters, the failures, the disgrace. At the beginning of October the party of Warwick had their headquarters in London, where they took possession of the Tower, displacing the Lieutenant by one of their own adherents.* Somerset, who could not be said to have a party, was at Hampton Court with several of the Council. It was at that moment that the brief and bloodless struggle of eleven days was begun, which ended the Protectorate. The lords in London, who were augmented daily by fresh accessions, relied on their position and the aid of the city.† Somerset held the person of the King, round which he made a futile attempt to rally the country. With him happened to be Cranmer, Cecil, Paget, Smith, Petre, Thynne: but none of them were bound to him rather than to his enemies: none were attached to him by friendship, unless it were Paget and Cecil, and perhaps Cranmer. Both parties strove to raise the dangerous cry of treason: and both bid for the army, which lay in the West under Russell and Herbert. The first disruption of the worst cabal that ever governed England need not delay the reader intimately: but the inability of Somerset, who on the first of October began the struggle by giving his enemies warning, who on the morning of the sixth

thought. Southwell is committed to the Fleet, where being examined, he confesseth enough to be hanged for, and had gone near it, had not his examiners, upon hopes of his amendment breaking out of his eyes, but not out of his heart, obtained the Earl's favour. And at the Earl's suit, Arundel hath his head with the axe divided from his shoulders." So expatiates the eminent moralist Ponet, in his *Short Treatise of Politic Power*.

* Grafton.

† The perplexity however of the city, what side to take, was great: Grafton gives a curious account of the scene in the Guildhall, when their aid was demanded by both parties: p. 528.

ordered Hampton Court to be defended with rampires, and fled in the evening to Windsor with the King, and who submitted to be taken on the eleventh, was conspicuous throughout. The perfidy or prudence of Petre, whom he sent as a messenger to the lords in London, but who returned not again, might also be observed: the independence or duplicity of Cranmer, Smith and Paget, with whom the lords constantly maintained a separate correspondence: and the treachery or benevolence of Paget, who sent his servant with a private message to the lords, that the person of the Duke might be apprehended with much ease.* Somerset fell, as he had tried to stand, alone. The victorious faction hastened to justify themselves to the nation, and to foreign courts, on the very day of his arrest, by a Proclamation, in which they alleged against him the disorders of his government, by which themselves had profited, the usurpation to which they had consented, and the hiring of mercenaries from which proceeded their own safety. In some Articles, which they addressed to the Duke himself, they were more frank in assigning the real cause of his fall. "You rebuked and taunted us both privately and openly, when we spoke to you of public affairs: you discharged prisoners: you had a Court of Requests in your own house: you made great work about enclosures: you told the people that the gentlemen were the only cause of dearth: when the people rose, you suffered them to gain head, and you manifestly favoured them." †

* The unknown Franciscan, the last of the religious chroniclers, who continued for his own use, after the dissolution of the religious houses, the Chronicle of Grey Friars, to whom we owe so many vivid touches of the times, and who must have remained living close to the old seat of his order, has observed that Somerset by his own request entered London as a prisoner by St. Giles in the fields, to avoid the sight of the churches that he had begun to pull down to build his own palace.

† These Articles, twenty in number, are in Fox. A curious little

On the meeting of Parliament the fallen Protector was examined in the Tower by a committee : he sub-

literary history belongs to them. 1. Fox, who printed them, dishonestly suppressed the tenth, or part of it, viz. the words, "Also you are charged that you have divers and many times, both openly and privately, said and affirmed that the nobles and gentlemen were the only cause of the dearth of things : whereby the people rose and did reform things themselves." 2. Strype, who detected the judiciousness of Fox, does two curious things on his own behoof. He takes the Articles to refer to the second fall of Somerset, though Fox had put them plainly enough in the middle of his account of the first fall : and he is so anxious to criminate the luckless Gardiner, as on every occasion, that he declares that the Articles were drawn up by him : that they are (he thinks) in his handwriting ; and that he was the real author of Somerset's tragedy. Poor Gardiner !—Strype's *Craun.*, bk. ii. ch. xxvi.

The documents discharged in the paper war in which Somerset fell, are nearly all preserved in the ninth volume of MSS. Dom. of Edw. VI., and in the Acts of the Council, edited by Mr. Dasent. Some of them have been printed by Fox, Burnet, and Tytler : one or two by Strype, and by Mr. Froude. I have arranged all, with the help of Lemon's Calendar of the MSS. Dom., adding the authors where those that have been printed may be found.

- 1 Oct. Proclamation : for all loving subjects to repair to Hampton Court to defend the King and the Lord Protector.—*Hampton Court.* (Tytler, i. 210.)
- 5 — The same to all justices of the peace.
- 5 — Warrant to Sir H. Seymour to raise men and defeat a conspiracy. —*Hampton Court.* (Partly in Tytler, p. 213.)
- 5 — Somerset orders Golding to assemble the Earl of Oxford's servants, to rescue the King.—*H. C.* (Tytler, p. 212.)
- 5 — He desires Russell and Herbert to come with their servants. —*H. C.* (Pocock's Troubles of Prayer Bk. 78.)
- 6 — He writes to Russell and Herbert again, describing the conspiracy that had risen against the King.—*H. C.* (Fox.)
- 6 — He writes to them again, and sends his son to inform them in what state the King was.—*H. C.* (Tytler, p. 213.)
- 6 — He writes to Sir H. Seymour to come up.
- 6 — The King writes to them to bring up all their forces.—*H. C.* (Tytler, p. 214.)
- 6 — The King writes to them again to hasten : the conspirators give out that the Protector has sold Boulogne.—*H. C.* (Tytler, p. 214.)
- 6 — Council in London. Directions to declare the treasons of Somerset, and repair to London. (Fox.)
- S. d. Address to the people of England not to be misled by traitors against the Protector. *Endorsed* "A seditious bill found in London." (Tytler, p. 208.)

mitted himself entirely, confessed on his knees all the Articles laid against him, was deprived of all his offices,

S. d. Another address to the people for Somerset. (Tytler, p. 210.)

— A device to send letters to raise men for him.

7 Oct. King to bailiffs of Uxbridge, to bring up all their forces to Windsor.—*Windsor*.

7 — Somerset to Council : marvels that they keep Petre and return no answer to his message : is willing to grant all reasonable conditions.—*Windsor*. (Fox, Tytler, p. 215.)

7 — Council to King : Have heard Petre's message : want to get rid of Somerset.—*London*. (Burnet, *Coll.* i. 41.) Dasent's Acts, 333.

7 — Council to Sheriffs : Somerset's treasons.—*London*. (Fox, and substance of it in Grafton.)

7 — Council to justices : to the same effect. ?

7 — Council to Cranmer and Paget at Windsor. Let Somerset leave the King, disperse his forces, and submit.—*London*. (Ellis, i. ; ii. 166.) Dasent's Acts, 335.

8 — Russell and Herbert to Somerset : sorry for dissensions : dislike Somerset's Proclamation.—*Andover*. (Tytler, i. 216 ; Froude, v. 239.)

8 — King to Council : Somerset means no harm ; encloses Articles offered to the King by Somerset. *Windsor*. Tytler, i. 220 ; the Articles in Burnet (*Coll.* i. 42).

8 — Somerset to Warwick : to remember their old friendship.—*Windsor*. (Stow.)

8 — Cranmer, Paget and Smith to Council : assert their own loyalty : Somerset willing to resign.—*Windsor*. (Tytler, i. 223.)

8 — Smith to Petre. Be moderate : let not the realm be the scene of a double tragedy in one year.—*Windsor*. (Tytler, i. 228.)

8 — Council to sheriffs and justices : to levy no forces unless on Council's signature : the King's seal abused by Somerset.—*Lond.* (Pocock, 92.)

8 — Lord Morley to Council : ready to defend the King at a moment's warning.—*Mark Hall*. (Pocock, 92.)

9 — Russell and Herbert to Council : have stopped all the Western forces from going to Somerset's aid : the country in a roar.—*Wilton*. (Tytler, p. 231.)

9 — Council to Mary and Elizabeth : hope they will not adhere to such a man as Somerset.—*Lond.* (Tytler, p. 248.)

9 — Council to King. All trouble comes from Somerset. Let the King call them to him, and send away Somerset's forces. (Burnet, *Coll.* i. 43.) Dasent, 337.

9 — Council to Cranmer and Paget. Be careful not to let the King be removed : they were not cruel.—*Lond.* (Burnet, *Coll.* i. 44 ; Ellis, i., ii. 169 ; Tytler, p. 238.) Dasent, 340.

9 — Smith to Petre : he is in a difficult position.—*Windsor*. (Pocock, 106.)

and subjected to a heavy yearly fine. But extreme severity was not intended: the fine was remitted, the Duke was soon allowed to appear again in the Council, and the marriage of his daughter Anne with Lord Lisle, the son of Warwick, seemed to close the feud between the former rivals. Some of his followers, Cecil, Smith, Thynne, Wolf, and Stanhope shared his brief imprisonment: and Smith, Thynne and Stanhope were compelled to refund some thousands of pounds which they had embezzled.* On the other side, Southampton and Arundel, who may have expected from Warwick a religious reaction, were dismissed the Council, while the rest of the winners of the game proceeded to reconstitute and reward themselves. A new Council of regency was formed, in direct violation of the Will of Henry the Eighth. To those who had opened their purses most freely for the suppression of the late risings, warrants were issued which quickly enabled them to recover their expenses. They might sell bullion to the Mint, get it debased about a third, and take the profits instead of the Crown. So favoured were Herbert, Russell, Warwick, Arundel, Southampton, Northampton, Paget, Dorset,

10 Oct. Cranmer, Paget, Smith to Council: can explain the word cruelty: will take care of the King. (Burnet, *Coll.* 45; Ellis, i., ii. 171; not in the MSS. nor in Privy Council Book.)

10 — Proclamation by Council against seditious bills. (Pocock, 108.)

10 — Council to Paget: thanks for the message of Bedyll his servant, and as Somerset can be easily apprehended, it had better be done. (Ellis, ii., i. 174; not in the MSS. but in the Cotton Calig. R. vii. 410.)

11 — Minutes of Somerset's whole doings, addressed by Council to ambassadors. (Froude, v. 227.) Pocock, 113.

11 — Cranmer, Paget, Wingfield to Council. Arrest of Somerset.—*Windsor.* (Tytler, p. 243.)

11 — Council to all. Stay your forces; the King is safe, and Somerset in custody. (Strype, iii. 287.)

* Froude, v. 261. A charge of peculation was also brought against Arundel, apparently on slender grounds; though he confessed and submitted to be fined.—*Edward's Journal*: Strype, iii. 305.

the Wentworths, Darcy, Clinton, Cobham, Huntingdon, and the Duchess of Richmond. These persons were said to have contributed a hundred thousand pounds to the civil war: to repay them a hundred and fifty thousand pounds in base silver was launched into circulation.* Nor were honours and titles denied: nor emoluments not permitted to rise in proportion with dignities. Thus Warwick was made Earl Marshal: St. John was created Earl of Wiltshire and Lord Treasurer: and Northampton Great Chamberlain. Russell received the title of Earl of Bedford: Wentworth with the office of Chamberlain of the Household acquired from the see of London the vast manors of Stepney and Hackney. Paget was made baron, and gained the London house of the Bishop of Exeter, and much booty from the see and the chapter of Lichfield. Wingfield became comptroller in the place of Paget.†

In the session, which was begun November 4, the first care of the victorious faction was to provide for their future safety against all such gatherings of the people as might lead to insurrection by a statute making it high treason for twelve persons or more, assembled together, to attempt to kill or imprison any of the Council, or to alter laws: and treason or felony for them to continue together being commanded by proclamation to disperse. Under this statute (it may be observed) it was that Somerset finally lost his life two years later.‡ It soon appeared that no political reaction was to be expected from Warwick, though in his heart he was a partisan of the old religion. The bishops ventured, on the fourteenth, to draw the attention of the lords to

* Froude, v. 250.

† Heylin: who remarks that Wentworth "had now a goodly territory in London: from St. Katherine's near the Tower to Blackwall, and from the river Lea to Stratford-le-bow: six and twenty townships, streets, and houses."

‡ 3 and 4 Edw. VI. 5. See below, ch. xix.

the extraordinary immorality of the nation, which they alleged to be encouraged by the long suspension of the ecclesiastical laws. Their authority was impaired and traversed by the countless acts and proclamations of the temporal powers: they could neither cite nor punish offenders: and while the Church was held powerless every vice was grown to be enormous. The lords were not unaffected by these representations: and the bishops were encouraged to prepare a draft bill for ecclesiastical jurisdiction. But this, when they produced it, seemed too favourable to their own authority: Warwick, who was seldom present, attended in his place to oppose it: and it was relegated to a committee of four prelates and seven laymen: to Cranmer, Tunstall, Goodrich, Sampson of Coventry: to Dorset, Wharton, Stafford, to the Chief Justice, the Chief Baron, the Attorney-General, and the Solicitor-General.* In a month they prepared a bill, which passed the Lords, but was lost in the Commons on the second reading. In the Commons meanwhile, so great was the necessity of doing something, a curious scheme was progressing, which was that the ecclesiastical jurisdiction should be exercised, not by the ordinaries, but by students of the Universities by four years, to be admitted by the Archbishop or the bishop. This had already passed the Commons, and been sent to the Lords, December 3: where in turn it seems to have been lost.†

* "18 Dec. Hodie lecta est Billa pro jurisdictione episcoporum et aliorum ecclesiasticorum; quæ cum Proceribus eo quod Episcopi nimis sibi arrogare viderentur non placeret, visum est deligere prudentes aliquot viros utriusque ordinis, qui habita inter se matura tantæ rei deliberatione referrent toti Consilio quid pro ratione temporis et rei necessitate in hac causa agi expediret," &c.—*Lords' Journals*.

† "11 Nov. The Bill for the administration of the ecclesiastical laws by students of the Universities admitted by the Archbishop, bishop, &c.—18 Nov. The Bill for the administration of the ecclesiastical laws by students by four years in the Universities.—3 Dec. For exercising of ecclesiastical jurisdiction by students in any University by four years."

The only result of these various proposals was the renewal for three years of the nugatory statute, which has so often delayed the reader of this work, for revising the ecclesiastical laws by a commission of thirty-two persons, to be nominated by the King. That wandering clot of legislation, which had so often mocked the hopes of churchmen, was now however redeemed from mere nullity by the prescribed space, of three years, in which it was to take effect: for it had been hitherto cast over indefinite time and evermore neglected. It might seem strange that not less than ten bishops protested against it: and when men so different as Cranmer and Tunstall, Goodrich and Aldrich, Ridley and Day, Ferrar and Heath, Holbeach and Thirlby, were drawn together, little was expected from the bill by the episcopal order. There was in it a new clause that only four of the thirty-two were to be bishops. Four more were to be common lawyers.*

The Liturgic Reformation was advanced by two measures. An Ordinal, or "form and manner of making and consecrating of archbishops, bishops, priests, deacons, and other ministers of the Church," was enacted to be set forth by twelve persons, six prelates and six other men of the realm, by the first of April next ensuing. This Act was opposed by the leaders of the Old Learning, Tunstall, Aldrich, Thirlby, Heath, and

Sent to the Lords the same day. This curious scheme, which the historians seem not to have noticed, bears some resemblance to the proposal for the Scriptures to be translated by the Universities instead of the clergy (Vol. II. p. 288 *huj. op.*). It seems to have been widened, as it went on, to have included the foreigners. It may however have been meant only to apply to the Universities; in which case the phraseology of the title of it is very odd.

* 3 and 4 Edward VI. 11. Strype says that the thirty-two were nominated at last in this third year of Edward by a commission dated October 3.—*Cranmer*, bk. ii. ch. xxvi. But, as the Act got not through Parliament before 24th December (*Journals*), this Commission must have been of the next year, or even later. It was an important one. See below.

Day. It will be observed that it provided for the ordination of ministers below the order of deacons; though, to the incalculable loss of the Church of England, the liberty allowed has never been exercised.* By the time appointed the first English Ordinal was ready, and will await the reader in the proper place. This act was supplanted, the reign of uniformity was extended, by another, a truly lamentable decree. Under a penal statute of one pound, four pounds, and for the third offence imprisonment at the King's will, the possession of any of the ancient service books was forbidden. The ancient service books were enumerated and recalled: the Antiphoners, Missals, Grailes, Processionals, Manuals, Legends, Pies, Portuises, Primers, Couchers, Journals, Ordinals, and all other books whatsoever, in Latin or English, written or printed. Mayors and bailiffs were to deliver them up: bishops and commissaries to burn, deface, and destroy them, under a penalty of forty pounds, of which half was to go to the informer: and no delay or protection of the law was to be allowed. The only exception made was the authorised Primer of Henry the Eighth: and this was to have all invocation of saints blotted out of it. The war with images was at an end: † but still there remained many fugitives or prisoners in the refuge of private houses, and there were many, it would seem, still standing, though dilapidated, in the places where they had been formerly worshipped. They too were ordered in this Act to be destroyed; whether they were of stone or timber, of earth or alabaster: but monumental images might be spared, provided that the dead persons, whom they

* 3 and 4 Edw. VI. 12. "The Committee are empowered by this Act to ordain the lower orders, that is, Sub-deacons, Readers, Acolytes, and the rest: for all these seem comprehended in the clause, *of other ministers of the Church.*"—Collier, ii. 290.

† Cf. Vol. II. p. 492 of this work.

represented, had never been thought or taken to be saints.* This cruel edict was again opposed by Tunstall, Aldrich, Thirlby, Heath and Day : to whom the Bishop of Lichfield, Sampson, added himself, and the lords Derby, Stourton, Morley, Windsor, and Wharton.† As if it had not been enough of itself, it was strengthened, as it regarded the old books, by a letter royal to all the bishops, to command their deans and prebendaries, their parsons, vicars, curates and churchwardens, to deliver up all their antiphoners, missals, grayles, and the rest : and then to deface and destroy them, even if it should be with their own hands. “ Evil persons,” the boy was made to say, “ give it out, since the apprehension of the Duke of Somerset, that they shall have their old Latin service back again, and their conjured bread and water, and their other superstitious ceremonies. As if the godly and uniform order now set forth were the act only of the Duke ! It was set forth by Parliament : it was the act of the whole state of our realm assembled together in Parliament.” It was added that the Holy Communion was now often omitted on Sunday because obstinate persons refused to pay towards the bread and wine ; it was therefore ordered that such persons should be punished by suspension, excommunication, and other censures of the Church.‡ The double goad was but too effective. The dissembler Warwick was more fatal to the ancient cause than Somerset the Calvinist. The various books, which together made up the ancient Uses of the churches of England, the precious stores of mediæval

* 3 and 4 Edw. VI. 10.

† *Lords' Journals.*

‡ This letter was of Dec. 25. *Wilk.* iii. 37. We may remark on it, that, though the passing of the First Prayer Book by Parliament is twice spoken of, there is no mention of Convocation, or of the clergy, in connection with it. The bishops, to whom it was addressed, would have known better, if any of those ambiguous expressions had been used to them that are found in some other documents, to tend to make it appear that Convocation passed the book.

ritual, were hunted and destroyed with a havoc which, in spite of the efforts of furtive piety, has made them rarer in the land of their production than the cylinders of Babylon or the paper rolls of Egypt.

In this session some return to humanity might be remarked in the repeal of the horrible slave-branding Act of the beginning of the reign, and the passing of a more reasonable statute of labourers. Idle labourers in husbandry were still to be punished as vagabonds: but the infirm and aged poor were to be relieved, and habitation provided for them by the devotion of the good people of the town where they were born or had lived three years. A general recommendation to show mercy is however of little efficacy: there would have been no need of new provision for the poor, if the provision made by ancient piety had not been swept away: and the chief effect of this new statute was that in the next summer, in a dearth, the starving people who had crowded up to London were driven forth by Proclamation, and made to return to the places where they were born or had dwelt three years. For the rest, the Parliament attempted to check the disgraceful rascality and false dealing which was almost closing foreign ports and markets against English products: it restored the coiner Sharrington to blood: and by the exception of heretics and anabaptists from the General Pardon, with which its labours were concluded, it left the way open for the burning of Joan Bocher.

From the day of his memorable sermon, the Bishop of Winchester had remained in the Tower, enduring, as he said, "the great temptation of solitariness, able to make a man work by imaginations the confusion of his wits," * and vainly demanding justice. In vain, after four months, he had written a letter to Somerset, making

* See his "Matter Justificatory" in Fox's 1st edition.

“instant suit” to have the benefit of the laws, like an Englishman, and not to be cast into prison without bail or mainprise, without accusation or indictment, without calling to any presence to be charged with anything. In vain his servants had endeavoured to introduce a bill into Parliament, that his cause might be heard there.* At length when a year was expired all but six days, it pleased the Lord Protector to send to him, in the month of June, some high visitors, who bore in their hands the new Prayer Book. “Look on this book,” said Rich and Petre, “it is a book passed by the Parliament. Conform to it : and the Duke will ask mercy for you of the King.” The bishop had suffered much. He had, as he declared, “received neither word, message, comfort, nor relief ;” no one had been allowed to see him, save that his chaplain was admitted to pay him a single visit once when he had a fever. But he had borne all with patient silence. He now replied that he required justice, not mercy, being no offender. “Were you not required to preach the King’s authority in nonage ?” asked Rich. “I was not : nor was it in the papers delivered to me,” was the answer. “Have you not disobeyed the Protector’s letters ?”—“Never : and if I had, how many plain Injunctions (to say nothing of letters) made under seal and in open court, are broken in this realm without punishment in this sort ! But if I have, let me be tried on it ; and sue for mercy when my offence is shown.”—“Look on this Act for Common Prayer,” proceeded the Lord Chancellor, “see how dangerous it is to break the order of it : the penalties are severe.”—“And yet no man can be troubled for that Act, unless he be indicted. Let me come abroad out of prison, and I will see to it.”—“Look on the book, and say your mind to it,” Rich insisted. The bishop answered that he could not go to

* See his “Matter Justificatory” in Fox’s 1st edition.

school in prison: nor would he appear to redeem his faults, if he had committed any, at the expense of his conscience. "I will honour the law as a subject, or pay the penalty: what more conformity can I show?"—"Submit yourself to the Lord Protector."—"I refer myself not to the Lord Protector, but to the law," said Gardiner: adding nobly, "My body shall serve my conscience, not my conscience my body." The lords then gave him a little more liberty, "to go into the gallery": and left him, promising that he should hear from them in a day or two.* Month however passed on month, and he heard no more. The Protector fell; the Parliament met: and then Gardiner made a strenuous effort to regain his freedom. He wrote to the Council, congratulating them on their success, demanding a trial, or else to be no longer kept in prison on the warrant of a mere subject like himself. He wrote a second time: "I have continued here in this miserable prison one year, one quarter, and one month; with want of air, want of books, want of company, and want of a just cause why I should have come hither at all." The lords "took this letter in good part, and laughed very merrily at it," saying "he had a pleasant head." A third time Gardiner wrote a serious expostulation.† But he remained where he was.

The other imprisoned bishop also made the fall of the Protector the occasion of an attempt for liberty: and from the Marshalsea Bonner issued a supplication to the King, with a letter to the Council, in which he affirmed that his sufferings arose from the malice of the Duke of Somerset, who was, like Smith, his deadly enemy. In handling him, Bonner said that they had observed neither

* I have shortened this curious conversation from Gardiner's *Answers to the Articles* afterwards brought against him: ap. Fox.

† Stow. *Annals*, p. 600; Froude, v. 257.

law nor order, but extremity: shutting him in prison, and preventing him from prosecuting his Appellation to the King. But he gained nothing. A new Commission indeed of courtiers and lawyers, headed by Rich, was appointed to examine his papers: but they merely confirmed the former findings: and the bishop remained in prison the rest of the reign.* His denouncer, the determined Hooper, who was now one of the leading lights of London, had trembled, or imagined that he trembled, for a moment, when he heard of the bishop's struggles. "Sharp and dangerous," said Hooper, "has been my contest with that bishop: if he be restored again to his office, I shall be restored to my Father which is in heaven."† But there was something to be hoped for yet on earth, the zealous reformer, who was a favoured court preacher, might confess, whether he cast his eyes over the diocese of the deprived prelate, or turned them upon the kingdom at large. It was true that in many churches particular masses were celebrated still under the name of Communion: that the Eucharist was celebrated two or three times a day in some, it was true: that the priests still retained their vestments and the lights before the altar: that they carefully observed their former manner of chanting, though with English, no longer with Latin words: nay, that they sang from the old service books the ancient hymns pertaining to the Eucharist. But on the other hand there had been going on for a year or more, with the applause of the rich, a movement for substituting wooden tables for stone altars in the churches: and turning the demolished altars into pigsties or any other use of stone. Indeed no sooner was the image war ended than the altar war began. Many strongholds had been stormed already: large booty had been acquired from cloths and vessels:

* Fox.

† *Orig. Lett.* p. 70.

more remained to conquer, and all was prospering.* The zeal of many in the cause was remarkable. There was, for example, the eminent Curate of Cree, who preferred an elm tree to a pulpit, who celebrated on a tombstone rather than approach the altar, who desired to change the names of the days of the week, to keep Lent after Easter, or before Shrovetide; and to rededicate the churches.† Indeed if there were any danger, it was not of lagging, but lest there should be a race, who could do the extreme thing. The Archbishop certainly seemed slow and spiritless: but even he had got some Articles expressive of the Helvetian opinion of the Sacrament, to which he required all preachers and lecturers to subscribe, if they would have a license: and if the bishops were too fearful of themselves and their property, yet there were six or seven of them who understood the doctrine of the Eucharist with clearness and piety. For Hooper himself, he had often withstood the Bishop of London in his turns at Paul's Cross: he was lecturing twice a day, sometimes for several days in succession, on the Gospels and the Prophets: and, as the year fell, he had reached, as he said, the seventh chapter of the Book of Daniel.‡

In the seven years of the reign of Edward, about twenty-five editions whether of the New Testament or of the whole Scriptures in English are known to have appeared. They were not new translations, they were

* "These privileged altars are entirely overthrown in a great part of England: and by the common consent of the higher classes are altogether abolished. *Aræ factæ sunt hæc.*" So wrote John ab Ulmis at the end of 1548. *Orig. Lett.* p. 384. Soon afterwards Hooper himself insinuated in one of his court sermons that "it would be well if it would please the magistrate to turn the altars into tables, according to the first institution of Christ." *Early Writings*, p. 448. At the end of 1549 he was able to say "The altars are here in many churches turned into tables." *Orig. Lett.* p. 72.

† Strype, iii. 320. Stow's *Survey*.

‡ *Orig. Lett.* p. 72.

reprints of the versions of the reign of Henry: but of the standard version of Henry's later years, of the Great Bible, they were not all reprints. The Great Bible had been indeed solemnly ordered upon the realm at the beginning of the reign, in the well-known Injunctions of Edward:* but from the outset it had to maintain itself against many rivals, which were brought into the field by the repeal of Henry's laws. While only four editions of the Great Bible (or Cranmer's Bible) were published by the printers Grafton and Whitchurch, the presses of Day and Seres, of Petit, Tyll, or Jugg, poured forth quarto, octavo, folio editions of the Scriptures, not only with the privilege of printing, but, it may be concluded, with the express sanction of a Committee of the Privy Council.† Nothing could have indicated more strongly than these volumes the progress of the Revolution from the imaginary settlement of the late revolutionist. They contained the teaching which it had been the last act of Henry to recall and forbid under penalties: they contained the prologues and notes of Tyndale and of others as violent as Tyndale. Some of them referred with admiration to the recent works of Bale and of Calvin. They seemed to be consistent with nothing but the nakedness of Zurich or of Geneva. Those of them which contained the whole Bible were editions or recasts of that conglomerate of Tyndale and Coverdale, known by the name of Matthew's Bible, which the Great Bible, when it first appeared, had in a manner superseded.‡ In opening one of these volumes the reader was immediately

* Vol. II. p. 430 *huj. op.*

† "An order was taken that from henceforth no printer shall print or put to vent any English book but such as shall first be examined by Mr. Secretary Petre, Mr. Secretary Smith, and Mr. Cecil, or the one of them, and allowed by the same, under pain," &c. 13th August, 1549. *MS. Privy Council Book.*

‡ For some account of Matthew's Bible see Vol. I. p. 519 *huj. oper.* It bore a very important part in the Reformation.

aware of the kind of doctrine that was now in favour with the rulers of the realm: for his eye fell on the pregnant and savoury Table of Principal Matters, with which Matthew's Bible was originally published. There he found idols and images made equivalent to Abomination before God: sacrifices, feasts, meats, all outward ceremonies, and all the order of priesthood said to be Abrogated: Abstinence described as the withdrawal of a Christian man from sin: and any manner of mere traditions of men declared to be Abuses. Baptism, it is there affirmed, "bringeth not grace with it: the Scriptures sometimes attribute that to baptism which appertaineth to faith." Begging is forbidden; "there should be no beggars in the world, if men kept the commandments of God." A Bishop is defined as "an overseer, or watcher over any manner of thing, whatsoever it be": the Ceremonies of a Christian man are said to consist in "spiritual things." The notion of Free-will is rejected with Calvinistic contempt: "the word is not in all the holy Scripture, but is invented by fond men, who would set up their own righteousness, and put down the righteousness of God." Election is said to be by grace, and not by works: "the elect cannot be accused, forasmuch as it is God that justifieth them." The word Mass, the word Merit, "is not in the Bible": and it is added that "merit is nothing." If a minister preach any works necessary for the remission of sins, he is "abominable and excommunicate": while to teach that it is necessary to abstain from certain meats is "the Doctrine of devils." The true Religion of Christ is denied to stand "in diversity of habits or of vows, but in visiting the fatherless and widows in their tribulation." The Supper of the Lord is defined "a holy memory and giving of thanks for the death of

Christ." The Stone or rock, the foundation of the Church, is "the faith that one has in Christ." Under Sacrifice it is observed that "the bread and wine received in the Supper of Christ are no sacrifice." The word Priest was accidentally or in contempt omitted in the alphabetical order, and put after Sacrifice, to yield the remark that "the order of priesthood is translated; that is to say, abolished, ceased, and finished, in such wise as there need now be no more, for we are all priests to God." In the annotations also which this volume contained there were some pithy enlargements and improvements of things present in the explication of things past. Thus, on the precept of Samuel that to obey is better than sacrifice, "To obey what?" it was demanded, "Man's inventions? Man's dreams or traditions? Nay verily: but God's Holy word and His blessed commandments: yea, and to obey them is better than to offer sacrifices which are not commanded, ordained, and appointed of God Himself. How much better is it than our offerings, which are invented without any God's word, or any mention made thereof the whole Scripture through!" David's prayer, "Attend unto my cry," gave rise to the distinction, "Not the roaring in the quire, but the instant and effectsome prayer, when the whole heart goeth withal." On the institution of the Sacrament in St. Matthew, it was observed that three opinions were held: "the third sort be they who say that He neither pointed to His own Body, nor yet turned the bread into His own Body: but spoke of the bread, calling it His Body by signification: as if He had said, this bread being broken, divided among you, and eaten of you, signifieth unto you my Body, which shall be broken for you. These men are called heretics, but are indeed the true Christians." In these publications, in

short, the voices of the former heretics swelled to the accents of authority: and the license of the realm was exercised to insult the institutions of the Church.*

* To Mr. Pocock, the Editor of Burnet, belongs the credit of first indicating the design of these publications. In his tract entitled *The Principles of the Reformation* he says, "At the same time a more effectual method of disseminating Zwinglian and Calvinistic opinions was taken by reiterated issues of the New Testament in a small portable form, with the passages selected for Epistles and Gospels specially marked for use in church, and with notes at the end of each chapter reprinted from Matthew's Bible of 1537, full of solidian doctrine and of attacks upon Sacramental Grace, as well as of demonstrations that the Bishop of Rome is Antichrist. These were repeatedly issued, in rapid succession, all through the reign down to the year 1552, when an important change took place." This change was the publication of a New Testament in 1552 with new notes far more Calvinistic than Zwinglian. I am obliged to Mr. Pocock for the use of his unpublished notes on the *Day and Seres* folio of 1549. With the help of Mr. Fry's *Tyndale*, and the Bodleian Library, I have attempted the following descriptive list of the Edwardian Bibles: but I cannot say that it is perfect.

- 1547. New Test. quarto. *Wm. Powell*. English of Tyndale, and Latin of Erasmus: no contents nor notes to chapters: printed by license. This was the first published after the repeal of Henry's laws. No edition of the N. T. in English is known to have been printed between 1538 and 1547.
- 1548. New Test. quarto. *Thos. Petyt*. Tyndale and Erasmus (Lincoln Coll.).
 - New Test. quarto. *Wm. Tylle*. Tyndale and Erasmus (Brit. Mus.).
 - New Test. Small oct. *Day and Seres*. The notes of the original Tyndale of 1534 are in this edition, in the margin and at ends of chapters. The editor of the notes on Revelation refers the reader in six places to Bale's Image of both Churches.
 - New Test. 16mo. *Jugge*. Only Prologue to Romans, and a few contents and notes.
- 1549. New Test. oct. *Powell*. Tyndale and Erasmus.
 - New Test. oct. *Copland*. Tyndale alone: Prologues, contents, and notes.
 - Another edition, printer unknown: Prologues, contents, and notes: the Epistles brought to harmony with the Book of Common Prayer.
 - Bible, fol. *Day and Seres*: Matthew's Bible, reprinted from edition of 1537, with few alterations. Cf. Strype, iii. p. 312.
 - Bible, fol. *Raynolde and Hyll*. Matthew's.
 - Bible, fol. *Whitechurch*. Cranmer's, or the Great Bible, from the edition of 1541.

1550. New Test. *Christ. Froschover*, Zurich : few notes, no Prologues.
 — New Test. oct. *Day and Seres*. This had the Epistles taken out of the Old Testament, as read in Prayer Book. It had also "A gathering of certain hard words in the New Test. with their exposition made by Mr. John Calvin." It had the King's arms and the Duchess of Suffolk's arms.
 — New Test. *Gaultier*.
 — New Test. *Day*. Undated.
 — Bible, quarto. *Andr. Hester*. Coverdale's Bible "newly overseen."
 — Bible, quarto. *Whitechurch*. Cranmer's Bible : Black letter.
 1551. Bible, fol. *Nic. Hyll*. This is Matthew's Bible with all the Prologues and notes.
 — Bible, fol. *Day*. Matthew's Bible with Tyndale's Prologues, &c.
 1552. New Test. quarto. *Jugge*.
 — New Test. 16mo. *Jugge*.
 — New Test. quarto. *Jugge*. Probably of this year.
 1553. New Test. quarto. *Jugge*.

These New Tests. of Jugge's are much alike, and essentially different in character from those of 1548. Mr. Fry (p. 156) says that they are by a different hand and exhibit an entirely different character. For instance, the notes on Revelation are different : and Bale is not referred to. This is the change of character to which Mr. Pocock also refers. He thinks that this publication was intended to further the changes introduced into the Second Prayer Book, with which it agrees in date. "Simultaneously with the Second Prayer Book, on June 10, 1552, the Council issued a New Testament with license to the King's printer alone to print and publish it, which had a different set of notes far more Calvinistic and far more Anti-Sacramental than any that had preceded it : which Testament, with its notes, was accordingly reproduced in the following year, and reprinted by the Queen's printer all through the reign of Elizabeth, from time to time, as well as far into the reign of James I."—*Principles of Ref.* p. 33. See also his letter to Mr. Fry (Fry's *Tynd.* Pref. xv.).

Bible, fol. *Whitechurch*. The Great Bible : Black letter.

Bible, quarto. *Grafton*. Cranmer's, or the Great Bible.

Many of these Bibles are enumerated by Mr. Dore in his valuable work "Old Bibles," Append. iv.

CHAPTER XVII.

A.D. 1550.

AT Rome the death of Paul the Third, which fell near the end of the former year, was followed by the agitations of two months and the succession of Cardinal del Monte, the former President of the Tridentine Council: who, February 7, assumed the papal chair and the title of Julius the Third. In the interval the Englishman Pole had been preferred by election; and, true to his destiny of evitation, had declined the toils and honours of the Papacy. The factions agreed in him: the whispers, or the charges, which would have stained his renown of purity, if they were meant to have been an obstacle, were dispelled by the proofs which he coldly displayed rather than produced: his eloquent pen was characteristically employed, during the agitated sessions of the Conclave, in composing a treatise on the duties of the lofty office which he might occupy, and an oration to be made at his own installation.* Two messengers from the flock of cardinals, invading the sanctity of his nightly cubicle, broke his slumbers with the news of his proffered designation. A sympathetic saint and an inconstant statesman might either have extended or imperilled the dominion of Rome: but

* The treatise *De Summo Pontifice* was finished about January 26. Strype, iii. 419.

the transient ardour of Pole was already exhausted. He trembled at the vast prospect which was opened before him : and an epigram saved him. "Judge not only by night, but by day," was his answer : and the astonished cardinals needed nothing more to direct their decision. The man who scrupled to grasp the prize, when it was put within his reach, was not for Rome. When they assembled again in the morning, the Englishman had lost his suffrages : and the triple crown descended upon a more ordinary forehead.

A peace with France and Scotland, on the conditions of the surrender of Boulogne, the razing of the forts in Scotland and the relinquishing of all rights, claims, or pretensions in either kingdom, left Warwick free to strengthen his position, even while he disbanded some of the mercenary forces. That in making peace he did exactly what he had censured and overthrown his predecessor for attempting to do, will surprise no one who has watched the rise and fall of administrations in any age : the disgracefulness of the terms which he accepted might excite wonder, if it be not borne in mind that England had been led astray in foreign affairs by Henry the Eighth. The false and antiquated policy of Henry in renewing the English claims on Scotland now led to an ignominious surrender, after a generation of hideous war : of the French possessions, which it had drained the resources of the country to maintain, the only vestiges now left were a single town and an empty royal title. Peace was become a necessity even at the heaviest price : but never had England been so low as she was on the day when, yielding every demand, she included in the same paper the loss of France and the loss of Scotland. Warwick and his fellows however were now able to keep down insurrection in their own country at a less expense. Their promptitude suppressed several

threatened risings in the next year or two: but to diminish the causes of discontent they were less solicitous: and the enrichment of the rich, the poverty of the poor, the public dishonesty, the debasement of the coinage, the robbery of the Church and of learning, went on undiminished. In Warwick the Revolution had gained a real leader: not a man willing to take the advantages of rank and wealth, and yet ready to throw himself upon the mob: not a man haunted by the secret lust to play traitor to his own order: but a man decided, unscrupulous, and energetic: a double-faced, but not a double-minded man. As to his other qualities, Dudley was brave, urbane, superficially generous: he was one who dissembled his attachment to the old religion that he might rob it the better: and dissembled so well as to appear to the Gospellers the most gracious vessel of England. He was able to turn things to his own advantage; but, when public virtue is dead, none can be called a statesman.

To Dudley, and not in vain, the hopes of the reforming faction were now diverted. With wonderful effrontery they attributed the fall of Somerset to the machinations of the Old Learning: and without regret transferred their suffrages and designs to one who could serve them better. To the returned English, nor less to the forward foreigners whom the late Protector had fixed in the Universities, Dudley appeared the thunderbolt that would smite the Roman Antichrist, the most shining light of the Church of England, the most valiant of the soldiers of Christ. If any might be compared with him, they said that it was the Earl of Dorset.* Nor can it be denied that the comparison was apt: for if Dudley pillaged the Church unsurpassably, Grey came so near him as actually to incur at the instance of Cranmer the censure of Bucer.† As to the Roman Pontiff, he was

* *Orig. Lett.* pp. 82 and 399. † *Strype's Cranmer*, bk. ii. ch. xvi.

pursued, with fresh vigour, into the covers of books: but it may be doubted, when his twilight was quenched, whether a brighter dawn succeeded. The kingdom was invaded by foreign divines, preachers, and lecturers; but these new missionaries, unlike those who first turned England from the pagan darkness, made no efforts to spread themselves over the country: they kept themselves to the lucrative centres of learning or commerce: to Oxford, Cambridge, London. There never was a time in which preaching was so rare as in these years of boasted freedom and enlightenment. The pulpits stood silent partly by order, partly by lack of ministers. None might preach without a license: and the great body of the parochan clergy were without licenses, either because they were not inclined to get them, or because that, if they had procured, they could not have used them, so deep was the decline of learning and ability, which the Reformation caused. The little preaching that was done was by the small band of itinerant licensed preachers, who in general held no cures. They, wandering from place to place, exhibited their credentials; and, according to the inclination of the vicars and churchwardens, obtained, or failed to obtain, admission to the pulpit. One of them, the greatest of them, a dioceseless bishop, has left a humorous account of the manner in which when he went to a place, where he displayad not only his license but his rochet, he failed to overcome the respectful reluctance of the ordinary guardians of the public worship.* Some of these ambulatory

* I allude to Latimer's story of his reception in a parish church on "Robin Hood's day," in one of the Sermons before the King. Of the importance, little hitherto noted by history, of licensed preachers a notion may be formed from this, that the new monastics sometimes gave endowments for them. Thus, in the first year of Edward, the Earl of Derby acquired Manchester College. He was to give a small part of the rental to maintain itinerant preachers "to preach the doctrines of the Reformation in the ignorant and popish parts of the county." This was the

orators, observing the destitution of the country, were willing to have given sermons on week-days, as well as on Sundays or holidays. But their zeal was displeasing to a Government which dreaded nothing so much as the assembling of the people on whatever occasion in however small a number. The Council sent letters to the bishops to prevent a thing so inconvenient : by the bishops the curates were warned not to let their churches be used for extraordinary preaching, and the licensed preachers were forbidden to discharge their office upon unaccustomed days.* As usual, the bishops were made the instruments and received the blame of rigours for which laymen were accountable ; and the learned strangers who witnessed and lamented the destitution of preaching, charged it upon the prelates of the Church. "Most of the parishes in this kingdom are sold to the nobility," wrote Bucer to Calvin, "very few have pastors qualified for their office. There are pretended Gospellers who hold three or four parishes, and minister to none. They appoint cheap substitutes, who cannot read, and are papists in their hearts. In many parishes the nobility prefer the late religious, unlearned and unfit men, for the sake of avoiding the payment of their yearly pensions. There are parishes in which there has not been a sermon for some years." He blames his own friends for their remissness in preaching : and adds that the bishops procrastinated through antichristian luxury. To the same effect it was exclaimed by Peter Martyr to Bullinger and Gualter against the lack of preachers and the gross vices of

beginning of "the King's Preachers" of Lancashire, who continued long after. Halley's *Lanc.* i. 65. The first appointed of these itinerants were Pendleton, Bradford, Lever, Pilkington, and Saunders : who are all, but the first, in the list of Licensed Preachers in Vol. II. p. 485 *huj. op.* These endowments were regarded as Crown lands.

* Strype, iii. 342 ; Wilkins, iv. 62. This was in June 1550.

those who professed the Gospel. "In London there is no lack of preachers: but throughout the country they are very rare: the sheep are defrauded of their pasture: the change of religion will profit them little without teaching: in most places they oppose us through ignorance, and are confirmed in error through the subtle arts of the papists."* These censurers observed not, history has not observed, that the Church was held dumb throughout this period by the positive orders of the Council.

But if the people were ill supplied, the King was surfeited with the aliment of words. Never was human being so admonished, lectured, and harangued as the young inheritor of the title of Supreme Head of the Church of England. The controversial foreigners were ever at him with tractates and dedications: his tutors with theses and exercitations: and before his eyes there rose a continual pulpit filled with some grave figure preaching. His life was a Lent of sermons: but in Lent itself he fasted not, in a manner, from the strife of words, when his preaching place was occupied on Sunday, on Wednesday, on Friday, by Latimer or Lever, or the newly arrived Hooper, or Ponet, or Bradford, or Knox. Every ascending divine of the Revolution aspired to the King's pulpit: and at length in this his central year the Council, which had shut the pulpits throughout the country, resolved to extend the competition of preachers before the King very widely, and to have it to last throughout the year. They issued an order that all who received benefices from the King should preach before the King, in or out of Lent: and that there should be a sermon every Sunday.† But this

* Bucer to Calvin, Whitsunday 1550: *Orig. Lett.* p. 547. Martyr to Bullinger and Gaultier, June 1550. *Ib.* pp. 481, 483.

† This remarkable order is recorded in *Edward's Journal*, 13th April, 1550. It may account for several things in the reign: such as the appearance of preachers from remote places, *e.g.* Knox or Bradford

curious boy, precise, observant and inquisitive, however frail in body, gave no sign of weariness. Formed for public life in all respects but health, his resolute will supported him. He went through all ceremonies: he sat at a sermon as at a bear-baiting, with the same boyish expectation of entertainment, the same gratification at being served by a spectacle prepared for him: and at the end he seldom failed, with royal courtesy, to request the writing to be delivered to him for his perusal.* Edward gave proof, during his brief existence, of having inherited his father's fondness for pageants, and his father's keenness of observation. Of his father's inherent coldness and insensibility of affection he may also have possessed a share.

Latimer, and for the last time Latimer, delivered a sermon before the King in the Lent of this year. It was a severe denunciation of the age: and was worthy of the preacher. The oppression of the poor, the enclosing of lands, the luxury of apparel in women, the unparalleled immorality, the perversion of justice, the taking of bribes, the workmen unpaid, the hypocritical Gospellers, were evils which he not only exposed, but for which he demanded remedy. "Never," said he, "was there so much adultery and so much divorcing: lechery is now a trifle. I would have adultery punished with death by law. I would have Christ's discipline restored. None can devise a better way than God hath done with notable offenders, which is excommunication: to put them from the congregation till they be confounded. Bring into the Church of

from the north of England. The Council had by this order a ready means of judging whether a new incumbent could preach, and might be entrusted with a license.

* We shall see however, towards the end of his reign, that the courtiers frequently absented themselves from sermons: and perhaps the King did the same.

England open discipline of excommunication, that open sinners may be stricken withal." Thus in his age the great preacher pleaded for the restoration of that system which he had given the strength of his youth to overthrow. Of the robbery of the kingdom by peculation some notion may be formed by several anecdotes that he related. He had preached for three Lents. By his first sermons a man had been moved to restore twenty pounds, of which he had robbed the Treasury, and to promise twenty more. After his second course he had received from another man, and paid over to the King's Council, three hundred and twenty pounds.* And in the present Lent restitution had been made of one hundred and eighty pounds.† One of the Council had told him that if every one who had robbed the King should make restitution, it would easily come to a hundred thousand pounds. But the court and the city were now weary of the Micaiah who preached nothing but evil, and was found to spare none, though he touched the conscience with a deprecation, and strove to be gentle while he inflicted a wound. He proved to be less entertaining than he seemed. His former sermons had given great offence, as he now remarked: and he himself predicted that he stood there for the last time.

As Latimer set, so rose Hooper. "The place of Latimer, the King's preacher, is now occupied by our friend Hooper," wrote Stumphius to Bullinger: ‡ and

* There is an entry about this in the Council Book, 28 Mar. 1549: that they had received from Latimer "such of the King's money as came of concealment, and now delivered by the exhortation of the said Mr. Latimer, the sum of £373:" of which they gave him £50 "by way of the King's reward," for his attendance at Lent, &c.

† It is not improbable that one of these makers of restitution was the eminent licensed preacher Bradford, afterwards a martyr: he had been paymaster, under Harrington, of the army at Boulogne in Henry's reign, and was privy to some peculations: which greatly troubled him. See his life prefixed to *Writings*: Park. Soc.

‡ *Orig. Lett.* p. 465: Feb. 28. 1550.

the sermons on the Wednesdays of this Lent were indeed preached by the truly notable person whose rising renown among the London Gospellers has already sought the attention of the reader.* The previous history of John Hooper had been sufficiently various. The only son of a wealthy father, he entered the religious life, like so many of the reformers: and graduated at Oxford, perhaps in one of the colleges of the monastic orders. He is said to have had some controversy at the University with the famous theologian Smith: to have been compelled to leave; to have been harboured by Sir Thomas Arundel; and to have received kindness from Bishop Gardiner. He then doffed his habit, and never afterwards spoke of that monastic discipline to which he had been subject without levity and dislike. Passing to the opposite extreme, he went to London, and lived, as he owned, "too much of a court life in the palace," solacing himself at the same time with the writings of Zwingli and Bullinger.† Under the Six Articles he is said to have fled the Kingdom for fear of his life. But perhaps he only desired to make the continental experience, like other English reformers: to wander about, and gain experience in unknown places: for he came back to England more than once with great safety, while the Six Articles were still in force, mainly for the purpose of raising money from his father. He was in no hurry to return home, when the Six Articles had ceased to be operative, since he remained abroad the first two years of Edward's reign: and in Zurich, his last retreat, he witnessed and admired the complete triumph of the Reformation. In the city of Zwingli

* The Friday sermons were preached by Ponet.—Burnet, pt. iii. bk. iv.

† Fox, and the Biography prefixed to his *Later Writings* by the Parker Society supply the scanty materials of the early history of Hooper.

he beheld the Catholic faith prohibited by law: all Catholic institutions suppressed: every book destroyed, every ceremony forbidden that might have reminded men that the elder system had once existed. He saw a new evangelical organisation standing in the place of the old ecclesiastical order: a presbyterian pastorate, dressed in sombre garb, occupied the chairs and pulpits, and denounced the learning of the schools and the authority of the Church from the seats of the ancient hierarchy. Nor was it unmeet in his eyes that the Catholics were compelled under heavy penalties to come regularly and listen to the prelections which exposed their errors. Hooper himself, not to be no part of such great things, composed there several vigorous tractates, among them an answer to Bishop Gardiner's work on the Sacrament: and thus fortified, thus exercised, returned at length to his native country, and put himself at the head of the extreme party of the Gospellers.

He was a man of strong body and perfect health, of vigorous but unimaginate mind: by no means incapable of humility, but of unbending will: learned: of tireless patience, absolute sincerity, and considerable benevolence: but so sour and forbidding that those who came to consult him had been known to go away without opening their purpose, repelled by his gloomy looks.* He arrived at a happy moment for his cause: and pushing himself rapidly forward, became Somerset's chaplain, and in no long time was selected, as it has been said, to be one of the Lenten preachers before the King.

The sermons which he preached, the once famous course on the history of the prophet Jonas, were memorable in several respects. He was as unsparing as Latimer in denouncing the evils of the age: and he soon

* Fox gives an example of this.

gave offence by his freedom, applying to ecclesiastics, nobles, lawyers, and commons the various incidents of the Scriptural narrative. Indeed he went beyond Latimer in severity: at times he was merely abusive; and somewhat indiscriminate in the manner in which he ranked those with whom he differed in opinion among the worst malefactors. He called priests who chanted the mass ass-headed; ranked them with bawds, dicers, and receivers: and declared that they merited eternal damnation. His desire to punish was also very strong: he condemned the false and preposterous pity that shrunk from executing the laws, if a tall fellow might be saved from the gallows to serve the King. He told those who had cheated the King, or given false judgment, that they deserved to die and forfeit their goods: those who had been guilty of sedition or rebellion he invited to choose between the sword and the rope: teachers of false doctrine he held to merit "most cruel punishment."—"Into the sea," cried he, "with all our Jonases! The minister of Christ is to be known from the minister of the devil by his preaching tongue, not by clipping and shaving, not by cap and vesture. Christ instituted neither singers nor massers, but preachers. The bishops and priests do damnable and devilish superstition, saying mass, conjuring the holy water bucket, and the like, in the congregation of God. The nobles are idle and covetous. The lawyers have respect to lucre: and with their thievery catch up the sweat of the poor. The ignorant people will do more for the bishops and priests of Baal than for God's word and His anointed magistrate: and are never content. Into the sea with all clerks who will not preach the true doctrine and teach the catechism! Let them be deprived by law of bishopric, prebend, or benefice. The noblemen that buy offices: the dicing gentlemen, that turn the King's

palace into a dicing house: the corrupt lawyers, into the sea with them! This realm is more pestered with thieves than half Europe besides. A man cannot travel safely with twenty pounds in his pocket, though twenty men be together in company. Laws must be made to amend all this: and the good laws must be executed. Jonas was commanded to preach: not to take the government, but to preach. The bishop is not to play the king, nor the king the bishop: but each is to be able to judge whether the other do true service to God in his vocation. So of justices and merchants, and other subjects. Let patrons give benefices to worthy men, not to asses: or they and their blind blockheads shall die eternally. The Bishop of Rome stinks." These admonitions, when he published them in the same year, he dated from "the two thousandth, two hundredth and eighty-eighth year since the angel of God slew in the army of Sennacherib, God's enemy, fourscore and five thousand men."

But these sermons contained the first enunciation of the especial scruples or crotchets concerning public worship, with which the name of Hooper is for ever associated. First he applauded heartily the altar war, which was being hotly waged by Ridley. "It were well that it might please the magistrates to turn the altars into tables, according to the first institution of Christ: so long as the altars remain, the ignorant people and the ignorant and evil-persuaded priests will dream always of sacrifice. It was not without the wisdom of God that Christ, the Apostles, and the primitive Church lacked altars: for they knew that the use of altars was taken away." Furthermore he recommended that "the partition called the chancel" in every church should be closed by the magistrate, that the minister and the people might be together. Then he made a great

display of canonical learning on the Eucharist, with the recommendation that it should be received standing or sitting, rather than kneeling. Above all, the new Ordinal being now published in pursuance of the Act of Parliament, he took exception against one of the Oaths, against the Vestments, and some of the ceremonies which it prescribed. "I have seen of late a certain book for the making of bishops, priests, and deacons, wherein is required an oath by saints. Beware of an oath by any creature: the Scriptures and the canon law alike enjoin to swear by God only.* In the same book it is ordered that he that will be admitted to the ministry must come in white vestments. That is not in God's word, nor in the primitive and best Church. Further, he that is called to the ministry is to hold the bread and chalice in one hand, and the book in the other. Why not have given him the font: or, if that were too heavy, a basin of water? The one is a sacrament as well as the other."

His scruples have gained for Hooper the title of father of Nonconformity. Some of them became familiar afterwards in the Nonconformist or Puritan controversy: others would have been renowned therein, but that he gained his way at once as it regarded them, and what he disliked was abolished. But as it is proper to acknowledge the right of Hooper to his fame, so it is necessary to understand the designation which is claimed for him: for Nonconformity is a term that has been most ridiculously misused in the vigorous ignorance of modern times. Nonconformity was in essence the necessary, and not unhealthy, if unhappy, consequence

* It was the Oath of Supremacy that shocked Hooper: he affects to think that it was inserted by the mistake of the printer. It ended, "So help me God, all saints, and the Holy Evangelist." He contrasts this with the oath of canonical obedience which was further required of elect bishops: but this was not perhaps quite unobjectionable, as it ended, "So help me God and His Holy Gospel." Cf. Burnet, pt. iii. bk. iv.

or product of Uniformity : and, like Uniformity, it had its origin in the sixteenth century. It had two stages of legitimate meaning. A Nonconformist, from the first, was not an opponent of the general system of Uniformity. He was a churchman who differed from other churchmen on certain matters touching Order, though agreeing with them in the rest of the discipline and government of the Church. The first authors of Nonconformity, Hooper and his fellows, were so far from disliking Uniformity as a general system, that many of them were licensed preachers, that is, they belonged to a band of men who undertook the special duty of recommending Uniformity to the nation. Sampson, who "excepted against the apparel" at his ordination, was a licensed preacher. Bradford, who was ordained "without any abuse," was a licensed preacher. Parker, who was afterwards consecrated "without the Aaronical garments," was a licensed preacher. Horn, Sandys, Pilkington, Grindal, Guest, whose sympathies certainly went with Hooper, were licensed preachers. Nonconformity was in the beginning nothing but the Vestiary controversy, a contention instigated by foreigners, waged among ministers, which in one form or another has vexed the Church ever since. Hooper's conduct in starting it has been set in a contemptible light not only by Conformists, but by secular historians, who paint him as a narrow, childish bigot.* But in truth his scruples were as reasonable as those of other men : and the spirit in which he both urged them up to a certain point, and then waived them for the sake of peace, deserves all respect. The Nonconformity which he began, had in it the seeds of greater questions than that of the habits. In the following generation it took wider ground, and came to involve the whole of Church

* See, for example, the way in which Mr. Froude speaks of him.

government, and the difference between prelacy and presbyterianism. The controversy was extravagant and miserable: yet it had a bottom of common sense and justice: for it touched upon the election of bishops, a matter in which the temporal power had entirely over-ridden the Church. If bishops had been properly elected, the Conformist and Nonconformist parties in the Church of England would have had no field of battle. But at no time in his history was the Nonconformist or Puritan a Separatist or Dissenter from the Church of England. He shared the Church of England with the Conformist, in a somewhat unbrotherly union, it may be: but his whole position was to be a churchman: his whole endeavour was to purify the Church according to his own notions. To have gone out of the Church he would have regarded as abominable sin: he was more bitter than the Conformist in his hostility towards the Separatist. From first to last Nonconformity never lost its ministerial character: it was a contention among ministers: it was never a popular movement. The beginning of it indeed coincided exactly in time with the beginning of Separation: this is remarkable enough: but what it shows is, not that Nonconformity and Separation were the same, but that from the moment of their birth Nonconformity and Separation were two distinct things. Separation (as I hope to show) was of popular, not of ministerial origin: it was the old popular remedy of secession, applied to the Church. It was a violent popular effort against authority: and it was caused in no small degree by the exclusive privilege of speech enjoyed by the licensed preachers, whether Conformist or Nonconformist: while it was fostered, on the other hand, by the strong Calvinism in which the most of them indulged.*

* It may seem useless to the historical reader to make quotations in

The course taken by Hooper enraged Cranmer. A reluctant revolutionist detests the man who pushes things further than the power has pushed them to which he himself has yielded. Those horrid vociferations, to which he had no principle to oppose, proceeded moreover from a man whom he little liked. He had given Hooper a cool reception on his return to England.* In him he only knew a private adventurer who had anticipated him in attacking his great adversary, the Bishop of Winchester: against whom he was even then labouring his heaviest controversial thunderbolt. To

proof of so plain a thing as the nature of Nonconformity, even against the absurd modern perversion of the term: yet Fuller well describes the origin and progress of the thing. "Come we now to the saddest difference that ever happened in the Church of England, if we consider the time how long it continued, the eminent persons therein engaged, or the doleful effects thereby produced. It was about matters of conformity. Alas! that men should have less wisdom than locusts, which, when sent on God's errand, did not thrust one another; whereas here such shoving and shouldering, and hoising, and heaving and jostling, and thronging between clergymen of the highest parts and places. For now Nonconformity in the days of King Edward was conceived, which afterward in the days of Queen Mary (but beyond seas at Frankford) was born: which in the days of Queen Elizabeth was nursed and weaned; which under King James grew up a young youth, or tall stripling; but towards the end of King Charles's reign shot up to the full strength and stature of a man, able not only to cope with but conquer the Hierarchy, its adversary." He defines the Conformists to be those who "retained many ceremonies practised in the Romish Church, conceiving them to be ancient and decent in themselves:" the Nonconformists those who "renounced all ceremonies practised by the Papists" (p. 401). Neal, the Puritan historian, is equally accurate. "Upon these slender reasons the garments were continued, which soon after divided the Reformers among themselves, and gave rise to the two parties of Conformists and Nonconformists: Archbishop Cranmer and Ridley being at the head of the former, and Bishop Hooper, Rogers, with the foreign divines, being patrons of the latter." Ch. ii. The Rogers here mentioned, a future martyr, was lecturer at St. Paul's and Vicar of St. Sepulchre's.

* "When I gave your letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, he did not vouchsafe a single word respecting either yourself or your most godly Church."—Hooper to Bullinger, May 1549. *Orig. Lett.* p. 69. "The Archbishop is now very friendly towards myself."—The same to the same. Dec. 1549. *O. L.* p. 71.

have the new Ordinal publicly denounced by such a person was intolerable: the more so, perhaps, because just before it came in use, an ordination had been held by Cranmer and Ridley, in which great indulgence was shown to those candidates who scrupled the usual ceremonies.* Four days after the sermon in which he had inveighed against the Ordinal, Hooper was brought before the Council by the Archbishop. Cranmer spoke with great severity, particularly concerning the objections that Hooper had made against one of the Oaths, the Oath of Supremacy, in the new book. A long and sharp debate ensued, in which some other bishops were said to have aided the Primate: but Hooper was not to be daunted nor convinced: and the end was, as he said, "to the glory of God."† Man rejoices to see authority perplexed. The fame of the contest and of the Nonconformist was diffused:‡ and nothing remained but to offer him a bishopric.

The first English Ordinal, the cause of contention, was published by Grafton at least a month before the day, April 1, on which it was required by the Act of

* "This year the Archbishop celebrated a great Ordination, consisting of such chiefly as showed themselves favourers of the King's proceedings, to be sent abroad to preach the Gospel, and to serve in the ministry of the Church. At this Ordination Bishop Ridley also assisted the Archbishop. The old Popish Order of conferring of Orders was yet in force, the new office not being as yet prepared and established. But the Ordination nevertheless was celebrated after that Order that was soon after established. At this Ordination great favour was shown, and conivance to such who, being otherwise well qualified for piety and learning, scrupled wearing the habits used by the popish priests."—*Strype's Cranm.* bk. ii. ch. xi. Among those ordained on this occasion was Sampson, afterwards Dean of Chichester and Christchurch, Oxford: who said long afterwards that "at his ordination he excepted against the apparel, and yet was admitted by Cranmer and Ridley."—*Ib.*

† Hooper to Bullinger, 27 Mar. *Orig. Lett.* p. 81.

‡ "Hooper is celebrated throughout all England. He is an opponent of the Lutherans and Bucerians, and a constant defender of the true faith."—Burcher to Bullinger, 20 April. *Ib.* p. 662.

Parliament to be ready. To any one comparing this formulary with the ancient Pontificals, which it displaced, it might certainly have seemed that the hand of the Reformation had been as unsparingly applied in the ordination of the ministers of the Church as in any other part of the Liturgic reformation: so many rites were abolished, such simplicity remained. In no part of the ancient offices had the genius of ceremony been displayed more splendidly than in the directions for the conferring of the several clerical degrees. The ordination of ostiaries, lectors, exorcists, acolytes and subdeacons, the ordering of the higher grades of deacons and priests, and the consecration of bishops, often taking place, except the last, as successive parts of the same function, seemed designed to have composed a series of ennobling spectacles. Varied groups of bowing and saluting figures, appearing and retiring, falling and rising, before the altars, amid the chapels and pillars of spacious edifices, carried gradually forward the expression of forms and the porrection of symbols, in devices so intricate as to require the frequent consultation of the directing volumes of the Pontificals, lest anything should be omitted or performed amiss. But it appears likely that this splendour was seldom exhibited to the full: ordinations were often privately performed: and the minor orders are said to have fallen into disuse in England long before the Reformation.* In the new

* Bishop Pilkington said that "the popish prelates gave their orders on the Saturday, when the people was not present, and commonly at home in their chapels, where few resorted to see."—*Works*, Park. Soc. p. 581. Mr. Maskel says that long before the Reformation minor orders had fallen into disuse in the Church of England.—*Mon. Rit.* ii. p. cxxi. And yet, according to the same authority, in 1370 no fewer than 374 persons were ordained in one day in a single diocese: of whom 163 received the first tonsure, 120 were ordained acolytes: 30 subdeacons: 31 deacons: 30 priests. One of the rubrics of the Sarum Pontifical says that the four minor orders, ostiary, lector, exorcist, and acolyte, were

Ordinal the first five of these orders or grades of the ministry, found no place at all: deacons, priests and bishops were alone retained: and in these the ceremonies were brought to simplicity. According to the old offices, the deacons to be ordained were presented in amice, alb, girdle and maniple: they bore a stole in the left hand, a dalmatic or tunicle over the left arm: in the right hand they carried a candle. They knelt in the form of a crown or circle around the bishop, whom they found seated on a faldstool and wearing his mitre in front of the altar. In the course of the service they received the stole upon the left shoulder, and were invested with the dalmatic: but their candles remained unlighted until the priests were ordained: no questions were put to them by the bishop, for that part of the service called the Examen belonged not to their degree: but amid prayers, benedictions, and chants he admitted them to the privileges, and exhorted them to the virtues of the dedicated tribe of Levi. In the new Ordinal the presented deacons had upon them but "a plain alb," which remained as plain at the end of the ceremony: they were asked many questions, to which the answers were prescribed: the Oath of the King's Supremacy (the offence of Hooper) was exacted from them: and in the exhortation of the bishop the comparison with the Levitical order was omitted. In the ordination of the priests, by the old books, the deacons to be admitted were dressed in amice, alb, girdle, maniple, and wore the stole on the left shoulder: they bore on their left arm a folded planet or chasuble, in their right hand a candle and a napkin. The stole was disposed

conferred at once: but that an acolyte was not to be made subdeacon on the same day: nor a subdeacon made deacon, nor a deacon priest, on the same day. The same rubric laments the abuse that in those days the ascent from the state of a layman to that of a priest was made in a single year. — *Mon. Rit.* ii. 167.

on the other shoulder also, and crossed upon the breast, in the performance of the office: the chasuble, the "priestly garment," was laid upon the shoulders, and afterwards unrolled, indued, and allowed to fall from the shoulders to the feet: the candles were lighted, when these ordinands, forming for the moment one choir with those who were ordained to the inferior orders, stepped two by two to the bishop, knelt before him, and offered him their oil-fed flames: their hands were anointed with oil, when the mixed chalice and the paten were delivered to them; after which they washed their hands and wiped them with the napkins. The ordaining bishop repeatedly removed and resumed his mitre and his staff; rose, bowed, turned himself to or from the altar, as the rite proceeded: he likened them in his exhortation to the seventy elders who assisted Moses, and the seventy disciples commissioned in the Gospel in addition to the Twelve: and with many hymns and thanksgivings he admitted them to their degree, kissing them one by one, as he received their promise of reverence and obedience. No questions were asked of them, any more than of those that were ordained deacons.* In the new Book all these ceremonies were omitted. A plain alb was again the only dress prescribed to the ordinands, and it remained unaltered to the end of the ordination. They were asked

* I do not mean that men were ordained to be deacons and priests in old times without any enquiry. The rule was "Nullus ad ordines admittatur nisi canonice fuerit examinatus:" and candidates were examined by the archdeacon, as now, before ordination. *Lyndwood, Prov. i. 5: De Scrutinio in Ordine faciendo.* But I would point out that there were no questions put to them in the church at the time of ordination: the reason why this is to be noted will appear further on. An old book however, quoted by Maskel, called the *Pupillus oculi*, speaks of a double examination, before and in ordination. "Aliud scrutinium fit in ipsa ordinatione" (*Monumenta Ritual.*, ii. cvi). But still there seems to have been no set form of interrogation.

many questions. The Oath of Supremacy was administered to them. With the chalice and the bread they received at the same time the Bible: and the single additional ceremony, which the new Ordinal contained, seemed meant to indicate the importance of preaching as well as the administration of the Sacrament. In his exhortation the bishop compared them neither with the assessors of Moses nor with the seventy who were sent forth after the Apostles.*

But in the consecration of bishops it was that the old forms exhibited, the new form abrogated, the greatest number of significant and solemn rites. The ancient ritualists had invented everything that would heighten the estimation of the highest of the ecclesiastical grades. The consecrator and the elect had each his chapel assigned to him within the church: before his own altar, usually the high altar, the consecrator sat in robes and mitre, his chaplains standing round him, a credence table bearing the vessels and instruments necessary for the Mass. The elect in the ordinary habits of a priest, with the addition of the pluvial or cope, issued from his chapel between two assistant bishops: he had on his head a baret or towering square cap, they their mitres. Between them he took his seat or faldstool, and they were sitting too, in front of the consecrator: but while he fixed his eyes on him, they turned north and south upon their stools, and engaged themselves with the large volumes of the Pontificale, which their kneeling chaplains held open before them. The elect took an Oath of obedience to the Church: and was examined by the consecrator in a series of solemn questions, to which the answers were prescribed. The consecrator then per-

* In the Sarum Use, these comparisons with Levites, Aaronites, the seventy assessors and disciples, occur in the Admonitiones, a separate part of the Pontifical put at the beginning of the same: probably for the help of the ordaining bishop.

formed Mass to a certain point, when the elect was led back to his chapel, where, his pluvial being deposited, he in the sacramentary vestments of a priest read Mass to the same point as the consecrator. To the consecrator he was then led back, he laid aside his baret, and prostrated himself entirely before the altar. The consecrator knelt beside him, the assistant bishops knelt; the Litany was said, and the actual consecration was begun. The consecrator laid the book of the Gospels on the neck of the elect, where the assistants sustained it: he anointed his head with oil; signed him thrice with the cross: anointed and signed his hands: blessed, sprinkled, and presented to him his pastoral staff and his ring, the symbols of authority and fidelity: took the open book of the Gospels from his neck, and placed it closed between his folded hands: gave him the kiss of brotherhood and peace. The now consecrated bishop was attended once more to his chapel; and there the Mass proceeded, the consecrator also proceeding with it at his own altar. He then returned to the consecrator, bearing two lighted torches, two loaves, and two measures of wine, which he reverently presented to him: then, standing at the Epistlar wing of the altar, he said and did the rest of the Mass along with the consecrator. After this he received his mitre; his hands were invested with the gloves: and amid hymns, salutations, gratulations, and benedictions he was placed upon his throne. Of all these rites there was but little left in the new form of Consecration. The elect appeared in surplice and cope: the two bishops who presented him were also in surplices and copes, and had their pastoral staves in their hands. An Oath of obedience to the metropolitan, which was added to the Oath of Supremacy, and the solemn examination which he underwent by interrogations, corresponded to the same parts of the ceremony in the old

forms: but of the following solemnities, that have been described, the only remnants left were the laying of the Bible on the neck, and investiture with the staff. Throughout the new formulary there was manifest the intention of lessening the distance between the priesthood and the episcopate. In particular, the public examination by questions, which anciently guarded the precincts of the higher office alone, was made common to the priesthood, and not only to the priesthood but to the diaconate: and in the questions themselves, that were put to all, there was great similarity, those put to bishops and priests being indeed almost identical. But on the other hand it would seem that some of the old ceremonies, though no longer ordered in the Book, were continued at first by tradition: for some of the things, about which Hooper made the uproar soon to be related, had no mention in the new Ordinal.

The unsparing mutilations that have been described brought down the former magnificence of the Pontificale to the sad and sober spirit of the age. But all that was necessary to convey the clerical character was nevertheless preserved: the difference of the clerical degrees was preserved: and in particular, although the distance between priests and bishops which had been drawn by the regulations of the Pontificale appeared to be somewhat reduced, the inherent authority of the episcopal office was not diminished, since no orders were admitted which it took not a bishop to confer.* The original and essential parts of ordination have been defined by

* To use the figure of Epiphanius and of Hooker, presbyters, by the power which they have received to administer the Sacraments, are able to beget children unto God: bishops alone, by virtue of their power to ordain, can create fathers to the people of God. *Eccl. Pol.* bk. vii. The custom of the Western Church is retained by England that priests assist at the ordination of priests, but priests cannot ordain priests without a bishop. Palmer, ii. 308.

consenting ritualists to be prayer and the imposition of hands.* In the new Ordinal, as in the rest of the Liturgic Reformation, a return was made to primitive antiquity: and at an earlier day in the Reformation itself it had been perceived that the ceremonies which were now abolished were rather laudable and expedient than essential.† This is one of those points in which it may be acknowledged without grudging that it was happy for the Church of England that the chief of her reformers was the highest of her bishops.

But there was one man at least to whom the alterations of the new Book appeared to be too great. The names of the authors or compilers of the Ordinal seem not certainly known: ‡ though, as by the Act the same number was ordered, it can scarcely be doubted that the same persons were employed who had formed the so-called Windsor Commission: and that the six bishops and the six doctors, who had made the Communion Book and the Prayer Book, completed the circle of the ancient service books by adding to the reformed Missal

* Palmer: Soame's *Reform*, iii. 524.

† In the Rationale of the year 1540 (to which we have already referred) all that is said about Order is that, "The Ceremonies, Observances, and Prayers said and done in the Consecration of Bishops and Giving Orders to Priests, Deacons, Subdeacons, and other inferior Ministers, as heretofore hath been accustomed, and as it is devised in the books called Pontificals, be very laudable and expedient to be used: for by these Ceremonies and Observances every man in his Order, State, and Degree is admonished what appertains to their Offices. And the Prayers be made to God, that they may truly, sincerely and devoutly use the Ministration to them committed, to God's honour, spiritual comfort of themselves, and all other Christian people." There is a clause also about the Pope and the King, which need not be quoted. Collier, ii. 193.

‡ Strype says that he could not find their names. *Cramm.* bk. ii. ch. xi. It is not improbable that they never had a written commission. The Council Book has the following incomplete entry about them, 2 Feb. 1549: "The bishop and learned whose names be under written, appointed by the lords to devise orders for the creation of bishops and priests." No names are added. Pocock's *Burnet*, iii. 339.

and Breviary the reformation of the Pontificale. But Day of Chichester among the bishops had refused before to append his name to the Prayer Book, the work of his fellow liturgists: from the further service therefore he was discharged: * and his place taken by Heath of Worcester. The substitution was curious: for Heath was as strong as Day for the Old Learning: and had stood by the side of Day in every protestation that the Old Learning had ventured in the House of Lords against the recent alterations. In particular the two had united with Tunstall, Aldrich, and Thirlby in opposing the Act for making a new Ordinal.† Heath soon showed himself as uncompliant as his predecessor had been: and when the Ordinal was finished, he refused to subscribe to it. He was called before the Council, February 8: and after a month committed to the Fleet,‡ where he remained to the end of the reign: and, before the reign came to an end, he was deprived. The troubles of this very learned and conscientious prelate may not have been entirely unconnected with the reluctance which he manifested to give up his episcopal estates to the courtiers.§ Nothing can be imagined more illegal than his imprisonment, even according to the laws which then existed: for by the terms of the very Act for the Ordinal, not the consent of all the twelve compilers was required, but only of the most number of them.

The day on which the New Ordinal came in force was marked by other agitations among the prelates.

* “The number of the bishops and learned men which are appointed by this Act (for drawing the Ordinal) assures me that the King made choice of the very same whom he had formerly employed in composing the Liturgy: the Bishop of Chichester, Day, being left out by reason of his refractoriness in not subscribing to the same.” Heylin.

† And yet Thirlby kept his place on the commission, if it can be called a commission. Aldrich and Tunstall were never on it. See Vol. II. p. 493 of this work.

‡ Pocock’s *Burnet*, iii. 339.

§ Willis’s *Cathedrals*.

The newly founded bishopric of Westminster was dissolved, and, in the demure language of the instrument, "restored and united to the see of London"; the bishop, Thirlby, being translated to Norwich, from which the old and lukewarm Rugg retired.* At the same time Ridley was promoted from Rochester to London: to whom succeeded in Rochester the remarkable Ponet. All these appointments, all the appointments of this reign, were made by letters patent only: in the letters patent of all there was inserted a clause to declare that, according to the Act of Parliament of the beginning of the reign, the mode of appointment was sufficient without the *Congé d'elire*: and thus the last shadowy trace of the freedom of the Church in the election of bishops was swept away, as it seemed, for ever.† Ridley, who was installed and enthroned by

* Thirlby's Reg. *ap.* Strype, iii. 334.

† This curious clause is worth quoting. It occurs first in the translation of Barlow to Bath in 1548. "Cum per quendam Actum in Parlamento nostro inchoato ap. West. quarto die Nov. anno nostri regni primo, ac ibidem tento, inter alia statuta pro Republica nostra edita ordinatum, enactum, et stabilitum fuerit, quod nullum Breve de Licentia Eligendi (vulgariter vocatum *congé d'eslier*) deinceps concessum foret, nec electio alicujus Archiepiscopi seu Episcopi per Decanum et Capitulum fieret: Sed quod nos per Litteras nostras Patentes, quolibet tempore cum aliquis Archiepiscopatus seu Episcopatus vacaret, alicui Personæ, quem nos idoneum existimaremus, eundem conferre possemus et valeamus: Et eadem Collatio, sic per literas nostras Patentes, hujusmodi Personæ factas et deliberatas, cui nos in eundem conferremus Archiepiscopatum seu Episcopatum, seu ejus sufficienti Procuratori vel Attornato, staret et foret, ad omnes intentiones, constructiones, et proposita, tanti et consimilis effectus quanti et qualis foret, si Breve de Licentia Eligendi concessum, Electio rite facta et eodem confirmata fuissent." *Rymer*, xv. p. 169: also pp. 219, 222, 237, 256, 298, 303, 312, 320. The only case in which the clause is not found is in Coverdale's appointment to Exeter, who yet was appointed by letters patent only. *Rym.* p. 284. Strype says truly that Ferrer, or Farrar, Bishop of St. David's, was the first consecrated upon the bare nomination of the King, and that it is so noted in the margin of Cranmer's Register (*Cranm.* bk. ii. ch. ix.), August 1, 1548. But Barlow was translated on the King's bare nomination before that, 3 February. As to the Act of Parliament, see Vol. II. p. 458 *huj. op.*

proxy, was compelled to alienate a great part of the lands of London, and the process was attended with great waste. He received in return parcels of the dissolved Westminster: * but when these, strange to say were found, after the bargain was struck, to exceed in value the alienated property, a rapid modification corrected an undesigned error: and some rents reserved for the Crown, trimmed, or even reversed, the balance. To strip so great a diocese, and reclothe it in the fragments of another, was a bold stroke of sacrilege even for that year; but the blame of the transaction must not be laid only upon Ridley. The willing May, and the rest of the Chapter of St. Paul's, agreed in the exchange, saving all that belonged to themselves in the territories that were exchanged. But this was an instructive example of the manner in which the figment of the King's advantage was made to serve for the gratification of the courtiers. The London lands were first conveyed to the King by letters patent: and after the immodest interval of four days or more, a second instrument conveyed the best of them to Darcy, and Rich, and Wentworth. Of the last-named favourite the good fortune, which has been admired before, may be seen with surprise again. He was enabled not only to keep at court, but to occupy with dignity a fresh office, the important post of Lord Chamberlain, which fell to him on Arundel's disgrace. And Wentworth had come up from Yorkshire without much estate.†

* A lamentable Letter written by Ridley to Cecil in September 1551, on "the miserable spoil done in vacation time by the King's officers upon his woods," is printed in Tytler, i. 430.

† Stow, who censures Ridley, gives a list of the bartered London lands (*Survey*, pp. 533, 715), which Strype, who tries to exculpate the bishop, has partly copied (iii. 339). It is said in Robertson's *Heylin* (i. 179) that the exchange was made by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, Ridley, on his appointment, confirming the act. But it seems from the instruments themselves that the grant (or exchange) was made

The new and active Ordinary of London held a Visitation of his diocese in the course of the summer: and his Articles and Injunctions remain.* They exhibit his determination to uphold the Prayer Book: and are memorable in that they sounded the first alarm of Separation, the unhappy and inevitable consequence of an enforced uniformity, of which his keen eye had now discerned the symptoms. "Whether," asked Ridley, "do any preach or speak in derogation of the Book of Common Prayer, or refuse to use it, or to minister Sacraments in the order set forth therein? Whether have any persons masses in their private houses, contrary to the Book of Communion? Whether any of the sect of the Anabaptists, or other, use notoriously any unlawful or private conventicles, wherein they use doctrine or administration of Sacraments, separating themselves from the rest of the parish?" For this danger, or rather for this calamity, Ridley seems to have considered the remedy to be that which was in fact among the causes of it, the activity of licensed preachers. To ensure the efficiency of that valuable order, he showed himself extremely particular in his enquiries. He asked, Whether the minister of a church, having a license to preach, preached: or not having a license, diligently procured licensed preachers: Whether the minister of a church refused to admit licensed preachers, when they presented themselves at his church: or, if he admitted them, absented himself from their sermons: or caused others

by Ridley on the 12th of April: and confirmed by the Chapter on the same day. They reserved however whatever belonged to themselves.—Rymer, xv. p. 226. Eventually Darcy got the manor of Southminster; Rich got the manor of Branktree and the advowson of Coggeshall; Wentworth got the manors of Stepney and Hackney, as was mentioned above, p. 157.

* Cranmer also visited Canterbury Church this year; and his Injunctions remain (*Rem.* p. 159): but they throw no particular light upon the state of the times.

to absent themselves : or admitted any to preach without a license. Other things seem little in comparison with aught that illustrates the obscure birth of the great English Separations : but it may be noted that the bishop was rigid with his clergy. He repeated the severer Injunctions both of the former reign and of this : and the mandates of Crumwel, which had been renewed in the name of Edward,* about keeping houses and churches in repair, about maintaining scholars and distributing to the poor out of the revenues of livings, were revived by Ridley, forgetful or ignorant that these were the scandalous exactions of an age of revolutionary greed, flinging upon one class the duty of the whole community. The language of the Injunctions of the year before, so insulting to the old religion, about "counterfeiting the popish mass," † was also repeated, and Ridley went on to sanction, of his own authority, the destructive agitation of the hour. Without any warrant of law, he gave forth the celebrated Injunction for turning altars into tables. "The form of a table," said he, "may move and turn the people from the old superstitious opinions of the popish Mass, and to the right use of the Lord's Supper. We exhort the curates, churchwardens, and questmen here present to erect and set up the Lord's board after the form of an honest table, decently covered, in such place of the quire or chancel as shall be thought most meet by their discretion and agreement, so that the ministers with the communicants may have their place separated from the rest of the people : and to take down and abolish all other by-altars and tables." ‡ He gave an example of zeal when at this very

* Vol. I. p. 444 ; Vol. II. p. 430 *huj. op.*

† See above, p. 38.

‡ Wilk. iv. 60 : Cardwell, i. 94. Burnet has observed a difference of language in this Injunction of Ridley's, as compared with his other Injunctions. "He only *exhorts* the curates to do it. Ridley could not have

Visitation he broke down the high altar in his own cathedral church of St. Paul, and set up a table there.*

The lawlessness of the Bishop of London was, it need

done it in such soft words after the Council had required and commanded him to do it." Cardwell lamely tries to screen Ridley from the charge of illegality by saying that he "doubtless framed his Injunction on the authority given to bishops in the Preface to the Book of Common Prayer, to take order for the quieting and appeasing of all doubts connected with the use of that book." This is nonsense: for the bishop was to take order when disputing parties asked him; no disputing parties asked Ridley. This argument is however the last of the six "considerations" put forth to assist or excuse the destruction, and put forth by Ridley himself. See below, p. 203. It may be added that Strype has noticed an omission in those authors who had printed Ridley's Articles in his day (an omission which Cardwell has not supplied) of two texts of Scripture with which they significantly concluded. "He that refuseth to be reformed despiseth his own soul:" and "If the Lord be God, follow Him: if Baal, him." *Strype*, iii. 402. This about Baal was a common insult to the old religion.

* It was on St. Barnabas Day, 11 June, that Ridley broke down the altar. To screen him from illegality, Heylin tries to prove that it was on St. Barnabas Day of the following year, and he seems to have misled Collier about it. In fact Ridley had been innovating at St. Paul's from the day of his appointment to London: and now merely went on so doing: as appears from the *Grey Friars' Chronicle*:—

12 April, he was installed.

19 — He received the host at the Communion *in his hands*: and before he came into the quire, he commanded the light of the altar to be put out.

5 May. He began his Visitation in Paul's.

11 June. St. Barnabas. He had the altar pulled down at night: and "the veil was hanged up beneath the steps, and the table set up there; and a se'night after there the Communion was 'administered.'" *Comp. Stow*.

24 — He held an ordination, "before the high altar." *Strype*, iii. 402. This must have been before the place where it had been: unless it was only the wall behind the altar, not the altar itself, that had been broken down.

25 Dec. He put down "the Rectores chori, with all their copes at processions, and no more to be used."

24 Mar. 1551. The grates beside the high altar were closed up, to prevent the people from looking in at the Communion time: and the veil was hanged up.

28 — Easter Even. The table was removed and set beneath the veil north and south: next day Dean May ministered.

not be said, entirely acceptable to the men in power: for there was a good deal to be made out of the hangings, furniture, and plate of altars: and a universal demolition ensued on his example. The high sheriff of Essex, Sir John Gates, was sent down to see the bishop's Injunction executed in a disaffected county: * a letter of the Council ordered the altars of Windsor to be defaced.† Elsewhere it is not known whether a special envoy was required, but the altars seem to have been destroyed throughout the country with great rapidity. When all was nearly over, the Council proceeded to spread over the destruction the covering of their authority, imitating in a smaller matter the action of the former reign, when the suppression of the great monasteries was sanctioned, after it had taken place, by an Act of Parliament. But in the present case the authority of the legislature was unattainable: and all that the Council could do was to send Letters written in the King's name, given under the King's signet, but subscribed by some of themselves, to the bishops, ordering them to destroy the remaining altars, and set up tables in every church.‡ With the Letters were sent "certain considerations" or reasons, which the bishops were required to open or expound in the cathedral churches, market towns, or other notable places: and to cause to be declared by discreet preachers,

* 15 July. "Sir John Gates the sheriff of Essex, went down with letters to see the Bishop of London's Injunctions performed, which touched plucking down of superaltaries, altars, and such-like ceremonies and abuses." *Edward's Journ.*

† "A letter to the college and town of Windsor to deface their Aulters out of hand." *Council Book*, 22 July.

‡ The King wrote in his Journal, 19 November, "There were Letters sent to every bishop to pluck down the altars." The Letters bore date 24 November. They were signed by Cranmer, Somerset, Clinton, Goodrich, Warwick, Bedford, Wiltshire, Wentworth and North. *Heylin, Fox, Wilkins, Cardwell*. Fox wrongly says that Ridley's Visitation took place after he had received these letters, not before.

wherever altars were to be taken down. They were of Ridley's composure, six in number.* A lamentable destruction was thus begun without the shadow, and carried through without the substance of legal warrant : for the instruments issued by the King, or in his name, had lost the force of law since the repeal of the Act of Proclamations at the beginning of the reign.

When this serious alteration was made on insufficient authority, the chief leaders of the Old Learning among the prelates, Gardiner, Bonner, and Heath, lay in the seclusion of the Tower or the Fleet. But Day, the Bishop of Chichester, had resisted the encroachments of the Revolution from the beginning of the reign, and at the beginning of the year present had been dismissed from the Windsor Commission, as it has been seen. About the same time he had defined his position on the other hand by a notable sermon which he preached against Transubstantiation in the orthodox pulpit of Westminster.† He appeared therefore to be opposed to positive explication and opposed to revolution. As soon as Ridley and the rest began to pull down altars, Day in his own diocese began to preach against the destruction ; and aroused so much popular feeling that tumults and danger were feared, and a special licensed

* The six Considerations were sent along with the letters to the bishops. They are given by Fox. They are not all of them reasons for making the change ; but, what they are called, considerations about it. 1. That in church there is wanted not an altar but a supper-table. 2. That in the Book of Common Prayer the terms altar, table and board are used interchangeably. 3. The first over again. 4. Sacrifices being ceased, altars are not needed. 5. That no altars are known in the Apostles' times. 6. That if any difficulty arise, the Preface of the Book of Common Prayer directs that reference be made to the bishop of the place. It appears from the subsequent proceedings against Day that the Considerations were composed by Ridley.

† "The Bishop of Chichester, before a vehement asserter of Transubstantiation, did preach against it in the preaching place at Westminster." *Edward's Journal*, 4 April.

preacher, Doctor Cox himself, was sent into Sussex by the Council to appease the people.* A month after this, Day was brought before the oligarchy in London on the charge of dangerous preaching: but he seems to have been able to clear himself. But when, a few days after, the Letters and Considerations of the Council came forth to the bishops, Day found himself commanded to do what he had protested against: and his troubles were begun again. He took these imperious mandates to the Duke of Somerset, protesting that he could not conform his conscience to them, and prayed to be excused. Somerset, after vainly endeavouring to persuade him "to make no conscience where no need was," reported him to the Council. He was summoned to appear again, when he said that he could not in his conscience conform to take down the altars, and set up tables in lieu of them: that he had for his opinion the Scriptures and the consent of the doctors of the Church: and that he saw no strength in the six reasons or considerations set forth by the Bishop of London. Being asked, What Scriptures: he alleged a text from Isaiah, which was as much to the purpose as many texts that have been alleged by many men who wanted authority for thinking and doing what they liked:† and was confuted by Cranmer and Ridley. The Archbishop and the Bishop of Ely (who about this time was very active for Uniformity) argued with him on the lawfulness and reasonableness of the thing, but produced no effect: the Council commanded him to conform, but he said that he could not. They then

* The Council ordered Dr. Cox to repair into Sussex, October 7, "to appease the people by his good doctrine, which are much troubled by the seditious preaching of the Bishop of Chichester and others."—*Council Book*, ap. Harmer, *Specimen*, p. 113. (Dasent, 137.)

† "In that day there shall be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt," Isa. xix. 19.

gave him three days, during which he was to resort to the Archbishop, and to the Bishops of London and Ely to be resolved of his doubts. At the appointed time he came, 4 December: and was asked whether he had conferred with the bishops. "I was at Lambeth one afternoon," answered he, "to have waited on the Archbishop, but was told that he was at the court, and would be late home. To the others I have made no repair: and I have not been well in health." Cranmer said that on the afternoon, when Day called, he had come home early on purpose to meet him. He was then demanded in what mind he stood: and gave answer that he could not conform against the Scriptures and the doctors of the Church. He then fell into a disputation with Cranmer and Goodrich, in which he repeated his former Scripture, and auxiliated it with another. "I cannot turn an altar into a table," said he. "But you might do it, and then call the table an altar," said they; "the name shall be left indifferent to you."* The Council then commanded him on his allegiance to comply: and gave him three more days to deliberate. On Sunday, December 7, he appeared again before them, and said that "he could not do it, and would rather lose all that he had." They gave him one more respite of two days, and then his final answer was required. He came again, and thanked them for their great clemency, but told them to "do with him what they thought convenient, for that he would never

* "He alleged the former place out of Isaiah, and a place out of the last Chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews, *We have an altar*, &c., xiii. 10, which the Archbishop and the Bishop of Ely answered, and showed from Origen that in the Primitive Church Christians had no altars, and urged the necessity of reforming the abuses of altars. But touching the naming the Table an Altar, it was left indifferent to him so to name it, because ancient Writers sometimes call that Table an Altar." Harmer and Strype (*Cranmer*, bk. ii. ch. xx.) have between them given the case of Day completely out of the Council Book.

obey to do the thing that his conscience would not bear." This was construed into contempt : and by the sentence of the whole Council he was committed to the Fleet.*

The first separations from the Church of England took place in the dominions of the Bishop of London, or broke out simultaneously in the diocese of his friend Cranmer. In Essex and in Kent, in Bocking, Faversham, and other towns, assemblies were held, from which congregations were formed, which appear to have attained sufficient consistency to hold occasional intercourse with one another, and to make contributions for their mutual support. The obscurity of such origins has almost escaped the eye of history : but they are of great importance : the names and doctrines of the leaders may still be discerned : and Henry Hart, Cole of Faversham, Cole of Maidstone, Vaughan of Heven, Staveley of

* THE ALTAR WAR, 1550.

- Lent. Hooper and the foreigners intimate that they would like to turn altars into tables. The courtiers are glad.
- 11 June. Ridley issues Injunctions at his Visitation : in which, on his own authority, he exhorts churchwardens and others to take down altars, and set up tables : he sets the example at St. Paul's.
- 19 — A high sheriff sent down into his county with letters to see Ridley's injunction executed. The like done probably everywhere. Universal demolition of altars which lasts for many months. The Bishop of Chichester, Day, preaches against it.
- 7 Oct. A licensed preacher sent into Sussex to preach against Day.
- 8 Nov. Day brought before the Council.
- 19 — The Council issue Letters in the King's name for the destruction of altars : and some Considerations thereto : to be declared in churches.
- 24 — The same going on.
- 28 — Day goes to Somerset, and says he cannot do it.
- 30 — Somerset reports him to the Council.
- 1 Dec. The Council have Day up.
- 4 — The same.
- 7 — The same.
- 11 — Day committed to the Fleet.

Frankfield, and their fellows may claim to have been the first separatists or dissenters of England.* The

* This important part of Church history is only represented in printed books by the industry, great but inadequate, of Strype (*Mem.* iii. 369; *Cranmer*, bk. ii. ch. xxi.). It seems to have escaped all subsequent writers, churchmen and dissenters alike. Strype refers, rather vaguely, to the Foxian Manuscripts and the Council Book. As the matter is so important, I will give these originals in full. The Foxian manuscript referred to, which is of course in the Harleian Collection in the British Museum, appears to be a fragment of some depositions, which may have been made in the ecclesiastical court of Canterbury: some of the persons implicated seem to have deposed against the rest. This fragment is overwritten, probably in Strype's hand, "about 1550." It is as follows:—

Here followeth the Deposition of John Grey, William Forstall, Laurentius Ramsay, and Edmonde Morres, produced upon the 1st, 10th, and 11th articles aforesaid.

JOHN GREY.

Item, examined upon the 1st article, saith that **Cole of Faversham** upon Lammas Day last passed said and affirmed that the doctrine of predestination was meeter for devils than for Christian men: prout plenius continetur in depositione.

Item, examined upon the 10th and 11th articles saith that Henry Harte about Bartholomew tide last past said and affirmed in the presence of divers that there was no man so chosen but that he might damn himself. Neither yet any man so reprobate but that he might keep God's commandments.

He said that St. Paul might have damned himself if he listed: prout liquet in suis depositionibus.

And deposeth that Harte said that learned men were the cause of great errors.

LAURENTIUS RAMSAYE.

Item, examined upon the 10th article saith that Henry Harte said and affirmed, as it is contained; that is, that there is no man so chosen or predestinate but that he may condemn himself: Neither is there any so reprobate but that he may, if he would, keep the commandments and be saved.

WILLMUS FORSTALL.

Item, examined upon the 10th article he doth agree in his deposition with the foresaid Laurentius Ramsaye.

Item, examined upon the 11th article saith that Henry Harte said the same time that his faith was not grounded upon learned men, for all errors were brought in by learned men.

The Depositions of Mr. Thomas Broke, Roger Linsey, and Richard Dyneslake, clerk, produced upon the 13th and 14th articles of the Interrogatives aforesaid.

opinions of these persons exhibit the mixture of shrewdness and ignorance that might be expected: partly the

Item, examined upon the 20th article he said that about twelve months sythen George Brodebridge said and affirmed that God's predestination is not certain but upon condition.

Item, examined upon the 39th and 40th articles he deposeth and saith that the contents of these articles hath been affirmed among them for a general doctrine.

Item, examined upon the 40th and 42nd articles he deposeth and proveth the congregation and the same. And their going into Essex.

Item, examined upon the 46th article he deposeth that Cole of Maidstone said and affirmed that children were not born in original sin.

WILLIAM GREENLANDE.

Item, in answering to the 40th article he saith that to play at any game for money it is sin, and the work of the flesh.

Item, in answering to the 41st, 42nd, and 43rd articles he confesseth the congregation and their meeting at divers places, and their going into Essex. And also that he hath contributed.

JOHN PLUME DE LENEHAM.

Item, examined upon the 4th and 5th articles upon his oath, saith that he being among the congregators, he hath heard it divers times affirmed as a general doctrine, that they ought not to salute any sinner, or a man whom they knew not: and that lust after evil was not sin, if the Act were not committed.

Item, examined upon the 13th and 14th articles, he saith that Humfrey Middleton being in Cole's house at Faversham upon Lammas Day he said that all men being then in Adam's loins were predestinate to be salved, and that there were no reprobates. And in his defence he alleged the doctrine contained in the 14th article.

Item, examined upon the 9th article he saith that it is a general affirmation among them that the preaching of predestination is a damnable doctrine.

Item, examined upon the 15th article he deposeth and saith that Nicholas Young said that they might not communicate with sinners. (This MS. is enumerated in Vol. I. p. 246 of the Harleian Catalogue: where it is described as "Depositions of divers witnesses against some Kentish men accused of holding erroneous tenets touching Predestination, &c.: about 1550, as Mr. Strype observes.")

Besides this Foxian MS., there are the following entries, bearing on the subject, in the Council Book. I may add that most of these have been printed by Mr. Pocock (Burnet, iii. 358): but my extracts have been made independently, and I have one or two that perhaps escaped him.

Sunday, Feb. 2, 1549 (50). "One Leremouth, a Scot, being sent for by the lords upon that he was accused to have preached seditiously and against noblemen, bishops, and magistrates, and likewise against the

Anabaptist revolt against Catholic tradition, partly a Pelagian rejection of the Calvinism toward which the

Book of Service, appeared this day before the Lords : whose further examination was remitted to the Bishop of Canterbury, the Bp. of Ely, and Sir John Baker, to be by them declared to the Lords."

Monday, Feb. 3. "William Leremouth, clerk, Scottishman, Edward Shirley of Iffeld in Sussex, Stephen Vaughan of Heven in Kent, and John Staveley of Frankfield in Sussex, knowledge to owe jointly and severally to the King's Majesty one thousand marks, upon condition that the said Leremouth be forthcoming to appear upon warning between this and Michaelmas next, and calling before the Lords or the Archbishop of Canterbury to answer to such things as be to be objected to him."

March 8. "Letters to Sir John Gate to apprehend certain light fellows that come out of Suffolk to Wytham in Essex, where they drink all day, and look upon Books in the night, to examine them, take their Books, and send them up with their Examination, and put them in sure hold."

June 23. "Upon a letter from the L. Chancellor touching certain preachers in Essex that used preaching on the work-days, a Letter was directed to the Bp. of London, declaring the disposition of the people to idleness, and praying him therefore to take order for preaching the holidays only till a better time of the people's inclinations."

July 15. "A recognisance taken of Hugh Weston Dr. of Divinitie in the sum of ijcc l. The condition that he within ten days next shall present himself to the Archbp. of Canterbury, and to attend on him till the Feast of All Saints, and then to abide the Council's order, and not to preach in the meantime without licence of the Council. A recognisance also of Thomas Puttowe of Bewchurch in the county of Essex in 100 l. The like condition, that he should behave himself like a good subject, and forbear open preaching for any other than his own family between this and the Feast of All Saints, and then to appear before the Council to abide their further orders."

Jan. 27, 1550 (51). "Upchard of Boking was brought before the Council touching a certain assembly that had been made in his house in Christmas last : who confessed that (there) were certain Kentishmen to the town to have lodged with goodman Cooke : And because Cooke's wife was in childbed, they came to this Upchard's house, where Cooke was then at dinner, and by Cooke's entreaty there they were lodged. And upon the morrow, which was Sunday, divers of the town, about xii of the clock, came in : and there they fell in argument of things of the Scripture, especially whether it were necessary to stand or kneel bare-headed or covered at prayer, which at length was concluded in ceremony not to be material, but the heart before God was it that importeth, and nothing else. And because it seeme such an assembly, being of lx persons or moo, should mean some great matter, therefore both the said Upchard and one Simson of the same sort was committed to the Marshalsea till further trial were had : and order taken that letters should be sent

Church of England seemed to be setting. One of them said that learned men were the cause of all errors. Another, that the doctrine of predestination was meetter for devils than for Christian men: that children were not born in original sin. Another, that predestination was not certain, but conditional: that it was not lawful to play at any game for money; nor to salute any sinner, or a man whom they knew not: that to preach predestination was a damnable thing. Some of their opinions

both into Essex and Kent, for the apprehension of these that are accounted chief of that practice."—"A Letter to Sir Geo. Norton, Kt. Sheriff of Essex to apprehend certain persons whose names were sent enclosed in a schedule, and to send them hither, that none of them have conference with other. The persons sent for were of those who were assembled for Scripture matters in Bocking: viz.

John Barrett of Stampford, cowherd.

Robert Cooke of Bocking, clothier.

John Eglisse of the same, clothier.

Richard Bagg.

Thomas Pygrinde.

John King.

Myxsto.

Boughtell.

Robert Woolmer.

"A like letter to Sir Ed. Wotton and Sir Thomas Wyatt to apprehend and send up these persons following:—

William Sibley of Lannams.

Thomas Young of the same.

Nic. Shetterton of Pluckley.

Thomas Sharpe of Pluckley.

John Lydeley of Ashford.

Chidderton of Ashford.

Cole of Maidstone,

Schoolmaster.

Feb. 3. "This day Wm. Sibley and Thos. Young of Lenham, Nic. Sheterenden and Th. Sharpe of Pluckley, Cole of Maidstone, appeared before the Council, being of them that assembled at Bocking in Essex.

"Likewise vii others of Essex appeared the same day, both which being examined confessed the cause of their assembly to be for to talk of Scriptures. Not denying but they had refused the Communion about ii years before upon very superstitious and erroneous purposes; with divers other evil opinions worthy of great punishment. Whereupon Boughtell, Barrey, Cole, Wm. Sibley and Nich. Shittrenden were committed to Johnes Eglhis, Thos. Myxes, Ric. Blagge, Thos. Pegerell, et Johnes King de Bocking in Essex recognover, &c. in XI. l. pro quolibet eor. The condition to appear when they shall be called upon and to resort to their ordinary for resolution of their opinions in case they have any doubt in religion.

"The like recognisance taken of Thos. Sharpe of Pluckley, and Nicks Young of Lenham."

seem rather odd than harmful: and it is curious that the first attempts at separation turned so much upon the rejection of Calvinism. Against some of these assemblies no fault of doctrine was alleged: their only crime was meeting together on other days than Sundays and holidays, and having preachers to preach to them. In truth the great destitution of preaching, which the Reformation produced, was the main cause of the beginning of English dissent. Men, whether lay or clergy, having the gift, could not exercise it without licenses: and this rigour, maintained year after year amid the excesses of a revolution, bore the fruits that might be expected. Assemblies were held in spite of tyrannous prohibitions: wild teachers arose: the imperfect and uninstructed perusal of the Scriptures suggested a thousand fantastic questions, which were determined by the tumult of clothiers and cowherds. Forty or fifty such persons met in a house at Bocking, and debated whether it was better to pray on their knees or on their feet, with bare heads or with their hats: concluding well that the thing important was the heart. But where freedom was sought, sedition was apprehended: and the Privy Council hastened to the labour of repression. Orders were sent to Sir George Norton, the sheriff of Essex, to seize and send up those who exercised themselves at Bocking, of whom five were committed, and seven bound in recognizance to appear, if they should be called, and to resort to their Ordinaries for the resolution of their doubts.* One of the most ominous names in the history of the age, the Lord Chancellor Rich, gave the information which led to this procedure: and the betrayer of the illustrious More

* The reader may notice this early application of the well-known direction in the Preface of the Prayer Book about resorting to the Bishop in case of doubt. There is another in the last of the six "Considerations of Ridley about turning altars into tables." See above, p. 203.

may be regarded as the instigator of the first persecution of English schismatics. The like measures were taken in Kent, where seven men were apprehended by the order of the Council and the hands of Sir Edward Wotton and Sir Thomas Wyatt. An order was despatched in June to the new Bishop of London, to forbid all preachings upon unaccustomed days.*

The condition of the country was still deplorable. The rumour or the fear of insurrection disquieted the Council through the summer: risings were apprehended in Essex, Kent, and Sussex, in Oxfordshire, Wiltshire, Hampshire. The duke of Somerset, on his partial return to power, was despatched to keep the peace in the disturbed districts: he went to Reading for the purpose: and it may be added, he used the occasion, or was allowed, to acquire to himself the great former abbey of that town.† The assembling of the people was forbidden in numerous Proclamations, which were grounded on the Act of Parliament in that behalf. The revolution in land, by paralysing agriculture, still brought the beggared poor in multitudes to London: they were driven back into the naked fields by Proclamation. A dearth, which fell in harvest, augmented the miseries of the year; and was itself increased by the unscrupulous devices by which provisions were carried over seas. In remedy of these evils a vast number of sumptuary edicts were issued by the Council: the insatiable greediness of traders was exposed and denounced; and the justices and municipal authorities everywhere were bidden to bestir themselves. But the oligarchy failed to counteract their own deeds, or to prove that the same fountain can send forth sweet and bitter waters. A day of public fasting, and a prayer for rain, the composure it is likely of the Archbishop,

* Wilkins, iv. 62.

† See end of this chapter.

confessed the dire extremity of the time, in which all things seemed to be at an end, and rebuked the inclination of the ungodly to ascribe every calamity to the Reformation.*

In the mean time his bishopric had been offered to Hooper. The death of Wakefield, the first incumbent, at the beginning of the year, had opened the poor and newly founded see of Gloucester: before Hooper the preferment was laid by the persuasive voice of Rich. He refused it, if he were to wear the garb and take the oath prescribed in the New Ordinal. "I cannot put on me a surplice and a cope: I cannot swear by created beings."† He was called before the Council, and certain Articles to be subscribed were presented to him. One of them declared that the Sacraments conferred grace: and the proposition of Sacramental grace,

* Strype, iii. 344, *seq.* gives an account of these matters, and has preserved the prayer, iv. *Rep. KK.*

† He was offered the bishopric, April 7: called before the Council, April 10 (*Orig. Lett.* 559): and, in the confident apprehension of the Council, made bishop in the following month, May 15, where their Book has the entry, "Master Hooper was constituted bishop of Gloucester." Accordingly, John ab Ulmis wrote to Bullinger from Oxford, "Hooper our friend of Zurich was made a bishop on Ascension Day." *Orig. Lett.* 410, 28th May. To this letter Mr. Froude refers in the following passage. "The Duke of Somerset was again powerful. In the signatures of the Council to public acts his name once more headed the list. On the 28th of May he carried the nomination of Hooper to the bishopric of Gloucester against a vehement opposition." (v. 310.) This is one of the countless passages in that book, which, while seeming to have something to go upon, convey a totally false impression of the history of the time. Any one reading it would suppose that there was the free agitation of public life in England during the Reformation, the bold and not ignoble strife of great parties: and that Somerset went down to the Council, and proposed Hooper as the fittest representative of a great cause, in the face of other statesmen who opposed him. All that Ab Ulmis says is, "The King's uncle, the Duke of Somerset, carried this in the Council against the opposition of *almost all the Bishops*. I hear that great contests took place on each side respecting ceremonies and the vestments of the popish priests—I should have said of the stage players and fools. Hooper at length gained his cause." Warwick and the other laymen made no opposition to Hooper.

which went to the bottom of all things, sounded the depth of Hooper. "They seal, they testify grace; not confer it," objected he:* and he added to the other points of his nonconformity that he would not submit to the tonsure. This, which was only customary, not ordered in the new book, the lords remitted.† And now, as it was presumed that the way was clear, the Letters Patent (without any sort of election) were made out of his appointment to Gloucester.‡ But Hooper's other scruples remained: and he so far prevailed, that the Earl of Warwick, at the request of the King himself, as he alleged, wrote a letter to Cranmer, that the Oath might be omitted in his consecration.§ But the Primate and his suffragans, instructed perchance by the memory of the late reign, reasonably feared the danger of a *Præmunire*, if they should depart from the order of the law, and merely at the bidding of a subject. A second letter followed, written in the name of the King, and signed by the Council, to free them from apprehension, and give them dispensation to consecrate Hooper in any way that he would.|| But the sensitive Primate, if he would have yielded, was held fast, for once, by as

* *Orig. Lett.* 563.

† *Ib.* 665, Burcher to Bullinger in June.

‡ 3rd July. Rymer, xv. 240.

§ This Letter is given by Fox: it is dated 23rd July. Fox has nothing of the pretty story of the young King striking out the Oath with his own hand, and exclaiming, "What wickedness." Edward in his Journal, 20th July, has entered "Hooper made Bishop of Gloucester." No doubt, he thought that these efforts to make a man a Bishop against his will had been successful.

|| This Letter also is in Fox. The last of it is, "From Consecrating of whom we understand ye do stay, because he would have you omit and let pass certain rites and ceremonies, offensive to his conscience, whereby ye think ye should fall in *Præmunire* of laws; we have thought good, by the advice of our Council aforesaid, to dispense and discharge you of all manner of dangers, penalties, and forfeitures, ye should run and be in any manner of way, by omitting any of the same. And these Letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge therefore." It is dated 5th August.

strong a will as that which strove to set him running. Ridley felt the indignation of one who having gone as far as he himself desires, beholds another going further. "These things which you scruple," he said to Hooper, "these ceremonies and vestments, are things indifferent: you call them sinful. Now I attach no more value to them in themselves than you do: but they are ordered, and you are wrong to oppose them." To whom, that "a bishop ought not to be distinguished by a peculiar dress," Hooper replied.* "Come, take the Bible on your shoulder, having on you a surplice: and turn yourself round three times," retorted Ridley. But Hooper, "No: imposition of hands is sufficient."† "You are insubordinate," cried Ridley. "You mistake me altogether," answered Hooper, "I neither condemn these ceremonies in the abstract, nor allow them to be indifferent: they are neither evil in themselves, nor endurable by the Church of God: they are simply things that lack the authority of Scripture."‡ He was again called before the Council, where he was confronted with Ridley, who is said to have behaved towards him in a violent manner.§ His arguments, which he exhibited in writing,

* *Orig. Lett.* 486.† *Ib.* 673.‡ *Ib.* 674.

§ "At Richmond 6th of October, 1550. A letter to the Bishop of London that whereas there hath been some difference between him and the elect bishop of Gloucester upon certain ceremonies belonging to the making of a bishop, wherein their lordships desire is, because they would in no wise the stirring up of controversies between men of one profession, did send for him, willing him to cease the occasions thereof: who humbly desired that he might for declaration of his doings put in writing such arguments as moved him to be of the opinion he held: which thing was granted, and was by their Lordships commanded to be at the Court on Sunday next, bringing with him that he shall for an answer have thought convenient:"—Council Bk. *ap.* Harmer, 93. It may be noted that the Council constantly held their meetings on Sunday. Ridley seems to have come before them in consequence of this letter, and to have encountered Hooper there on the 19th October. "Master Hooper has just called upon me on his return from court. He tells me that yesterday the Bishop of London

were committed to his adversary to confute. The controversy was waged with considerable heat, and lasted for many months.*

In this combat of English divines the foreigners were called to bear their part. Those who were harboured in London, headed by Alasco or Laski the Pole, himself a renegade bishop, took the side of Hooper. The opinion of Bucer was evoked by the request of Cranmer: for, trembling between the rock and the whirlpool, "Tell me," cried the Archbishop to his adviser, "whether the ministers of the Church of England can wear the habits without offending God: inform me whether the man who refuses the habits sins against God and the magistrate."—"I answer both your questions in the affirmative," replied Bucer, "but still considering the superstition of some and the scruples of others, I think that some good opportunity should be found to take away the habits." † And to Hooper himself Bucer wrote in a severe tone, rebuking him for disputing about trifles. "While sacrilege abounds, while impropiators are seiz-

was most violent against him before the Council, and that he impugned his doctrine, and loaded him with the greatest insults. A copy of his letter is refused him, for he demanded this of the Council."—Micronius to Bullinger, 20th October.—*Orig. Lett.* 573.

* Hooper's main argument on this occasion was a very grave one: "quod Servator noster Jesus Christus nudus in cruce pendeat."—"Nam Aaronici sacerdotes in suo ministerio vestimentis utebantur, quia sacerdotii ipsorum veritas, Christus ipse, nondum venerat: Christus vero, quando ipse esset sacrificandus, omnibus vestibus exutus, suum ex eo sacerdotium ostendens, quod ipsa esset veritas, nullis jam amplius opus haberet velaminibus aut umbris."—*Ex libro MS. D. Hooperi Reg. Consiliarii ab ipso exhibito*, 3 Oct. 1550. Of this "Book" of Hooper's only an extract remains, which is given in Ridley's *Life of Ridley*, p. 316. Also see it in Soames, iii. 563, and in the Parker Society's *Writings of Bradford*, 373. It seems probable that Hooper wrote in English, and that this fragment is out of a Latin version which he may also have made. The answer of Ridley is preserved, and may be seen in the same volume of Bradford's *Writings*, where it was published for the first time by the Parker Society: p. 375. It is severely logical.

† Scripta Anglicana, 681. Strype's *Cran.* Bk. II. ch. 17.

ing each their four or six or more parishes, and giving the cure of souls to their grooms or bailifs; while the scarcity of competent clergy is so great that many parishes have not heard a sound sermon for six years: while congregations are laughing and chatting and playing during the divine offices, a good man should bend his strength against the nerves and sinews of Antichrist: not be bickering about his signs and tokens." * The Nonconformist received as little encouragement from Martyr: though Martyr, that canon of Christchurch, used to go to chapel without a surplice. "I like the nakedness of Strasburg," said he to Hooper, "but if I thought the habits sinful, I should not communicate with the Church of England. They are indifferent. What are your arguments? That the habits are Aaronical? So are tithes: so are psalms: so are festivals. That they are defiled by Popery, by Antichrist? Why, the pagan temples, which became the first Christian churches, had been defiled by the devil himself. Besides, the difference of garments in holy things is not of papal origin, but of true antiquity. Bishop Cyprian at his martyrdom had on him a cassock and a dalmatic. Or, say you, that the habits turn the eyes of beholders from thinking of serious things? Then are we to abolish every ceremony of the Church? No: admiration is a means of serious thought. Take advice: cease those unseasonable and bitter sermons, which are a hindrance to your usefulness." † Hooper remained however unconvinced.

He was preaching by this time with such violence that the Council found it necessary to suspend him: and ordered him to keep his house, unless he desired to seek

* Scripta Anglicana, 705.

† Strype's *Cranm.* as above. Martyr's Letter was of Nov. 4; Bucer's to Cranmer was of Dec. 8.

counsel of the Archbishop, or of the Bishops of London, Ely, or Lincoln. But he neither kept his house, and, being debarred the pulpit, he had recourse to the press.* He published, about the end of the year, a vindication of himself under the title of "The Confession of John Hooper's Faith": a vigorous tractate, which is important in exhibiting the opinions of the founder of Nonconformity. "Erroneous opinions about me," said Hooper, "are in the heads of many. I am thought a heretic, though appointed by a King to preach! I write this for the sake of the people; for if they call me a heretic, they are in danger of hell fire and eternal damnation. But let them hear me, and then bear witness: for if the King's preachers be not acquitted by their audiences from the calumnies of malicious men, they will not long preach the truth. The papists and the carnal gospellers alike accuse them: nay, if the Council promise not a bridle for sin, the true preacher will be more persecuted now than ever yet hereunto he hath been by the papists. I am no heretic. I abhor every heretical opinion of antiquity: and I abhor the Anabaptists and blasphemers of our own times. They are the successors of the ancient enemies of society. They are a token of the devil's indignation against civil policy and order. I see the minds of Englishmen evil affected against all laws and magistrates: and I know that the ignorant suppose all dominion and order to be tyranny and the oppression of the poor. I know no remedy of these opinions but God's word diligently taught and preached. I marvel therefore that some should say that a sermon a week or

* The Council complained afterwards that though he had been commanded to keep his house, and "neither to preach nor read until he had further licence from the Council, it appeared both that he had not kept his house, and that he had also written and printed a book, wherein was contained matter that he should not have written."—Council Bk. ap. Harmer, 94.

a month, or a quarter, is enough for the people. Why should not a bishop, or an evangelical preacher, preach a sermon every day, when the priests of Baal could each perform fifteen Masses daily? People then lost more labour and spent more time to go to the devil than now to come to God. Both master and servant would find gain at the year's end, if they heard morning sermon and morning prayer every day of the week. But we are fallen into the last times and the end of the world. Nature in man is now consumed, effeminate, and outworn. We can neither endure hardship nor seek wisdom, as the former ages could: we cannot even study the arts that other men have left to us. As it regards the Church, I hold the visible Church to be a visible congregation of men and women, that hear the Gospel of Christ, and use His Sacraments as He hath instituted them. These two marks, the true preaching of God's word and the right use of the Sacraments, declare what and where the true Church is. With this Church I would have all men associate themselves, although there may be some things desired in manners and discipline." Thus Hooper, oppressed by the deadly evils of the age. As for himself and his difficulties, nothing could be more moderate than this exhibition, in which he almost omitted them all: speaking more as a conformist than a nonconformist. The tireless and inexpugnable quality of the man appeared in that he held it easy to preach a sermon every day: he added a sentence in which he reduced the universal claims of episcopacy to the same level with those of the Roman cardinalate: and lamented, after the doctrine of Alasco, that the Church was degenerated into a civil policy, and bound to any ordinary succession of superior ministers.* This

* This curiously good and bad passage deserves to be quoted. "As concerning the ministers of the Church, I believe that the Church is bound

discharge of conscience appeared to have so completely impaired Hooper's credit among persons of consideration, that the observant John ab Ulmis warned the prudent Bullinger to choose some other person to present a copy of one of his *Decades* to the powerful Warwick. "Peter Martyr declares that Hooper has lost all influence with the nobility : his affairs are most precarious. Let Skinner present your book : or Traheron (Traheron and Hooper are at variance) : I recommend you to consider carefully about the expediency of allowing Hooper to do it." *

Over the imprisoned head of Gardiner another year had rolled from the time of the visit which Rich and Petre paid him ; when the door of his cell was opened,

to no sort of people, or any ordinary succession of bishops, cardinals or such like, but unto the only Word of God : and none of them should be believed but when they speak the Word of God. Although there be diversity of gifts and knowledge among men, some know more and some less : and if he that knoweth least, teach Christ after the Holy Scriptures, he is to be accepted : and he that knoweth most, and teacheth Christ contrary, or any other ways than the Holy Scriptures teach, is to be refused. I am sorry therefore with all my heart to see the Church of Christ degenerated into a civil policy : for even as kings of the world naturally by descent from their parents must follow in civil regiment, rule, and law, as by right they ought ; even so must such as succeed in the place of bishops and priests that die, possess all gifts and learning of the Holy Ghost, to rule the Church of Christ, as his godly predecessor had : so that the Holy Ghost must be captive and bondman to bishops' sees and palaces. And because the Holy Ghost was in St. Peter at Rome, and in many other godly men that have occupied bishoprics and dioceses, therefore the same gift, they say, must follow in their successors, although indeed they be no more like of zeal and diligence than Peter and Judas, Balaam and Jeremy, Annas and Caiaphas to John and James. But then I conclude of the ministers, of what degree or dignity soever they be, they be no better than records and testimonies, ministers and servants of God's word and God's Sacraments : unto the which they should neither add, diminish, nor change anything. And for their true service and diligence in this part they should be not only revered of the people, but also honoured of the magistrates, as the servants of God. And I believe that as many souls as perish by their negligence or contempt of God's Word, shall be required at their hands." Hooper's Confession was dated 20 December.

* To Bullinger, 31 Dec. 1550. *Orig. Lett.* 426.

June 9, and the Duke of Somerset entered, in company with the Earls of Bedford and Northampton, and Secretary Petre.* They came as they told him, "to know

* "I heard no more of my matter in one whole year after almost, within fourteen days, notwithstanding two letters written by me to the Council, of most humble request to be heard according to justice. And then at the end of two years almost come unto me the Duke of Somerset, with other of the Council."—Gardiner's *Answers*, ap. Fox. "The Duke of Somerset, Marquess of Northampton, Lord Treasurer Bedford, and the Secretary Petre went to the Bishop of Winchester to know to what he would stick. He made answer, That he would obey and set forth all things set forth by me and my Parliament : and if he were troubled in Conscience, he would reveal it to the Council, and not reason openly against it."—Edward's *Journ.* 9 June. I may as well give the rest of this chronology : The principal authority is the Council Book, large extracts from which are printed in the *Archæologia*, vol. xviii., and in Pocock's *Burnet*, iii. 334. I have added other authorities, and especially Gardiner himself.

10 June. The Book of the King's Proceedings given to Gardiner. Fox : *King's Journal*.

13 — The Lieutenant reports that he had read it. Fox.

14 — Somerset with five others go to him, and he answers thus : "Having deliberately seen the Book of Common Prayer, although I would not have made it so myself, yet I find such things in it as satisfieth my conscience, and therefore I will both execute it myself and also see others my parishioners to do it." The Councillors subscribed that they heard him say these words. *King's Journ.* Gardiner himself says more. "The said bishop then told them why he liked the said book, and noted unto them how, notwithstanding the alteration, yet touching the truth of the very presence of Christ's most precious Body and Blood in the Sacrament, there was as much spoken in that book as might be desired : and that although the elevation was taken away, yet the adoration in one special place was indeed reserved : adding that it must needs be so : affirming also that there was never more spoken for the Sacrament than in that book, wherewith might be confuted all that spoke against it, if they would take it for authority." *Matter Justificatory*. But he refused to write or subscribe any declaration.

8 July. The Council declare that "his Answers were ever doubtful."—Fox.

9 — Warwick, Bedford, Herbert, and Petre bring him a Confession and some Articles to sign. He will not sign the Confession. Fox : *King's Journ.*

10 — Herbert and Petre tell him that the King marvelled at him. *Id.*

his conformity," and to find what conditions might be made for his release. A scene followed, in which the bishop showed considerable emotion, protesting that "he would obey all things that were set forth by the King and Parliament: and that, if he were troubled in conscience, he would not speak openly, but reveal it to the Council." They showed him much gentleness, making several propositions, and, among the rest, to let all the past be forgotten, and so to make report of him to the King. He answered that he was an obedient subject, always ready to observe his duty. He then desired to see "the Book of the King's Proceedings," meaning the Book of Common Prayer: and this the Lieutenant of the Tower was appointed to deliver to him, to see whether he would set his hand to it, or promise to set it forth to the people. Three days afterwards the Lieutenant informed the Council that the Bishop had perused the Book, but could make no direct answer unless he were at liberty: but that, if he were set free, he would say his conscience. On this, Somerset and some others of the Council returned, June 14, and

- 11 July. Ridley, Petre, Cecil, and Goodrich the lawyer, ordered to make other Articles for him "according to the laws"; and "to put in the submission." *King's Journ.*
- 14 — Ridley, Petre, Herbert, and Goodrich vainly take these Articles to him. *Fox.*
- 19 — Gardiner's case taken by the Council to the King, who commanded that "if he would this day also stand to his wonted obstinacy, the council should proceed to the immediate sequestration of his bishopric." Hereupon he was brought before the Council at Westminster, and the Articles above mentioned "were read to him distinctly and with good deliberation." He refused to subscribe, and the sentence of sequestration, and also "the intimation," were read to him. His bishopric was sequestered for three months, and he was threatened with deprivation. *Council Book*, ap. Pocock's *Burnet*, iii. p. 345: *Fox: King's Journ.* The sentence of sequestration is also in MSS. Dom., Ed. VI. vol. x. 14. *Lemon's Cal.* p. 28. [The Acts of the Council are now printed.]

received for answer that he would execute and cause to be executed the Book of Common Prayer, though it was not altogether to his mind. In particular the Bishop expressed himself satisfied as to the doctrine of the Sacramental Presence maintained therein. He refused however to write or subscribe any declaration concerning the Book, lest he should seem to grant himself an offender. "There is another Book, of the making of priests," said Somerset, "how say you to that, my lord?" The bishop, after his former protestation, objected that the new Ordinal derogated from the King's honour and succession, leaving no Samuel to anoint him: that unction was omitted in the making of priests, and yet by the Book of Common Prayer admitted in baptism: but that the priest, not anointed, could not minister unction. His visitors then left him. Somerset was now living in great magnificence, surrounded by men of the New Learning, whose commendations raised him to childish delight, and opened his purse.* It was within his kindly, though vain and imprudent nature to cast a backward look of pity on the man whom he had laid and left in prison: to him were imputed, not without censure, the efforts now made to enlarge Gardiner, and they seemed to bear the traces of an insatiable ambition, of a wider purpose to regain power by conciliating the Old Learning.† Henceforth Warwick took the case of the Bishop into his own hands, and Somerset appeared in it no longer. The answer which Gardiner had returned was considered by the Council, and declared to be doubtful, or insufficient; for it was necessary, to

* John ab Ulmis describes the joy of Somerset at the prospect of a commendation or dedication from Bullinger; and asks Bullinger to work him with a view to John's own profit.—*Orig. Lett.* p. 399.

† Whalley to Cecil, 26 June. *Lemon*, p. 27, MSS. Dom. x. 9, blaming Somerset for trying to procure the enlargement of Gardiner and Arundel: and for his efforts to regain power.

justify them for imprisoning him, that he should not only profess his willingness to obey in future, but confess himself to have been disobedient in the past. Warwick himself came to the Tower with Bedford, with Herbert, with Petre, July 9, bearing a royal Letter and certain Articles to be subscribed by the Bishop. "They were received with due respect; the prisoner kissed and read the King's Letter on his knees, and touched by his demeanour, they made him rise, and bade him consider their propositions at his ease. The first Article, (while the rest of them were concerning the Supremacy, the abolishing of the Six Articles, and other capital matters,) was a full confession or crimination of himself. In great agitation the Bishop cried that he would rather have been commanded to tumble himself desperately into the Thames, than to condemn himself entirely by setting his hand to the first Article. His position was that, if he were accused, he should be tried by course of law: and that, as for conformity, he could neither conform nor nonconform as a prisoner. However he went so far as to subscribe to the other Articles: but against the first Article he wrote, "I cannot with my conscience say this of myself." The lords showed him a good countenance. Warwick made him sit by him, and told him that they had sat by one another ere then, and might again. He made them merry with tales of his miseries in prison, where he had been ill with a tertian ague, and very slenderly served: and when they departed, he thought them his good lords.

But the necessary confession or submission had not been got. The next day Herbert and Petre came back, and suggested to him some other acknowledgment of guilt, since he disliked the form that had been offered him. "How can I," answered Gardiner, "knowing myself innocent, impair my innocency by my own words?"

If I made myself by my own pen a naughty man, I should but lock myself in the more surely.* If I preferred enlargement of body to defamation of myself, I am not assured of it by you : and if I were, it would be small pleasure to me to have my body at liberty by your procurement, and my conscience in perpetual prison by my own act." More words arose on this, and much persuasion was applied, but vainly : and at last the bishop vehemently insisted on his right of trial. "By the Passion of God," cried he, "I require of you that my matter may take an end by justice."

Four days after this, Herbert and Petre reappeared, this time in company with another bishop, him of London, and a lawyer named Goodrich. They brought the submission again, wonderfully softened and shortened, and some newly-composed Articles, to the large number of twenty, in framing which considerable skill had been shown by Ridley. In place of the former, which touched nothing earlier than the present reign, unless it were Supreme Head, these Articles embraced some of the chief measures of the late King, such as the dissolution of monasteries, measures in which Gardiner had concurred : and so passed explicitly to those later proceedings which he had resisted, or on which his mind might be supposed doubtful. Thus he was required to subscribe that the Book of Homilies was godly, wholesome, and of doctrine to be embraced by all ; that the Paraphrase of Erasmus had been set up in churches upon godly considerations ; that there was no need of the inferior orders of clergy. He was also to declare in several Articles that the principal alterations by which the Mass had been transformed were godly and agreeable

* The sidenote of one of the labellous historians, Fox, on this is, "Your putting your pen to the matter would not have made you naughty, but your naughtiness would not put to your pen."

with Scripture : a demand which must have been peculiarly repugnant to the opponent of Cranmer and Hooper in the Sacramental controversy. Gardiner at first respectfully refused to read the Articles : then, being required, he read them, and replied, as before, that he could not consent to the confession, and that, as to the rest, he would make answer when he was out of prison. He added that "he would gladly have been in hand with his lordship of London," whose touch he doubtless recognised in the work : but Ridley told him curtly that he was not come to dispute, adding with some rashness that "he was in prison by the act of God for troubling other men in his time." The imprisoned bishop then formally thanked the Council for desiring to deliver him by way of mercy, but said that he would rather have justice.

On the nineteenth of July he was taken from prison and led before the Council : the submission and the Articles were read to him distinctly : and he was demanded whether he would subscribe them or no. He answered on his knees, "For the Passion of God, my lords, be my good lords, and let me be tried by justice, whether I am faulty or not : and as for these Articles, as soon as ye deliver me to my liberty, I will make answer to them, whether I will subscribe them or no." He added that some of them were laws, which it was not in his power to qualify : and some were not laws, but learning and fact, which might be diversely understood ; and that a subscription to them, without explanation, would be over dangerous. But he offered to study them in prison, and to write "a particular answer" to each of them, that is, to write his opinion on each, and to suffer any penalties of the law that he might incur by his answers. This was rejected : his absolute subscription was required : which he, still kneeling, refused to give. Hereupon he was told that the fruits of his bishopric would

be sequestered for three months from that day : that he must return to prison, where at the end of every month pen and ink should be offered him, if he would yet subscribe : that if he had not submitted by the end of the time, he should suffer deprivation. He desired that his offer to answer particularly might be entered in the record : which was granted. He then asked that some of his servants might have access to him in the Tower : which being refused he said to Warwick, "My lord, for agreeing with my lord of Somerset I had some commodity, but for agreeing with you I have none." Warwick answered him very gently, as he has narrated : and so he was sent back to prison. There was no desire to hurry with his case. The three months were allowed to grow to six, the year expired, ere the Commission met which was to effect the deprivation of Gardiner.

The imprisoned bishop, not yet, as afterwards, denied the use of the pen, had been engaged in a work which marked his intelligent observation of the hour. Upon Cranmer among the moving figures of the scene it was that the gaze of Gardiner was fixed : it was in the perturbation of that mind that danger was to be feared : and the moment might ever be expected when by some decisive act the Archbishop should part from the ancient system, and yield himself entirely to the sweeping waters of innovation. The controversy of the Sacrament had been deprecated and deferred by Cranmer himself in the earlier days of the Revolution : he had been reluctant to have it brought into the number of the questions that might be entertained by responsible persons or determined by authority. But now it appeared as if (in the language of revolutions) the time were come to bring even that great mystery into the ring of contest among authoritative officials : the public disputations of the previous year had opened the way : other things lent

their aid to make the hour seem ripe : and Cranmer made his leap. While Peter Martyr published with a dedication to Cranmer the lectures which had stormed the schools of Oxford, Cranmer himself published his *Defence of the true and Catholic Doctrine of the Sacrament* : a long treatise with a characteristically retractile title. Never before had an English prelate seen fit publicly to call from the altar to the forum, or the hall of judgment, the awful rite which inferior men were tossing about with the license of enlightened littleness. The Primate was intrepid. "Long have we been taking away abuses in England," said he ; "we have done much in that. Monks, friars, beads, pardons, pilgrimages, and such other pelfry are gone : but what of that, if Anti-christ still strike his roots among us ? Two chief roots still remain, nay rather, the very body of the tree ; the popish doctrine of transubstantiation, of the real presence of Christ's Flesh and Blood in the Sacrament of the altar (as they call it), and of the sacrifice and oblation of Christ made by the priest for the salvation of the quick and the dead. Others have set to their hands and whetted their tools to cut down the tree of error : and now I, in this work, set to my hand and my axe along with the rest. I am moved by the office, duty, and place, to which I am called." * On this Gardiner instantly drew his sword. With extraordinary rapidity he produced in the same year his *Explication and assertion of the true Catholic Faith*, which he got published in France : a

* Fox almost speaks as if this treatise of Cranmer's were an authorised formulary. "He took upon him the defence of that whole doctrine, that is, to refute and throw down first, the corporal presence ; secondly the phantastical transubstantiation ; thirdly the idolatrous adoration ; fourthly the false error of the papists that wicked men do eat the natural body of Christ : and lastly, the blasphemous sacrifice of the mass. Whereupon in conclusion he wrote five books for the public instruction of the Church of England, which instruction yet to this day standeth and is received in this Church of England."

tractate which was a great exhibition of learning and reason, written in the clear, close, and drily sufficing style of which he was master: a tractate which was moreover a model of temper and charity. But he began it with an assumption which stung his adversary more deeply than the sharpest invectives would have pierced. Affecting to think it incredible that the Primate of all England should have written such a work as that which bore his name, he styled him everywhere "this author": and proceeded to show how much the writer varied from the prelate, how he went further than even Peter Martyr and Martin Bucer: and how he attacked Catholic doctrine under the pretence that it was popish: concluding that to call such a book a defence of the true Catholic faith was a very strange title. As by Cranmer Martyr, so by Gardiner stood Martyr's rival Smith, the exiled professor of Oxford, who published simultaneously another confutation of the Archbishop, which was not without eloquence. Such was the first bout of a not unmemorable duel.*

* Soames, ii. 577, gives a tolerable account of this controversy, in which he assigns the advantage to Cranmer. It is however merely untrue in him to say that "Gardiner everywhere treats his opponent with offensive personality." It would be impossible to write a controversial book in a more impersonal manner. Gardiner's book might be studied at this day as an example of just and temperate criticism. As to Smith's books, there is a curious entry in the Council Bk., under Mar. 8, 1551. "Upon knowledge that one Seth had brought over certain ill books made by Dr. Smith in France against the Bp. of Canterbury and Peter Martyr's books, forasmuch as he directed his said books to divers persons by name, and also sent special letters which Seth delivered, being thought a matter necessary to be examined, it was resolved that Dr. Poyntet, now named Bp. of Winchester, Mr. Grosnall . . . and John Throgmorton should have the examination of the matter." This Seth had been a servant of Bonner's, who once gave him a beating and dismissed him, but took him on again. On Bonner's imprisonment he went to Paris, and brought back a barrel of Smith's books, 200 in number, with letters from Smith and others to persons in England, "named and appointed to receive of the books." Among them were the Bishop of Chichester and White the Warden of Winchester, who was sent to the Tower, Mar. 25 (*Council Book*). Seth seems to have been threatened with the rack, and perhaps had a taste of it. *Cal. of Cecil MSS.*, pp. 83—85.

If the prelates of the Old Learning failed to get justice from the Council, the contest of Barlow and his dean proved that the figure of justice itself was strained from the attitude of uprightness to protect or favour those who marched with the times. The oft translated Bishop of Bath and Wells, for some unknown cause, had deprived Goodman the dean. It was illegal, for the deanery was in the gift of the Crown, but Barlow was able to procure a royal commission to execute his purpose: and when Goodman, by the advice of lawyers, served him with a writ of *Præmunire*, the bishop with great safety allowed it to pass by default. Cranmer indeed seems to have made known his opinion that Barlow was wrong: * nevertheless the indulgent Council furnished him with a Pardon against all manner of defaults, contempts, and prejudices, and against all manner of judgments or sentences: issuing at the same time letters of restraint to the justices from proceeding in the cause. The matter might have ended in this exercise of tyranny: but that the rare courage, which the justices displayed, touched it with a ray of dignity, and in it decided a wider issue. The justices, Lyster, Bromley, and Portman, proceeded in the cause; and were summoned before the Council. They said intrepidly that, being sworn to allow the laws to have their due course, they could stay no process without violating their oaths: and on this a sweeping question was put to them, which lifted the veil for a moment from the hidden designs of the revolutionary Government: a question to which an accommodating answer from them might have cost the Church a third of her corporate property: "If a spiritual office be surrendered to the King; and, after, the King by Parliament newly erecteth

* So Turner, who succeeded Goodman in the deanery, complained to Cecil, in a letter of 5 January. *Lemon's Cal. of State Pap. Dom.* xiii. 1.

the same office, whether the same office be a spiritual office or no." The justices retired, consulted with the rest of their brethren, and returned the answer that, "A spiritual office surrendered to the King, notwithstanding the new erection of the same by any Act of Parliament, remaineth still a spiritual office, as it was before." The bishop appealed from the justices to the Council: the Council committed the dean to the Fleet: the royal solicitor and attorney conferred with the justices on the Præmunire: a new Commission was issued to determine the pending appellation of the dean to the King: * and the end of all was that Goodman's deprivation stood. His office was taken by William Turner, the King's physician, a layman, attached to Cecil.†

The age and the reign which witnessed the dissolution of so many ecclesiastical and religious corporations, beheld on the other hand one foundation made, which boasted a spiritual character. The numerous foreigners, whom the rigours of the Interim or the allurements of the English Reformation brought to London, were now,

* The issue of this new Commission is remarked as a peculiar case by Coke. It was on an appeal from a former Commission, *i. e.* a body "delegate by the prince," and therefore "out of the orders" of the statutes: and therefore to be determined by a new Commission, or body delegate by the prince. *Instit.*, pt. iv. p. 340.

† These various proceedings extended from June to the following February.—Rymer, xv. 248; Strype, iii. 356. The affair was mixed up with the intrigues of Somerset in his struggles to regain power. There are two letters of Goodman's extant, in which he describes the bad conduct of Barlow, and the unseemly reports spread by him against Somerset.—Lemon's *Cal.*, p. 28. Turner, in his letters to Cecil, complains that the lawyers of the Court of Arches obstructed him in succeeding to the deanery, and that the canons of Wells held with Goodman. *Ib.* pp. 32, 33; *Tytler*, i. 333, 372. These letters show Turner to have been something of a promotion-hunter. He wanted to be master of a college: a vicarage he refused for the most exemplary reasons, but would have liked a prebend: at last he got a deanery. However the prebendaries of Wells made it uncomfortable for him. He was author of a merry Dialogue against the Mass.

by the fostering care of the Archbishop,* formed into a congregation having privileges. A royal charter, or breve under the privy seal, erected for them a corporation or body politic of a superintendent and four ministers, who had power to add to their number and elect their successors with the approbation of the Privy Council. The fullest license for celebrating their own rites was granted to them: and the mayor, the aldermen, the bishop of London were sternly enjoined not to interfere with them to molest them. In a country where the revolution of Uniformity was maintained by the sword, the gibbet, and the goal, the spectacle was strange of a community tolerated, protected, and independent in their own worship. This has fixed the gaze of historians: but it would be an utter mistake to suppose that, if religious liberty were reached in these concessions, religious liberty was the cause that they were made. The strangers were allowed to have their own order and discipline not because it was not thought right to compel them to conform to the Anglican worship, but to save them from becoming Anabaptists. It was known that many of them were affected with the opinions of the wild sects: it would have been an intolerable burden to have examined them by the hundred for heretical pravity: which must have been done under the laws, if they had only professed prohibited doctrines: and great executions must have followed. It was therefore determined to put them under a kind of fixed rule, with a regular ministry and worship, to save them from worse. They were allowed to have the lowest sacramentarian doctrine, and a presbyterian sort of ministry: but very low

* Cranmer had indeed formed a congregation of strangers in Canterbury two years before, and let them have their own secret meetings, "conciones intra parietes et conventus pios." Some of these London strangers had been of this Canterbury congregation. Strype, iii. 123.

opinions were within the range of orthodoxy now. Cranmer, and those with whom he was now comparing his thoughts, saw no difficulty in admitting very humble views of the one Sacrament, while standing firm upon the other. As to Episcopacy, and the form of their Church, he was almost indifferent. In the curious document, by which they were incorporated, a great deal is made of the incorrupt interpretation of the Gospel which was to prevail among the foreigners, of the Apostolical religion, of the Apostolical administration of the Sacraments: much is said also of Christian charity, and of tender pity toward the exiles: and these expressions paint the real motives of the Council. They desired to preserve the exiles from the worst excesses of religious license: and the men who constantly designated the worship which their fathers had followed by the name of the worship of Baal, could easily find the Apostolical ministration of religion in the dregs of the various brewings of the Continent. Part of the church of the late Friars Austin of London was assigned to the foreign congregation, and decorated with the title of the Temple of the Lord Jesus: while the rest of the building, the choir, the steeple, the side aisles, were given to Powlet, Earl of Wiltshire, and scandalously desecrated by him.* Their superintendent

* I have endeavoured to point out that the toleration of foreigners was not from any sentiment of freedom, but was an expedient, not altogether unworthy of praise, to meet a difficulty. The King noted the truth of the matter exactly in his Journal, 29 June. "It was appointed that the Germans should have the Austin Friars for their church to have their service in, for the avoiding of all sects of Anabaptists, and such like." The expressions about the Apostolic religion, the Apostolic administration of Sacraments, the incorrupt Gospel, in the Charter, were meant more as an exhortation to the strangers themselves of what they were to aim at, than as a declaration to the world that the English Council believed that the Apostolic deposit lay with them. The Charter is in Burnet, Collier, Rymer. One of their own ministers, Micronius, whose letters throw much light on the internal history of the strangers' congregation, has also indicated the true motive of their toleration. "It is a matter of the first

was named in the adventurous Laski or Alasco : the four ministers were Walter Delvin, Martin Micronius, Francis Riverius, and Richard or Ridulph Gallus.* The original congregation, which was called the congregation of the Germans or Walloons, seems to have spread or divided itself into other assemblies of Italians and French : but these still retained over them the sway of the Superintendent Laski.

Laski the Pole, a man of the most illustrious family, the nephew of an archbishop and legate, the brother of two of the most brilliant nobles of the age, of whom the one was the king-maker of Hungary, the other the

importance that the word of God should be preached here in German, to guard against the heresies that are introduced by our countrymen. There are Arians, Marcionists, Libertines, Davists, and others in great numbers." *Orig. Lett.* p. 560. The church of Austin Friars, in Broad Street, which was now divided between the strangers and the Earl of Wiltshire, had been hitherto retained by the Crown. As soon as Powlet got his share, he desecrated it. "The Earl reserved it to household uses, as for stowage of corn, coal, and other things : his son and heir, Marquis of Winchester, sold the monuments of noblemen (there buried) in great number, the paving stone, and whatsoever (which cost many thousands) for one hundred pounds, and in place thereof made fair stabling for horses. He caused the lead to be taken off the roofs of the church, and laid tile in place thereof : which exchange of lead for tile proved not so profitable as he looked for, but rather to his disadvantage." Stow, *Survey*, bk. ii. p. 112.

* In the Charter, as Burnet gives it, they are called Gualterus Deloenus, Martinus Flandrus, Franciscus Riverius, et Richardus Gallus. In the French version of the Charter, given by Collier from the Paper Office (Rec. 66), the names are Gualterus de Lœnus, Martin de Flandres, François de la Riveire, et Richard François. In the original (MSS. Dom. x. 25 in Rec. Office) the reading of the first name seems to correspond with Collier, not with Burnet : it runs, "Et quod Gualterus de Lœnus, Martinus Flandrus," &c. In Rymer the first of these names is corrected into Gualterus Deboemis, the last as Ridulphus Gallus. The first and second of these ministers, Walter of Bohemia (transformed into Walter Delvin in the English of *Orig. Lett.* p. 575) and Martin of Flanders, Martin Micronius, were the best known. The latter, in his letters in *O. L.*, has given many particulars of the history of the strangers' church. Franciscus Riverius, the third of the names, is probably the same with "a certain Franciscus," traces of whom Strype found in Canterbury.

familiar of the gallant king Francis of France ; himself a bishop, the friend and patron of Erasmus, had relinquished his career, left his country, married his wife, and settled himself in a more occidental territory, where a reforming count gave him the title of Superintendent of all the churches, ten years before the reign of the Josiah of England. The fury of his reformations, for Laski became the reformer of East Friesland, swept away every trace of the old system in his adopted country : the confession of faith which he published, was so low in doctrine that it aroused the indignation of the Lutheran divines : but whilst he engaged in the bitterest controversy with them, the imitator of Zwingle held himself aloof from the Anabaptist sectaries, with whom he might have been believed to have had the most in common. The power of his enemies and the call of Cranmer reduced on the one hand his general superintendency to a single congregation, and opened on the other the prospect of a new settlement in England. The intercourse of six months convinced him of the facility of the English Primate : he made his terms, imposed his conditions, retired, and returned with his congregation at his back. In another strange land he resumed the title of Superintendent and extended his jurisdiction over several congregations. The Alascans, as his followers were sometimes called, filled St. Katherine's and Southwark, and transmitted his name : but the influence of Laski was wider still. He instigated Hooper and defied Ridley. He resumed against Bucer, on the question of the habits, his former differences with the Lutherans.* He ridiculed with impunity the ceremonies

* See Bucer's Letter to him, Strype, iv. 444 (*Reposit. L. L.*). Alasco paid a visit to Bucer in Cambridge in September. "They came to an agreement on every subject but the corporal presence in the Supper. Bucer wrote down the heads of his opinion respecting the Lord's Supper for Master Alasco to examine. That learned and excellent man is

and order of the Church of the land that harboured him. He exhibited before the nation, and not without effect, a foreign model of worship, by publishing in Latin the forms of prayer that he used in Dutch. As for his congregations, they were troublesome from the first: their intestine commotions required at times the attention of the Council, and may perhaps, in some interval of languor, merit that of the reader.*

Another colony of strangers was settled about this time by Somerset, their patron, beneath the venerable arches of the former abbey of Glastonbury. These were from Strasburg, a mixture of French and Dutch, with their pastor Pullanus or Pullain, the successor of Calvin in the Argentine city. Most of them being weavers and spinners, they had petitioned to be allowed to exercise their craft and their religion in England: and had even ventured to indicate that one of the dissolved religious houses, with which the country abounded, would be very suitable for a factory. The Duke, who by some exchanges had acquired Glastonbury, perceived or imagined in their application the means of increasing his wealth, using his possession, indulging his religious propensity, aiding the poor, and furthering an important industry in the kingdom. He entered into the speculation: the ruins of the stately pile were fitted into workshops: and the ancient home of Benedictine monks echoed to the looms and hymns of Calvinistic handicraftsmen. The past and the present

writing some annotations upon them, and most strenuously confutes Bucer's opinion. When he has finished them, he will send back to Bucer the heads with the annotations annexed."—*Micronius to Bullinger, Orig. Lett.* p. 572. It seems very probable that these "heads of opinion" were the "sententious sayings" of Bucer on the Sacrament, which Strype published in his *Cranmer*, App. 46. To them we come anon.

* The chief incidents of the life of Laski may be read in Krasinski's *Reformation in Poland*. As to his Latin version of his service, and its influence on our Second Prayer Book, see below.

were never mingled more strangely. But the undertaking prospered not. The country people disliked the strangers, suspected the traders, detested the heretics, and abhorred the sacrilegious squatters in the site of pristine piety and charity. If it was indeed the general feeling of the country that all who meddled with holy things were doomed to evil fortune: if the popular imagination had begun to fill the vacant ruins of the religious houses with the shadowy forms of their former occupants: the outlandish colony which desecrated the place where the venerated Abbot Whiting had sung and taught and died, was regarded with peculiar loathing. Whispers were rife of the laxity of morals that was believed to prevail among them: the factory met with every discouragement: and, after a struggling existence of a few years, fell to pieces on the accession of Mary. Even before they came to England, it may be remarked that the evil report of these Argentine exiles preceded them: and it was to vindicate their fame that, in the beginning of this year, their Superintendent Pullain published in London, in Latin, a version of their French service: which, like the similar publication of Laski, was not without effect on the revision of the First Book of Edward.*

Joan Bocher, the obstinate heretic of Kent, a martyr who finds no place in the roll of the woeful historian Fox, had endured the imprisonment of a year from her condemnation by Cranmer, Smith, Cook, Latimer, and Lyell, the party of commissioners who tried her,† when in April her case came into notice again before the Council, and her execution followed. No haste, it is certain, had been shown to go to extremity with

* For this Glastonbury colony see Strype, iii. 378: and his *Cranmer*, bk. ii. ch. xxiii. I resume their history below at the beginning of chap. xx.

† Wilk. iv. 43.

her: and the leniency of her treatment, though it reached an end at last, stood in contrast with the abominable cruelties endured by her friend Anne Askew in the former reign. The most eminent of the reformers tried to convert her in the prison, or in the house in Smithfield, belonging to Lord Rich, the torturer of Askew, to which she was removed a week before execution. Hutchinson, Whitehead, Lever, three of the most famous disputants of Cambridge, visited her: and one of them has related the dexterity with which she replied to one of their arguments.* Cranmer and Latimer, who had judged, visited her: and found her "a foolish woman" who held to an opinion of which she could give no reason.† Ridley and Goodrich visited her. The warrant for her execution was made out on April 27th: on the second of May she was burned alive. The sermon to improve the occasion was preached by Ridley's chaplain Doctor Scory, whom she reviled, telling him that he "lied like a knave."‡

* "Not long since I communed with a certain woman which denied this point. And when I and Master Whitehead, Thomas Lever, and others alleged this text against her opinion, *Semen mulieris conteret caput serpentis*; she answered, 'I deny not that Christ is Mary's seed, or the woman's seed: nor I deny Him not to be a man: but Mary had two seeds, one seed of her faith and another seed of her flesh,'" &c. Hutchinson's Works, Park. Soc. p. 145.

† Latimer's Remains, p. 114.

‡ Fox has not numbered Joan Bocher among his martyrs: but he mentions her once or twice incidentally in his laudations of King Edward. His pretty story of the young monarch expostulating pathetically while Cranmer urges him to sign the death-warrant, has been disposed of by Mr. Bruce, the Parker Editor of Hutchinson (p. v), who shows that the warrant was not signed by the King but by the Council. The entry in the King's Journal is dry enough. "Joan Bocher, otherwise called Joan of Kent, was burnt for holding, That Christ was not incarnate of the Virgin Mary: being condemned the year before, but kept in hope of conversion: and the 30th of April the Bishop of London and the Bishop of Ely were to persuade her: but she withstood them, and reviled the preacher that preached at her death." It may be worth notice that the only ecclesiastic present in the Council when the warrant was issued, was the Bishop of Ely.

The day after her execution another heretic, a tanner of Colchester, was brought before the Commissioners: but exhibited not the like resolution or obstinacy. Putto recanted: and was served with a full measure of repentance. He carried a faggot not only at Paul's Cross, but in his own city, with no less shame than if he had lived before the Reformation.* He was also bound over by the Council in a heavy recognisance to hold his tongue.†

One of the prettiest stories in the woeful historian tells how the young King's tears made his bishops weep, when the perplexed Council deputed two of them to implore him to allow the Lady Mary to have her Mass, urging the dangers that might ensue from the displeasure of the Emperor, if it were denied: and his tender heart broke into bitter weeping and sobbing at the very thought of doing aught against the truth: and they, Cranmer it was and Ridley, emptied of all their policy and worldly wisdom, rained down the water of their eyes as fast as he: and said at their departure to his tutor Cheke, "Oh, Cheke, be glad of such a scholar; which hath more divinity in his little finger than we in all our bodies." Warwick in truth disliked from the first the permission of the Mass which her brother had granted to Mary at the instance of Somerset. As soon as it was bestowed, "What," exclaimed he to the Duke, "the Mass is either of God or of the devil: if of

* Strype, iii. 336.

† July 15. "A recognisance also of Thos. Puttowe of Beerchurch in the county of Essex in £100. The like condition that he should behave himself like a good subject, and forbear open preaching to any other than his own family between this and the feast of All Saints, and then to appear before the Council to abide their further orders."—*Council Book*. There is a previous entry about Putto, April 28, that though he had been put to silence by order before, yet he "did now on his own head preach as lewdly as he had done before": referring him to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Ely.

God, all should have it; if not, why should not the voice of this fury be equally proscribed to all?" *

At the beginning of the year her brother was made to write to her a long epistle, in which with some severity he denied that the promise made to her was intended to continue her in her fault, but to bring her by lenity to obey the law. She answered that she claimed the promise not otherwise than it was made, as it might be ascertained from the Emperor or his ambassador, if it were doubted whether she understood it rightly: and that rather than offend her conscience she was ready to lose all or die, and yet continue an humble sister and true subject.† The promise or indulgence, which had been granted to Mary, appears in truth to have been certified at the time to the Emperor. But, as it seemed intolerable that her privilege should depend on the animosities of such rivals as Warwick and Somerset, Charles now requested that it might be put upon the surer footing of a grant by letters patent.‡ His intervention was unavailing, and may have served to augment the suspicion with which she was regarded. A plan was then arranged for conveying her out of the realm.§ The Flemish Admiral Skipperus hung on the coast of Essex, and

* *Orig. Lett.* p. 439.

† Edw. to Mary, 24 Jan.—Mary to Edw. 3 Feb. *ap.* Fox.

‡ "Whereas the Emperor's ambassador desired leave, by letters patent, that my Lady Mary might have Mass, it was denied him."—*Edw. Journ.* 19 April.

§ This plan was really entertained: the French King warned Mason, 26 August, of the design, and of the Emperor's hatred of England, "in despite of which he had made this cruel inquisition for heresy in the Low Countries." *Turnbull's For. Calend.* p. 53. Mary removed from New Hall to Hunsdon in Herts, and thence towards Norfolk and the coast. On this the Council sent letters to have the coast watched, declaring, "we shall always, as true and mere Englishmen, keep our country to be England, without putting our heads under Spaniards' or Flemings' girdles, to be their slaves and vassals." Haynes, p. 117.

was observed inspecting the landing-places. Under cover of darkness it might have been easy for Mary to ride down to the sea from New Hall, where she resided, and to have been taken on shipboard. Some of her gentlemen were already in Flanders. But the Council received information of the design: the High Sheriff of Essex, Gates, was despatched to frustrate the attempt: and a few days afterwards Rich and Petre were sent down to request the Lady Mary to come to court, or change her residence to Oking. She utterly refused to do this, though she professed herself willing to have accepted the hospitality of the Lord Chancellor at Lees, a place in the same county; but, after some delay, this arrangement was rendered impossible by a dangerous sickness which pervaded the household of Rich. In the mean time the vigilance of Gates baffled Skipperus, whose want of energy was loudly blamed abroad, and imputed to cowardice.* Henceforth Mary's household were watched with redoubled diligence: nor was it long before two of her chaplains, Mallet and Barkley, were accused of overstepping the allowed limit. The one had said Mass in her house, when she was not there, the other was said to have said Mass in his own Church.† A process against one of them was delivered to the Sheriff of Essex: and Mary was required to surrender or dismiss them. In reply she repeated the promise of indulgence, bitterly complained

* "There came divers advertisements from Chamberlain, Ambassador with the Queen of Hungary, that their very intent was to take away the Lady Mary, and so to begin an outward war and an inward conspiracy: insomuch that the Queen said Schipperus was but a coward, and for fear of one gentleman that came down durst not go forth with his enterprise to my Lady Mary." *Edward's Jour.* 14 Aug. Comp. also under July 15, 22, 28: Aug. 13: Dec. 13. An order was made by the Council to recall Mary's servant, Kempe, out of Flanders: but on her remonstrance this was relinquished. *Council Book*, Oct. 19.

† Strype, iii. 447.

of the slender regard in which she was held: and denied that her chaplains had exceeded in any way. She received in return from the Council a long replication, in which they went into the matter of the promise: that it was only for a season, until she might be better informed: that, if the Emperor had told her otherwise, the fault was his, not theirs: that to license the Mass was a sin against God which they could not lay upon their consciences. The Scriptures and the Fathers: St. Jerome, St. Chrysostom, St. Augustine, illustrated the position that they stood for truth against custom in opposing her who stood for custom against truth. They ended by renewing their demand about the two chaplains; one of whom, Doctor Mallet, escaped or was excused, the other, Barkley, underwent imprisonment for some months: and was liberated on his submission in the following May.*

Those who opposed themselves to the foreign theologians in the Universities continued to fare badly. At Oxford, Chedsey, the antagonist of Peter Martyr, maintained with boldness his protestations against the various proceedings of the Revolution. But Peter was able "to borrow the Marshalsea" (the phrase that Gardiner invented) for the use of those who differed from him:

* Dec. 1. "Letters to the Lady Mary's Grace to induce her to suffer the Sherif in the quietest manner, and so as might be most convenient for her honour, to serve the process upon her chaplain." *Council Book*.—Dec. 4. Mary to Council, from Beaulieu, or New Hall, *ap.* Fox.—Dec. 7. "This day the Lady Mary's letter of answer touching her chaplain was read: and because the replying thereto required deliberation, therefore the Council called her messenger unto them, and with their hearty commendations licensed him to return unto her, saying that within two days or three, as they might find leisure, they would send her an answer." *Council Book*.—25 Dec. Council to Mary from Winchester, *ap.* Fox. These extracts from the Council Book, which have not been printed before, seem to show that only one chaplain was served with a process. Strype says that the other, Mallet, was pardoned and set at liberty. His case is puzzling: see next chapter. [The Council Book is now printed.]

thither Chedsey was conveyed on a charge of seditious preaching, after appearing before the Council: * and he lay there twenty months, when he was assigned to the milder custody of the Bishop of Ely. About the same time, White, the warden of Winchester College, and a fellow of New College, a man of saintly life, incurred the penalty of the Tower for the offence of writing against Peter a poem entitled *Diacosio-Martyrion*, in which he reflected on the doctrine of the theologian of Strasburg. His performance had not seen the light: for he sent it to Louvain, to be published, and delay occurred: but upon the knowledge that he had written it both he was imprisoned and others his friends were endangered. The suspicion of still greater practices added rigour to his bonds: and when sixteen months of endurance were thought to have effected in him a change of opinions, he was sent to Cranmer for further reformation: after which he was remitted to the Tower for the rest of the reign.† Nor less in Cambridge Bucer

* This was in the following March. "Doctor Chedsey was this day (Mar. 16, 1551) called before the Council touching such seditious preaching as he had preached at Oxford in the beginning of this Lent: which though he partly denied, was nevertheless evident of testimonies in writing of sundry persons: wherefore he was committed to the Marshalsea." *Council Book*.

† Strype's *Cranm.* bk. ii. ch. xxi. : *Mem.* iii. 423. Sanders calls White, who was under Mary Bishop of Winchester, a man of saintly life. Dodd in his Ecclesiastical History says that he was "an universal scholar and a man of primitive behaviour." His book against Peter Martyr was not published till 1553. It was in Latin verse: the full title was *Diacosio-Martyrion, i. e. "Ducentorum Virorum Testimonia de Veritate Corporis et Sanguinis Christi in Eucharistia: ante triennium adversus Petrum Martyrem ex professo conscriptum, sed nunc primum in lucem editum."* White's committal was on March 25, 1551: when the entry about him in the Council Book is, "White, warden of Winchester, appeared before the Council, and confessed that he had received divers books and letters from beyond the sea, and namely from one Mertein, a scholar there, who repugneth the King's M.'s proceedings utterly: and being manifest that he hath consented to things of that sort, in such wise that further practices are thought to be in him that ways (*sic*), he was committed to the Tower."

was made strong by the hands of that zealous woman the Duchess of Suffolk : disputed with Sedgwick, Perne, and Young : was accused in vain of great errors in the Ecclesiastical Courts : and secured himself by sending to the Court of the King an account of his disputations, which was presented through the means of Grindal, Cheke, and Ridley.* But Bucer was a far more moderate and learned man than Martyr.† The two

* Strype's *Grindal*, bk. i. ch. i. and App. 1. Strype's *Cranm.*, bk. ii. ch. xxiv. Fox. Bucer's *Script. Angl.* pp. 711—862.

† About this time, or perhaps in the previous year, Bucer exhibited his opinions on the Eucharist in some Articles, or Aphorisms, fifty-four in number. These exist in two copies in *MSS. Domestic of Edw. VI.*, Vol. VII. Nos. 47 and 48, in the Record Office (Lemon, p. 19). An English version of them is given by Strype (*Cranm.*, App. 46) from the Foxii MSS. They are moderate in tone, somewhat bilingual indeed, but very creditable to the learning, ability, and temper of the author. From the beauty of one of the transcripts it may be concluded that they were intended for the eyes of the King, or of some great person. As these articles have attracted less notice than they might have done, I will give some account of them, remarking that the version of Fox and Strype is not altogether a faithful one : and it may be in consequence of that version that Bucer has enjoyed among men of Catholic mind a worse reputation than he deserved. 1. He removes the whole question into the spiritual world. "Omnes igitur sensibilis mundi imaginationes, omnis cogitatio loci continui vel contigui aut commixtionis ab hac communione et unitate removendæ sunt." All therefore that is said of the Eucharist in the Scriptures is metaphorical : and he implicitly allows or disallows of the terms of the theologians as they may be reconciled or not with the metaphors used in the Scriptures. Thus he allows of Presence : "inhabitans enim in nobis, et existens in medio nostri cur non diceretur præsens?" 2. But he will not allow Christ to be present "modo aliquo hujus seculi inclusum vel conjunctum cum pane et vino, aut sub earum rerum accidentiis, ita ut debeat adorari et coli." 3. On the other hand he denies the applicability of the argument of Martyr and Cranmer that the ascension into heaven was against the Sacramental presence : "alienum est locos Scripturæ objicere, qui testantur Christum reliquisse, hunc mundum, et agere in cælis, idque verum hominis corpus habentem, et ideo circumscriptum corpus, quod diffundi in omnia vel multa simul loca non possit." 4. In pursuing this argument, he seems to allow the term *substance* : "divinæ naturæ proprium esse implere omnia ubique etiam per substantiam." He also allows the adverbs *realiter* and *substantialiter*, but not *carnaliter* : but he deprecates the use of them. 5. His final conclusion is, that the Eucharist is not a bare sign, but an exhibitiv sign, and that its nature is best expressed

luminaries conjoined their beams for an instant when, in July, Bucer, in company with Bradford and others, visited Oxford on the invitation of Martyr, and delivered a lecture in Christ Church.* But while foreign theology throve, native learning languished : and the Universities were in so deplorable a state of penury, that at the end

by the word *representing*. “Et quia hic non admonemur tantum Christi nostri, et communionis ejus, verum etiam percipimus eum, malo dicere, juxta Domini verba *Accipite et manducate*, in pane et vino dari Corpus et Sanguinem Domini, quam significari : Et panem hic signum esse Corporis Domini exhibitivum quam signum simpliciter ; unde et patrum aliqui representandi verbo hic recte uti sunt. Quod precipuum enim hic est, id precipue puto exprimendum. Omnino autem prebendi verbum est *Accipite*.” Now it is just here, in the place where every reader would look for Bucer's final conclusion, that the version of Fox and Strype happens to be so unfortunate as by a single error to make Bucer talk the most arrant and contradictory nonsense. By the oddest chance in the world the Latin word *quam*, which means *than* (malo quam), and occurs twice in the above sentence, is translated the first time *and* ; and, when it comes again, it is turned into *as well as*—another inclusive, not exclusive phrase. (There is another mistake hard by of *one* for *our*, but that is of no moment.) Thus Bucer's trenchant and unmistakable Latin is rendered into such stuff as this. “And forasmuch as in the Supper we be not all only admonished of *one* Christ, and of the partaking of Him, but also we do receive Him, I had lever yet say, according to the Lord's words, Take and eat, &c., that in the bread and the wine the body and blood is given, *and* that they signify the Lord : So that the bread here is *as well* a sign of the Lord's body exhibitivum, I mean which giveth the thing signified, *as* to be but a bare sign. Wherefore certain of the Fathers have well used herein the word of representing. For truly I think we must chiefly express the thing that is here most principal. For this word *Accipite* is altogether a word of giving and receiving.” This bit of dexterity is particularly hard on the man who was really at this time the bulwark of the faith against Martyr and Laski, to say nothing of Cranmer. It is little wonder that his important paper has received so little attention. Fox, it may be added, always translates Eucharistia by the word Supper, of the Latin of which Bucer makes very little use.

* Strype, iii. 383. Peter Martyr's life was not the most comfortable at Oxford. His rooms were at first by the great gate of Christ Church, leading into Fish Street, where he was settled with his wife Catharine. His windows were broken several times, and other rough ways were taken to mark the indignation of the gown. He had to change his abode and go into the cloister, and fortify his garden with an edifice of stone. Cox the dean, living with his wife in the deanery, was also remarked with great dislike. Wood's *Ath.*

of the year the eloquent preacher Lever actually begged publicly in London on behalf of Cambridge. "The reformation of religion," said he in a sermon at Paul's Cross, "ought to have aided poverty and learning. It has decayed the Universities. None but private men are enriched by it. Abbeys, colleges, chantries, are all gone: but to none but private men. The late King founded a new college in Cambridge, and gave some other benefactions. But since you came to be the disposers of his liberality, out of two hundred students in divinity, that were there, all are gone; house and man, young scholars and old doctors, not one is left. Of one hundred of another sort, who had benefices or rich friends, and lived in hostels or inns, none are left, save a few who are crept into colleges to take the livings of poor men. The few who remain in colleges cannot pursue their studies for lack of exhibition and help. They read and study all day long, from four in the morning; their dinner is a penny piece of beef among four, with the broth, salt, and oatmeal: their supper is little better: and having no fires, they walk up and down to warm their feet at bedtime. These be the living saints, which serve God, enduring abstinence, labour, and study with watching and prayer. Wherefore, as Paul for the saints at Jerusalem, I beseech you, rich merchants of this city, make your collections, and send your oblations to the University, to comfort them, and provide learned men to do much good in this realm." *

Among the things of the year may be remarked the ordinations held by the new Bishop of London. There were no fewer than four of them in as many months: from the records of which we may gather that several of the best known of the licensed preachers, who had been employed from the very accession of Edward, had

* Sermon at Paul's Cross, 13 Dec. In Arber's *Reprint*, p. 120.

been hitherto either laymen or men in lower orders than deacons: and that one or two of these, after being made deacons, made no long delay ere they obtained the priesthood also. Thexton and Lever himself were made deacons on June 24: Sampson and Bradford, the future dean, the future martyr, on August 10: on which latter day, after a diaconate of a fortnight, Lever was ordained priest.* Ridley adhered strictly to the new Ordinal in these ceremonies: which were celebrated, if not at Fulham, before the high altar of St. Paul's. On that theatre the orthodoxy of Ridley and May might have been trusted to display itself: but the traditions, or the shadow of Bonner, still lingered there: and to the end of the year the suspicious Council was wont to send spies to sit in the congregation and observe the services at St. Paul's.†

The assembly of the nation suffered in this year an inactive prorogation: but that of the clergy, before it shared the same lot, was stimulated by the Most Reverend into some kind of preparation for immutation; which happily can be traced notwithstanding the lamentable loss of the Acts of Convocation. Before both houses was laid, near the end of the year, the charge of considering some things contained in the Prayer Book, the feasts retained and abrogated, the form of words used in giving the bread, and the different manner of

* Compare the list of licensed preachers in Vol. II. p. 485 *huj. op.* with the list of persons ordained by Ridley in Strype, iii. 403.

† Yet still, up to this time, even under Ridley, the communion was celebrated with such superstitions as though it were a mass. Of this some informed the Council, and that when the Eucharist was celebrated, it was in effect a mass. Whereupon the Council thought fit to appoint certain intelligent persons, favourers of the Gospel, to go to Paul's, and there to observe well what deviations were made there from the late order prescribed. For, October 11, 1550, it was ordered "That Thomas Asteley join with two or three more honest gentlemen in London, for the observance of the usage of the ceremonies in Paul's," whereof information was given that it was used as the very mass. Strype, iii. 372.

administering the Sacrament. On these points the prelates held debate ; and enquired the determination of the other house : but the other house either never began or had not time to finish their discussion : and it seems probable that an adjournment followed upon one session or two.* The spectre of freedom vanished, and the stream of religious alteration ran again in the usual course of commissions and committees. Martyr and Bucer, the prevalent foreigners, had perhaps by this time composed their well-known censures and animadversions on the Prayer Book, of which hereafter : and it seems to have been their wishes and opinions that Cranmer laid before the synod of his province. "Heaven has my thanks," wrote Martyr to Bucer, "for an occasion on which the bishops have been admonished by us. The Most Reverend tells me that in their conference they have determined to alter many things : though he neither told me, nor dared I to ask what things they were. But Cheke warms my heart with the assurance that if they will not do it of themselves, the King will do it, and get the sanction of the next session of Parliament."† The self-assertive

* This important record we owe to Heylin, who took it from the Acts. It has escaped the notice of Wilkins, who returns blank prorogations, on the authority of Cranmer's Register (Wilk. iv. 60). Heylin's words are, "In the Convocation which began in the former year, anno 1550, the first debate among the prelates was of such doubts as had arisen about some things contained in the Common Prayer Book : and more particularly touching such feasts as were retained and such as had been abrogated by the rules thereof : the form of words used at the giving of the bread, and the different manner of administering the holy Sacrament. Which being signified unto the Prolocutor and the rest of the clergy, who had received somewhat in charge about it the day before, answer was made that they had not yet sufficiently considered of the points proposed, but that they would give their lordships some account thereof in the following session. But what account was given appears not in the Acts of that Convocation : of which there is nothing left upon record but this very passage."

† Gratias Deo ago, qui occasionem suppeditavit, ut de his omnibus Episcopi per nos admonerentur. Conclusum jam est in hoc eorum Colloquio, quemadmodum mihi retulit Reverendissimus, ut multa immu-

youth John ab Ulmis observed that the business was to take the shape of a select commission or committee, to consist of Cranmer and Peter, Holgate and Ridley, Goodrich and his own friend Skinner, to whom he attributed an astonishing authority.* Skinner himself, an undistinguished person of Oxford, patroned by Dorset, announced that the Convocation had been assembled, and that certain persons had been appointed to purify the Church from Antichrist, and to make ecclesiastical laws.† These reviewers, from another record it appears, met at Windsor, and had among them Doctor Cox.‡

tentur. Sed quænam illa sint, quæ consenserunt emendanda, neque ipse mihi exposuit, neque ego de illo quærere ausus sum. Verum hoc non me parum recreat quod mihi D. Chæcus indicavit: si noluerint ipsi, ait, efficere ut quæ mutanda sint mutantur, Rex per seipsum id faciet: et quum ad Parliamentum ventum fuerit, ipse suæ Majestatis auctoritatem interponet. Martyr to Bucer, 10 Jan. 1551. Strype's *Cranm.* App. No. lxi. This was high language: but Peter could use it safely.

* The Convocation began to be held by command of the King's Majesty on the 12th of December by most excellent and learned men, who are to deliberate about proper moral discipline and the purity of doctrine. The Archbishop of Canterbury, and Peter Martyr, the Archbishop of York, and the Bishop of London, together with the newly-appointed Chancellor of England, who was previously Bishop of Ely, and our friend Skinner (who is almost the only acknowledged manager and leader in all controversial matters of religion) are to form a select committee upon these points. The affairs will then be submitted to the approbation of every member of Parliament, that is, to the judgment both of high and low. Ab Ulmis to Bull, Oxf. 10 Jan. 1551 (rather 1552). *O. L.* p. 444. Peter Martyr is still in London taking his part in framing ecclesiastical laws. *Ib.* 5 Feb. p. 447. [See Appendix at end of this Vol.]

† They have lately assembled a Convocation, and appointed certain persons to purify our Church from the filth of antichrist, and to abolish those impious laws of the Roman pontiff, by which the spouse of Christ has been for so long a time wretchedly and shamefully defiled: and to substitute new ones, better and more holy, in their place. Ralph Skinner to Bullinger, Oxf. 5 Jan. *O. L.* p. 314.

‡ These reviewers, before spoken of, were Cranmer, Ridley, and certain other doctors; whereof Dr. Cox was one: who, being met together at Windsor, diligently, as their scope was, reformed the book according to the word of God. And they intended also to proceed to the restoring of a good discipline in the Church. But here great stop and opposition was made: and loth men were to be brought under

In these scattered notices the conjunction of the making of ecclesiastical laws with the reversion of the service may lead us to conclude with some probability that the two works were committed together to the same persons, perhaps by some commission that is lost. Certainly, at a little later date, the ecclesiastical laws were committed to about the same number of the same persons, with one or two substitutions.*

The progress of the revolution of the rich against the poor was marked in this and the superior year (I shall join the two together in this behalf) by the further transference of the monastic residue from the Crown to the Court, and by the continued or rising prosperity of many noted beneficiaries. The Earl of Bedford was old and gluttoned: nevertheless he found appetite for a beneficial grant. John Bellow and Michael Stanhope, those ancient monastic partners, had not expired of excess in the former reign. Somerset was able to add to his restored domains a new acquisition of considerable value. Sir Ralph Sadler, a name belonging rather to the past than the present, accepted a site. But Warwick was in the full vigour of acquisition: site after site fell to him: and in the silver age of the Suppression the accumulation of ten places in two years may evoke an emotion of admiration. The Marquis of Nothampton reaped some rewards of military valour in the ruined abodes of peace: Sir John Cheke gathered some fruits of learning in the former styres of ignorance. The

ecclesiastical discipline. Of this Cox wrote to Bullinger, Oct. 5, 1552. Therein he told him "that they had already altered the rites of the public prayers and sacraments, and framed them according to the rules of God's word. But we hate," said he, "those bitter institutions of Christian discipline. We would be sons, yea heirs: but we abhor the rod." Strype, iv. 20.

* In October and November, 1551, two commissions for revising the ecclesiastical laws were issued to eight persons, including Cranmer, Martyr, Cox, &c. See below, ch. xix. p. 350.

obscurer merits of Clinton, Wroth and Denny were raised to sight upon a pile of benefactions : and these seem to have been selected from many other names by the particular notice of the historians. Lord Clinton was not unknown in the late reign among the new monastics : * from the beginning of Edward he had received considerable donations for not unimportant services : now, being made High Admiral, he was endowed under letters patent with a vast number of gifts, including dissolved chantries, manors of religious houses, advowsons, rectories and the like : among them the site of the great abbey of Croyland. Sir Thomas Wroth, a gentleman of learning, much about the King, received about this time an astonishing prodigality of grants of land, lordships, reversions, hereditaments, every kind ; many of them parcels of the dissolved bishopric of Westminster. But Denny died this year : an ancient favourer of the Gospel, a gentleman of the bed-chamber in the late reign and in this : his peaceful end, after a long and high prosperity, it was that drew attention to him now. Presented by Henry with the three small religious houses of Cheshunt, Hertford Benedictine Cell, and Hertford Friary, Sir Anthony Denny had received in the first year of Edward, but by the arrangement of Henry, the enormous largess of the two great abbeys of Waltham and Sibton. His character was amiable : he was a foe to alienation in others : he rebuilt a decayed school : the eloquent pen of Ascham has recorded his virtues : and his epitaph was written in anticipation by one who died long before him, the great poet Surrey, in some verses which not inelegantly turn the theme, Whether it were Death or the King, the dissolution of life or of the monasteries, that “ did for Denny most.” †

* Vol. II. p. 29 *huj. op.*

† Death and the King did, as it were, contend

Which of them two bare Denny greatest love :

The King, to show his love gan far extend,
 Did him advance his betters far above.
 Near place, much wealth, great honour to him gave,
 To make it known what power princes have.

But when Death came with his triumphant gift,
 From worldly cark he quit his weary ghost
 Free from the corpse, and straight to heaven it lift.
 Now deem that can, who did for Denny most.
 The King gave wealth, but fading and unsure :
 Death brought him bliss that ever shall endure.

These verses are given in Fuller's *Waltham Abbey*. For an account of the grants made to Clinton and Wroth, see Strype, iii. 360, 387. I have worked out of Tanner the following imperfect list of the monastic and collegiate grants of this period.

GRANTS MADE IN THE THIRD YEAR OF EDW. VI.

Thorney, Cambr. great Bened. abbey : to the Earl of Bedford.
 Wigton, Cumberland, hospital or free chap. : to Thos. Dalston and W. Denton.
 Polstow, Devons. little Bened. nunn. : to Earl of Warwick.
 Athelington, Dorsets. hosp. : to Jn. Bellow and Sir Mich. Stanhope.
 Poole Friary, Dorsets. : to Jn. Churchill and Wm. Samways.
 Maidstone Coll. Kent : Ld. Cobham.
 Spalding, Lancash. great Bened. abbey : site to Sir Jn. Cheke.
 St. Chad's Coll. Shrewsbury : site to Jn. Smithson and Jn. Chalderton.
 Tettonhall Coll. Staffords. : to Walt. Wrottesley.
 Wolfston, alien priory, parcel of the Coventry Carthusians : to Rd. Feild and Rd. Woodward.
 Walton, Yorks. Gilbertine, little : site to Earl of Warwick.
 St. William's Coll. York : site to Sir Mich. Stanhope and Jn. Bellow.

GRANTS IN 4 EDW. VI.

Reading, great Bened. abb. Berks : site to Duke of Somerset.
 Burne, Kent, alien priory, parcel of Merton : to Sir Edw. Chenny.
 Leedes, Kent, great Black Canon priory : to Sir Ant. St. Leger.
 Leicester, great Black Canon abbey : site to Marquis of Northampton.
 Croyland, great Bened. abb. : site to Ld. Clinton.
 Guildhall Coll. : to Corporation of Lond.
 St. Stephen's Coll. Westm. : site to Sir Ralph Fane.
 Blackborough, little Ben. nunn. : to Bp. of Norwich.
 Rushworth Coll. Norf. : to Sir Jn. Cheke.
 Northampton Priory, little : site to Sir Th. Smith.
 Sewardsey, little Cist. nunn. : site to Rd. Fermer.
 Alwicks, Northumb. little White Canons : site to Sir Ralph Sadler.
 Brinkburne, Northumb. little Black canons : to Earl of Warwick.
 Coqueda, or Coket Island, Northumb. : Ben. cell : to Earl of Warw.

Edyweston, alien priory, parcel of the Coventry Carthusians : to Marquis of Northampton.

Stafford Coll. : to Ld. Stafford and the burgesses of Stafford.

St. Thomas's Hosp. Southwark : site to citizens of Lond., who rebuilt hospital.

Stratford on Avon, Coll. worth £120 a year : to Earl of Warwick.

Gisburgh, Yorks. great Black Canons : site to Sir Thos. Challoner.

Richmond, Yorks. Ben. cell. : to Ld. Clinton.

Snaith, Yorks. Ben. cell. : to Earl of Warwick.

Whitley, great Ben. abbey : site to Earl of Warwick.

CHAPTER XVIII.

A.D. 1551.

It was unhappy for the Church of England that, in the mid period of the Reformation, the election of bishops, even in the shadowy semblance of the *congé*, was altered into the appointment of them by letters patent of the Crown. It was more unhappy that Hooper's letters patent to be bishop were made out prematurely. His own consent had not been obtained when he was peremptorily ordered to be a bishop: and, that a preposterous mandate might be saved from nullity, the ridiculous spectacle was presented for nearly a year of the powers of the realm trying to compel a single subject to accept an office that he disliked. When Hooper was at length subdued Nonconformity was generated, and the endless contest of the two great parties in the Church was begun. It was this contemptible incident, the tyrannic over-riding of the liberties of the Church and of the individual, that gave the occasion. Nonconformity was caused by the premature issue of Hooper's letters patent.

Still determined to subdue the obstinacy of the man, the Council had him before them, January 13: and as he persisted in refusing the episcopal habit, committed him to the custody of the Archbishop of Canterbury, "there to be reformed, or further punished,

as the obstinacy of his case required.”* The admonitions of Cranmer left him not only unchanged in his own opinions, but ready to advise others, and anxious to recommend a course to be adopted by all: and after a fortnight a second Order of Council committed him to the Fleet, where he was allowed to hold intercourse only with the chaplain.† Then Hooper gave way, acknowledging the indifferency of the things that he had scrupled:‡ and amid the lamentations of his foreign adherents, and his own sighs, he ascended into the ranks of the prelatie order.§ In the chapel of Lambeth, March 8, he was consecrated with the usual ceremonies

* *Council Book*, p. 28; *ap.* Harmer, p. 94; Soames, ii. 569; Parker Edition of Bradford, p. 374.

† “Upon a Letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury, that Mr. Hooper cannot be brought to any Conformity, but rather, persevering in his obstinacy, coveteth to prescribe Orders and necessary Laws of his head; It was agreed he should be committed to the Fleet upon the occasion aforesaid. A Letter to the Warden of the Fleet, to receive the said Mr. Hooper, and to keep him from Conference of any person, saving the Ministry of that house.”—*Council Book*, January 27: *ap.* Harmer, p. 94.

‡ He wrote to the Council first, but his submission was not satisfactory to them; he then addressed an explicit letter in Latin to Cranmer, February 15, “in carcere.” Therein, while complaining that his former letter was not accepted, and protesting that he acted neither in dissimulation nor through fear, but for the sake of the Church, he declares “me nunc agnoscere libertatem filiorum Dei in rebus omnibus externis: quas nec per se impias, nec usum earum quemlibet per se impium, assero aut sentio.” It was but the superstitious abuse that he reprehended. As for the vestments to be used in his consecration he said that he thought he should satisfy every demand of reverent obedience, “si, volens meum sensum ac iudicium ceteris omnibus præferre, ipse vestræ clementiæ iudicio subicerer, quicquid iudicaturi fueritis facturum.” A more frank and manly letter was never penned. *Later Writings*, Park. Soc. p. xv: Wordsworth’s *Eccl. Biog.* ii. 365; Durel’s *Vindiciæ Anglicæ*, p. 140.

§ Uttenhovius affirmed that Hooper was induced to submit by the concession that he should not “adopt any superstitious observances, and especially at his inauguration, which they call consecration”: that this was yielded by the Council, but retracted by the bishops: so that he was “inaugurated in the usual manner.” He adds that it was a great grief and stumbling-block to all good men: and he was unwilling to communicate the news to Bullinger. He compares Hooper’s “infirmity” with the failings of the apostles and prophets. *Orig. Lett.* pp. 585, 588.

by the Primate, his adversary Ridley, and Ponet the new Bishop of Rochester, being assistants. After this he was permitted, somewhat inconsistently, to discard the detested livery, unless he wore it in preaching before the King, or on other extraordinary occasion.* The Bishop of Gloucester soon composed his difference with his brother of London and his father of Canterbury. He ruled his diocese well: impartially towards offenders, and with that austerity to his clergy, that severity to his heretics, and that right consideration of his own conscience, which might be expected.†

Three sessions of the commission which was issued to finish the case of Gardiner were held in the last month of the last past year. Nineteen more followed in rapid succession through the first of this; and then he was deprived. The whole series exhibit great injustice mixed with spurious mercy: but wherever Gardiner was, there was humour: and the men who persecuted him, with the exception of Cranmer, regarded him with affection, or amusement, or even with

* Fox has some well-known pleasantries on Hooper, when he preached before the King, feeling like a strange player in the scarlet chimere (which now is of black silk), the white rochet, and the baret, or "square mathematical cap, dividing the world into four parts," which he wore, "though his head was round." Hooper was a roundhead; but, if the cap had been round, Fox would have said that his head was square.

† Fox, not ineffectively, represents the coldness between Hooper and Ridley as lasting till the common prospect of the fire; but from Hooper himself (*Orig. Lett.* p. 91) and from Cranmer's letters to Bullinger (*Remains*, p. 430) their controversy seems to have been "*abolitam ac penitus sublatam*" at once. As to Hooper's administration of his diocese, his fearless impartiality was shown in the case of Sir Anthony Kingston, that merry provost marshal, who was cited for adultery, and struck the bishop in the face (*Fox: Or. Lett.* p. 441), but had reason to regret it. In his first year he presented a heretic, got a license for himself to eat flesh on fasting days, and protested against his clergy who held two livings. (See his two letters to Cecil in April and May 1551, Parker Ed. of Bradford, p. 395; Lemon, pp. 23, 32.) This last piece of virtue came ill, it must be admitted, from the man who next year took another bishopric to hold *in commendam*.

veneration. The tribunal that tried him was formed, December 12, with power to proceed as they would, and determine without appeal. "Stephen bishop of Winchester," the boy was made to say in the commission, "has not shown himself conformable to our godly proceedings. His examples, and teachings, and preachings have done hurt. We asked him to preach on a certain day, and to set forth certain matters, and at the same time not to speak of certain other matters, and he openly disobeyed. For this contempt he was committed to the Tower: but he continues in disobedience, notwithstanding sundry sendings to him. Seeing no hope of reconciling him, we have sequestered his fruits and perquisites, and ordered him to conform himself within three months on pain of deprivation. But our long-suffering is abused: he is incorrigible: he is inciting others by his example. We therefore give you full commission to proceed in this matter; and, if he will not conform himself, to deprive him of his bishopric." The commissioners were the bishops of Canterbury, London, Ely, Lincoln; Sir William Petre, Sir James Hales; doctors Leyson and Oliver; and the lawyers Goodrich and Gosnold: four of whom were enough, if one of the first six were of them. They assigned two of the proctors of Arches to be their "promoters," and to form with them, in ecclesiastical language, "the office" for the conduct of the case. Two more of the Arches were appointed to be Gardiner's counsel: and two gentlemen of his household were allowed to be his proctors. Warned, it may be, by the trouble that Bonner had given, the Council took care to invest this commission at the outset with the most enormous powers that could be set forth in the terms of ecclesiastical law.* The sittings were held in various

* This extraordinary commission has drawn the notice of Sir Edward

places: not only at Lambeth, but at the houses of several of the bishops, at the house of the Lord Chancellor Rich, and once at the lodgings of the prisoner in the Tower. Wherever it was possible, they were attended by a great concourse of people: and the trial of Gardiner, though it has been almost lost to sight, deserves to be numbered among the memorable scenes of English history.*

The court was opened at Lambeth, December 15: and the prisoner stood before his judges. He expressed his gratitude at being called to justice, and his submission to the King: but protested that he consented to his judges, and acknowledged their authority only so far as he was bound to do by law, renouncing no privilege. When an oath to answer truly to the Articles laid against him was tendered, he took it with the same protestation, that he took it "so far as the law bound him:" and when witnesses were brought against him, he dissented to their production under the same protestation: which he renewed at every stage of the trial. The witnesses who were produced both against the bishop and for him embraced the best known names of the Reformation: Cecil, Sadler, Cox, Smith, Cheke and Udal: Somerset, Warwick, Bedford, Rich and Paget: with Tunstall, Thirlby, Heath and Day. The Articles which Gardiner was required to answer, nineteen in number, were those to which his answers have exhibited so vivid a picture of his course throughout the reign. When they were

Coke, who has quoted that it was "fait a 10 persons proceeding sur ceo ex officio mero mixto vel promoto omni appellatione semota summarie de plano absque omni forma et figura judicii, sola facti veritate inspecta." *Inst.* Part iv. cap. 74 (p. 340).

* Gardiner's trial occupies a vast space in the first edition of Fox, where it is printed in full: but Fox omitted it in his subsequent editions, and it has only been restored in the most modern reprints. Hence it is almost unknown to the general historians.

given to him, he exclaimed that they were concerning matters on which the Council had often treated with him in the Tower, so that he thought they had made an end of them, and he looked never to have heard of them more. He took them home to answer; but his exclamation having been reported in the mean time to the Council, so much disturbed them, that at the next session they sent, and caused to be read in court, a furious letter, in which they sought to construe what he had said into contempt. They denied that their communings with the prisoner in the Tower were meant to be of the force of a commission, and to end the matter, "The Bishop," said they, "devised an untruth, a false and manifest untruth: but his audacity and unshamefacedness did but feed the winds: he would not help his cause with false allegations: it was contempt against the King to say that a commission had been granted on a matter determined: they wished him a mild spirit to remember that he stood in judgment for contempt against his sovereign lord the King." This was not the only sign of trepidation concerning their own doings, which the Council manifested about this time. Gardiner protested against the reading of the letter: when it had been read, he bade his judges have no regard to letters or particular advertisements, but have "*solum Deum pro oculis*," adding with truth that he could not now be heard as before. The answers which he brought to the Articles were declared to be insufficient upon certain points: and, as he defended them, the promoters required him to be pronounced *contumax* for refusing to amend them, and *pro confesso* upon those which he had not fully answered. They also produced some registers of the Council, making for the proof of their charges: and the bishop protested against the exhibition of them, as being but private writings, though he consented that

they might be collated with the Articles, in his absence. The judges published the depositions of the witnesses, the bishop again dissenting, and protesting to take no knowledge or understanding of the depositions, since he intended to justify himself against the Articles themselves. He also put in a written protestation against the sequestration of his fruits.

At the fourth session, January 8, the bishop produced his *Matter Justificatory*; a document of great length, which is one of the most valuable memorials of the age. It was addressed to "Thomas by the sufferance of God Archbishop of Canterbury, and the rest of the judges (delegate, as it is pretended), by Stephen, by God's permission Bishop of Winchester." He reviewed his life, his concurrence in the great measures of the late reign, his honour and favour with the late monarch; his struggles in the present reign with the Duke, the Archbishop, and the whole Council, to stop innovation during the nonage of the King, especially to put a stay to evil opinions on the Sacrament, and the utter denial of the Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ therein; which he feared to be brought in, "however the Archbishop then truly defended the contrary." He related very minutely the particulars of his subsequent troubles, his long solitary prison: the various colloquies which he held with the Councillors: the denial of justice to his frequent petitions, and the attempts to construe his answers into contempt. A continual and humble suit for the ministration of justice, he argued, could by no law or reason be taken for contempt, but as a declaration of confidence in the equity of superiors: to have asked for mercy before judgment might have been contempt, since it would have implied mistrust of the obtaining of justice. As for the sequestration of his fruits, he protested that it was a pretended decree, if indeed it existed;

unjust, intolerable, excessive on every ground: made without knowledge of the cause, without order of law, without proof of conviction: that, if in the said pretended decree there were any monition to him to submit within three months on pain of deprivation, it was of no effect in law: that if in the pretended monition of the pretended decree there was, as was pretended, any condition that he should have pen and ink brought him at the end of every month to subscribe Articles ministered to him, he had never had pen and ink brought, nor Articles ministered. He put in several other exhibits, and among them his book against Cranmer on the Sacrament.

The succeeding sessions were occupied with the examination of witnesses. The depositions, whether for the office or the bishop, were voluminous, ranging over many eventful years. The ghosts may be summoned by us, and their whispers heard. Sir Anthony Wingfield, Secretary Cecil, Sir Ralph Sadler, Sir Thomas Wroth, Doctor Cox, Sir George Blage, the Duke of Somerset, Northampton, Bedford, Paget, had all been present at the famous sermon of the bishop on St. Peter's day,* and deposed that he set not forth the matters that he was commanded, such as the King's supremacy, the Bishop of Rome's authority, the power of the King in his young age: or that he handled them so doubtfully that he had better not have touched them. Somerset however admitted that he could not remember if it were contained in the written directions, given to Gardiner before the sermon, that he should preach the King's authority in his nonage. Gardiner indeed always declared that this point had never been enjoined him in writing, and that he had never promised to set it forth. Some of these witnesses said that he spoke in his sermon about

* See Vol. II. p. 520 *huj. op.*

the Mass and the Communion : but they were not certain what he said. Sir George Blage remembered being offended at what he said, but could not remember what he said. Somerset deposed that the bishop's declaration of the Sacrament had caused much tumult and strife in London : and would have caused more if he had not been sent to the Tower. Bedford said that Gardiner behaved himself so evil at the sermon, that if the King and Council had not been present, the people would have pulled him out of the pulpit : and that he recommended private masses and taught the Real Presence, in direct disobedience to Somerset's commandment. Disobedience, on the other hand, was denied by Gardiner : whose position on the Sacrament (it is important to remember) was that he preached nothing that was in controversy, or that was not established by law : but that he refused to be silent on that great subject, or to slur over the Catholic faith concerning it. This was very irritating to the party of generous concession : who could not well quarrel with Gardiner unless they were ready to affirm, which would have been most inconvenient, that the Catholic doctrine of the Presence of the sacred Body and Blood in the Sacrament was a thing in controversy, or to deny that it was maintained in every law and proclamation of the realm. As for the tumult and dangers that were spoken of, the bishop said that none were to be feared from anything spoken agreeably to the King's laws, and none had followed his sermon. " Nor the people nor any man did offer my person any wrong, or make tumult against me : notwithstanding players, jesters, rhymers, ballad-makers did signify me to be of the true Catholic faith." The Earl of Wiltshire and the Marquis of Northampton declared that they had been offended at the bishop's sermon : and that so were many others. Paget said that the bishop was obstinate and wilful : that complaints

came to the Council about him : that in his sermon he seemed to take away the authority of the Council, rather than set forth the authority of the King in his young age. The bitter enemy and former dependent of Gardiner added that the bishop had been suspected by the late King of misliking his proceedings, and for that reason had been left out of the number of those who compiled the *Institution of a Christian Man* : * that the late King misliked him “ever the longer the worse,” and would have used extremity against him, so far as the laws allowed, if he had lived longer : “thinking to have just and sure matter against the said bishop in store, not taken away by any pardon.” †

Of the famous sermon itself, on which so much turned, the well-known Nicholas Udal exhibited a report which he had made in writing at the preaching of it. The learned Redman exhibited another : several of the witnesses recollected particular points : and from all these sources a fair notion may be gathered of what Gardiner actually said. He gave the opinion of an English churchman on the state of the Church of England after the alterations. He agreed with the Parliament in retaining the Mass, and in ordaining the Sacrament under both kinds. Defining the Mass as a sacrifice ordained for two purposes, to make men strong in the remembrance of Christ’s passion, and to recommend to God the souls of the dead in Christ, he said that all additional notions of the Mass were abuses, that might be taken away. He therefore thought that chantries were well dissolved, if they were abused by applying the

* Cf. Vol. I. p. 527 *huj. op.*

† Mr. Maitland (*Essays*, xv.) has carefully examined the grounds of the alleged disgrace of Gardiner in the last days of Henry VIII. It was a trumped-up story, mostly of Paget’s invention, to account for the omission of the bishop among Henry’s executors. Cf. Vol. II. pp. 406 and 415 *huj. op.*

Mass for the satisfaction of sin, to take away sin, and bring men to heaven: "for when men added to the Mass an opinion of satisfaction, or of a new redemption, they put it to another use than it was ordained for." But he was sorry for the chantry priests, who fared hardly at the hands of under ministers, however well the Act provided and the Council designed for them. As for the former measures, the abolition of the Pope, the dissolution of monasteries, the removal of images, he agreed with them all, and had never changed his opinion. There were some things which, if they were abused, lay in the liberty of rulers to reform or take away: other things there were that might not be taken away, however abused. Candles, palms, pilgrimages, and other ceremonies had been taken away, and might be restored again: that must be left to rulers. But baptism, if it were abused, might not be taken away. Gardiner here laid down a principle which might serve to explain much of his conduct both before and after this middle period of his career. It is evident also that he considered the Catholic faith to remain in England after all the alterations: and that, by showing to the favourers of alteration how much was still left, he wished to raise before their eyes the barrier beyond which they were not to pass. He added however that he disliked the open marriage of priests, which was now sanctioned by the realm: and he disliked the licensed preachers and readers, who went beyond their commission to deprave the Mass and speak against the Sacrament. He would not have the inferiors going beyond their heads, and he quoted the Homeric verse on the evil of the rule of many.*

* Οὐκ ἀγαθὸν πολυκυραυίῃ· εἰς κοίρανος ἔστω. One of the witnesses turns this, "Plures nam regnare malum: rex unicus esto." This quotation seems to have angered the Council, as conveying a covert reflection on them for abusing the King's power and name. Indeed Gardiner is said in preaching the sermon to have pointed directly to the King, and to have

The witnesses summoned on Gardiner's side were numerous, but not all friendly, who were called to depose to his doings and behaviour before his present troubles. Somerset, Wiltshire, Northampton, Bedford, knew nothing of the bishop's writings in defence of the Supremacy or against the usurped authority: but they knew him to have been disliked by the late King, and to have been backward in the Reformation. The Lord Chancellor, Rich, was a little better informed: he had heard of Gardiner's book *De Vera Obedientia*. The Earl of Warwick marvelled that Gardiner could without shame say that he had never been in trouble before he was sent to the Tower, whereas he had been before the Council and in the Fleet. The Earl had failed, it may be remarked, to observe that what Gardiner said was that he had not been in trouble before any court before.* Sir Thomas Smith related some of the opinions of the bishop: that he had been very forward to abolish the Roman authority, not even admitting it to be a thing allowed by most Christian powers: that he never liked friars in his life, but took them ever for flattering knaves: and that monks were but belly-gods. On the other hand the aged Bishop of Durham deposed of the diligence of Gardiner in the late reign: and had never known that he was left out of the number of the executors of the late King, till the will was read. Goodrich of Ely, as one of the six who had been appointed by the late King to compile the book touching Uniformity (the *Institution of a Christian Man*), was able to deny that Gardiner had been left out of the number of the

exclaimed "He only is to be obeyed." In C.C.C. MS. 127 are some contemporary notes of the Sermon: Gasquet's *Edward VI.*, p. 116.

* Warwick related something of the story about Gardiner's alleged treasonable communications in Flanders with the Roman legate Contarini, which caused the late King to except out of his general pardons all treasons committed beyond the seas. The story had nothing in it.

compilers for suspicion conceived of him, or that the late King willed him to be no more of the Council, and would not have him one of his executors; though he admitted that he had heard say that the late King was offended with him a little before his death about another matter than religion. Some of the clergy and citizens of Winchester bore testimony to the diligence which the bishop had showed in setting forth all the injunctions that he received: that he had preached on obedience to rulers more than once in his diocese: and that when the people were displeased at the alterations made by the royal Visitors, the pulling down of images, and the like, the bishop exhorted them to submit themselves, and think that their rulers knew better than they. His doctrine was, said they, to obey the ruler in all things:—if he commanded lawful things, to obey by doing; if unlawful, to obey by suffering the penalty of not doing.

Gardiner's servants, gentlemen, and chaplains eagerly expressed the reverence that they felt for his person and character. He had a large household: he kept them long, treated them honourably, and seems to have drawn their affection in an uncommon degree. Some of them shared his captivity, so far as they could: some sought to procure his enlargement: and James Basset, a young gentleman of twenty-four, who had spent half his life in the bishop's service, and who was now acting as his proctor in the trial, has left a touching narrative of the anxiety which all felt for their master, when Gardiner was first taken before the Council, at the beginning of his troubles.* They were in fear lest he should be secretly conveyed to the Tower in a close barge which they saw moored at the stairs of the Chamber: they divided themselves into parties to have intelligence what should become of him, some of them waiting about all

* Vol. II. p. 515.

day, and refusing to go home to dinner. "I stayed," says Basset, "to the end of the sitting; and then went down to the waterside, where many others of my company were gathered, looking for his coming down. At length he came, about five of the clock, with the lord treasurer and Master Smith, who bade him good night very gently." That was a fortnight before he preached the memorable sermon: of which as the day drew near, "I saw him inquired and perplexed," continued Basset, "as never before. He ate nothing after dinner of the day before the sermon, till he had delivered it: and the most part of the night he walked in a chamber, musing and devising of his sermon, speaking and preaching aloud." He corroborated Gardiner's constant assertion, that he thought to have been praised rather than imprisoned by the Council for his sermon. "He was never more merry than he was that day that he was committed to the Tower." The efforts of his servants, that he might have justice, had been bold and persevering. They made continual suit to the Lord Protector and others of the Council: for which purpose they divided themselves, some going one day, others another: but "we got only fair words, and commendations of ourselves, that we were honest servants." They then determined to exhibit a bill into Parliament for the relief of their master. Basset waited on the Lord Chancellor Rich, and handed him the bill: but Rich excused himself, that it was the King's matter, that he was but one, that they had better sue to the rest. They got the same kind of answer from all. Then they returned to the Lord Chancellor, and required him, as the public minister of justice, to take the bill and read it in the House of Lords. Rich was very loth: and, as might be expected, tried to persuade them that to exhibit the bill would do their master harm rather than otherwise. But Basset urged him.

“I pressed him, as he was minister of public justice, and Parliament a free court, to which every man ought to have access.” The Lord Chancellor felt himself compelled to take the bill: but at the same time the happy device that was to extricate him flashed into his mind. “I will show it to the Council first,” said he. A few days afterwards he told Basset that the Council would not have the bill brought into Parliament, because the bishop was the King’s prisoner. The shifts to which Rich was driven by the pertinacious suppliants of an injured ecclesiastic displayed his skill: but the subterfuge of Somerset may move the pity due to weakness. He explained to Gardiner’s servants that their master was in prison because new laws had been made, which he might break, if he were abroad, and so incur the extreme penalty.

In one of the sessions Gardiner exhibited some articles designed to show that the Catholic doctrine of the Presence was the doctrine of the realm. He referred to Ridley, Redman, Cranmer, Tunstall, Aldrich, Heath, Day, Skipp, Thirlby, and others, as having publicly asserted and defended the doctrine since the beginning of the present reign: and some of these eminent persons appeared in attestation. Heath said that he had been so long in prison, that he knew not what had been maintained of late: but of the truth of the Catholic doctrine he, and all the others, made no question. Day added that where Gardiner said that in foreign realms no man reputed learned had denied the truth, save *Œcolampadius*, *Zwinglius*, *Vadianus*, and *Carlostadius*, he would add *Bullingerus* and *Musculus* to the number; whom he took for learned men, though erroneous. As to England, he made the very important assertion that up to the time when Gardiner preached his famous sermon, no man of learning in the realm had impugned the verity of Christ’s

Body and Blood in the Sacrament : * but that since that time the Archbishop of Canterbury had made a book against the Catholic doctrine, and the present Bishop of London had openly impugned it in the Parliament at Westminster.† “I,” said Tunstall, “I have seen a book maintaining the error on the Sacrament, which was entitled to be written by my lord of Canterbury : but whether it be his or no, I cannot tell.”‡

Some of the nobles of the Council, who were cited in this remarkable trial, refused to be sworn on account of their rank, though the ecclesiastical law required an oath of them. Among them the newly created Lord Paget was deemed not to be without arrogance, for he also raised himself above the law. The bishop took exception against the depositions of them all, as illegal : and to his enemy Paget he added a severe rebuke : that “he had neglected honour, faith, and honesty ; and had shown himself, of ingrate malice, desirous to hinder his former teacher and tutor, his former master and benefactor, to whom he owed his first advancement.” Reviewing the rest of the hostile evidence, he said of Wingfield, Sadler, North, and Cecil that they declared no specialty against him : of Cox, Cheke, Chaloner, Smith, others, that they were vague, not indifferent, full of blunders. All his exceptions, protestations, and pleas of every kind were however summarily cut short : and the very next day after he had exhibited them was appointed for delivering judgment. As soon as he appeared on that day, February 14, Gardiner put in a written appeal to the King, objecting against the pretended commission, and the notorious malice or

* This was the position maintained also by the learned White ; see above, ch. xvi. p. 110.

† See Vol. II. p. 545 *huj. op.*

‡ This seems to have risen out of Gardiner's line of attack on Cranmer's book. See last chapter.

affection of his judges: observing in particular on Cranmer, Ridley, and Holbeach, that they taught the error in the Sacrament which was condemned by the ecclesiastical laws of the realm. He protested also that some of the interrogatories put to witnesses had been kept from him: and that the time between the trial and the sentence had been made so short that it was impossible for him and his counsel to peruse the evidence: which was done that he might not be able to make his innocence appear. The Archbishop proceeded to read a written sentence, by which Gardiner was deprived of his bishopric, as being "indurate, incorrigible, and without all hope of amendment." The Council made no delay in transmitting to foreign courts the story of the trial which they wished to be received. "The Bishop of Winchester was deprived yesterday," said they; "in his disobedient and obstinate refusal of the King's mercy and favour he showed an evil pride, and the cankered heart of an evil subject. He had counsellors both of ecclesiastical law and of that of the realm, who were required to give him what counsel they could for his just defence: but the bishop was so in fault by his continued contumacy, that no text could defend him. In the very process of his defence he misused himself as much as if his crime, to which he answered, had not been sufficient to have taken his bishopric away. His lewd behaviour, and his disobedience in excusing disobedience would not permit him to remain a bishop at liberty, who could not be an obedient subject at a bar."* The appeal to the King was rejected by the Council, especial notice being taken of the terms of heretic and sacramentarian, which the bishop had applied to some of his judges. He

* Council to Mason, 16 Feb.: and to Moryson, 22 Feb. Turnbull's *Cal.*, pp. 73, 74.

was removed to an inferior lodging in the Tower: his attendants were ordered to be chosen by the Lieutenant alone: his books and papers were taken away: pen, ink and paper were denied him. These last severities, however, must have been relaxed, since Gardiner wrote a book in prison: but he languished there the rest of the reign.*

In the course of the trial Gardiner had exhibited his book against Cranmer on the Sacrament: Gardiner had called Cranmer a heretic and a sacramentary. Cranmer was deeply moved. The sting of the reproach, that he was the first high bishop who had called the mystery of the Sacrament into controversy, was still infixed: and the Primate proceeded forthwith to write a prolonged confutation of the "Sophistical Cavillation," which was the only name by which he deigned to know the work of his antagonist. He met him paragraph by paragraph, and point to point, as indeed was the wont of controversialists in those ages: and in the same reply he scornfully included the book also of the unfortunate Smith of Oxford, his other assailant, "so far as it seemed to contain anything worth answering." The victory of argument will be awarded according to the previous convictions of the reader: but the triumph of temper lay not with the Archbishop, who loaded his chief opponent with abuse, at the same time untruly charging him with taunting, scoffing, and railing. He told Gardiner that he fought with a dung-fork: that he found knots in a rush: that he was shifty, crafty, ignorant, negligent, impudent: that he corrupted Latin, Greek, and English, to draw them to his purpose: that he babbled. Such expressions somewhat mar the dignity of a work, the importance of which was attested abundantly in the following reign,

* Privy Council Book, p. 29, *ap.* Soames, ii. 606.

when it became the text book of the Anglican martyrs. In the next year, 1552 (to pursue the story), Gardiner, whose liberty of writing must have been restored by that time, replied to Cranmer for the second time, under the name of Marcus Antonius Constantinus, in a Latin tract published at Louvain. To this Cranmer in the following year, being by that time in prison in his turn, wrote an answer, which by a series of accidents never saw the light. When they were both dead, Peter Martyr, in a long treatise, executed at Zurich the pious duty of responding for Cranmer and aspersing Gardiner.* It may be added, that at the height of the contention another English prelate was drawn into the fray: and a Latin treatise in defence of the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist was published by the venerable Tunstall.†

At the time that his orthodoxy was questioned by Gardiner, Cranmer must be acknowledged to have been active against the heretics. At the beginning of the year a new commission was issued to the same commissioners who had sat on heresy at intervals from the first of the reign: and in the spring a foreign heretic was burned, George von Parris, a Flemish chirurgion of the congregation of Laski the Pole, who had been excommunicated by his own countrymen, before he was brought before Cranmer, Ridley, and the rest on the charge of denying

* John Fox, at Pet. Martyr's instance, Latinized Cranmer's original treatise, and also his answer to Gardiner, at Zurich, about 1554: of which work there is an imperfect copy among the Foxii MSS. in the Harleian Library. The Latin version that was printed at Emden, and is in the Parker *Cranmer*, was by Cheke; it only gives the original treatise.

† A full account of Tunstall's treatise, *De vera Corporis et Sanguinis Doctrina in Eucharistia*, is given by Soames, ii. 639. It appeared in this year, 1551. For the accidents which befell Cranmer's *second* answer to Gardiner, see Strype's *Cranmer*, bk. ii. ch. xxv. His intense anxiety to get it translated into Latin and published is very touching. He worked on it almost to the hour of his death.

the Divinity of Christ. The travelled Coverdale, one of the commission, acted as interpreter in the case: the obstinacy of the heretic appeared unsubdued after a patient investigation: and by the Archbishop he was delivered to the secular arm in the presence of Lord Russell, Scory, and a licensed preacher named Thomas Stephens. He lay in the prison called the Compter in the Poultry more than a fortnight from his condemnation, April 7: then, all hope of his recovery being dissipated, he was committed to the flames, April 24, in Smithfield.*

In John Ponet, who was translated from Rochester, the Council chose to succeed Gardiner the man the most unlike him that they could find. Ponet was very young, being scarce thirty-five years old: his character was not altogether unblemished: and he was among the most violent partisans of the New Learning. He was a man of universal talent, skilled in the ancient and modern languages. A curious clock constructed by him and presented to Henry the Eighth, had exhibited his mechanical genius and procured his first advancement: his translation of Ochino's Dialogues against the Roman Primacy had commended him to Somerset and Cranmer, who were interlocutors on the victorious part.† The chaplain of Cranmer, he had shared with Hooper the honour of preaching before the King the week-day sermons of a memorable Lent. When Ridley went to London, he had followed him at Rochester, outstripping his more scrupulous fellow-preacher in rising to the

* Wilkins, iv. 44, 45 : Edw. Jour. April 24 : Stow, p. 605.

† Of this curious and elaborate "Tragedy" made up of separate Dialogues, the reader may see an account in Zimmern's Benrath's *Bernardino Ochino of Siena*, 1876. It is described as "massive, concentrated, masterly in plan, excellent in execution." It is a work of some imagination. The author was a prebendary of Canterbury: but did not like the country so well as London; from which he never departed.

episcopal bench. He was the first bishop consecrated according to the new Ordinal, and the last who was permitted, according to the old system, to hold his former benefice *in commendam* with his see. His translation to Gardiner's office was marked by an act of complaisance which was wonderful even in that age. Perhaps the English episcopate sank to the lowest humiliation when Ponet alienated the whole of the splendid patrimony of Winchester in return for an annual grant of two thousand marks raised from some rectories and advowsons.* He chose for his own chaplain a worthy whom Gardiner greatly disliked, the notorious Bale : and he rivalled his chaplain in the fluent scurrility of his polemical writings. He was wont to be reckoned among the fathers of the English Reformation, on account of a catechism which he wrote to instruct the young. But still there was that story about the butcher's wife, in regard to Ponet.† In his place went to Rochester Scory, a great preacher, who had preached at Joan Bocher's burning, and who preached in Lent this year before the King against the want of ecclesiastical discipline and the prevalence of covetousness. The discernment of Scory in this was commendable : and his zeal led him to renew his exhortations for the redress of those evils, in a very notable letter of thanks which he wrote to the King on his advancement.‡

The alienations to which others of the prelates were

* Strype, iii. 483. He enumerates the enormous grants made out of the patrimony of Winchester to several of the courtiers : to Gates, Hoby, Semour, Fitzwilliam, Nevil, and Wroth.

† *Grey Friars' Chron.*, p. 70, 27 July. "The Bishop of Winchester that was then was divorced from his wife in Paul's, the which was a butcher's wife of Nottingham, and gave her husband a certain money a year during his life, as it was judged by the law."—Machyn's *Diary*, p. 8. "The new Bishop of W. was divorced from the butcher's wife with shame enough."

‡ Strype, iii. 496 : iv. 481.

compelled at this time for the gratification of courtiers were enormous. Every voidance gave the signal of attack; the vacant sees were kept unfilled as long as possible, to be plundered; nor were they filled without many nefarious bargains. Kitchin of Llandaff (so at least sighed one of his successors) found his church endowed by the former piety with such liberality, that if it had retained but the tenth of its possessions, it might have been numbered among the richest churches in Christendom. Kitchin left it the poorest in the realm.* The venerable and unlucky Sampson of Lichfield and Coventry was forced to spoil himself and his Dean and Chapter at a terrible rate, to found an estate and give the title of a baron to Sir William Paget, the aspiring, unscrupulous, and able adventurer who asserted his new rank so vigorously at the trial of Gardiner. Salcot or Capon of Salisbury, falling into some displeasure at the Court, gave long leases of his farms and manors, which flew away, the wit of man remarked, on the feathers of that capon. Voysey of Exeter, a backward man in the Reformation, once governor of the Lady Mary, once president of the Council of Wales, seemed, it was said, resolved to leave his successor no means of living. Of twenty-five manors and fourteen mansions, it was exclaimed, he left but seven or eight and one: and those charged with pensions, or let on long leases; this bare and naked. Voysey was over ninety years old, he lived away from his office, leaving

* Satis patet hanc Ecclesiam, si vel decimam partem hodie possideret eorum prædiorum quæ hominum piorum munificentia illi sunt olim concessa, inter opulentissimas Christiani orbis fortasse numerandam: cum jam vix satis habeat unde se sartam tutamque possit tueri. Et episcopatus tot largitionibus ditatus, totius tamen Angliæ Walliæque est longe tenuissimus: adeo ut sacerdotia non pauca diocesis habeat, quæ fructus longe uberiores incumbentibus reddant, quam suo Episcopo hæc sedes. Godwin, *De Præs.* p. 593.

his see and his reputation alike undefended. Coverdale, his assistant, or coadjutor, succeeded him about this time: for he resigned, or was deprived, a few months after the sentence passed on Gardiner. His memory has suffered in history: but the surviving documents make it appear that he was helpless: and it may be doubted whether formal and decorous robbery ever reached a greater height of shamelessness than in his case.*

Among the courtiers at this time the rapid fortunes of Sir John Gates and Sir Thomas Darcy have attracted attention. Gates, a favourite with Warwick, being a royal commissioner at Cheshunt, had the goods of chantries and colleges coming into his hands in considerable quantity: and grew rich so suddenly, that he found it as expedient as it was easy to get himself cleared by a pardon of all accounts due to the King.† Darcy

* For Voysey's alienations see Strype, iv. 277, Heylin, Godwin. Burnet says that he reserved a pension for himself, but "all the rest he basely resigned, taking care of himself and ruining his successor." Wharton on the other hand defends the old prelate, denying that he alienated any of his possessions but upon express command under the Privy Seal, in favour of certain noblemen and courtiers: that he got nothing but promises of good will: that he resigned "per metum et terrorem," as he declared: and that he caused copies of the Privy Seals to be entered in his register for his vindication to posterity (*Specimen*, p. 100). Both stories are reconcilable with the *Concessio ad Vitam*, or Annuity Grant to Voysey. From that remarkable document it appears that "*requisitus per literas nostras*," and because "*sua extrema senectus provocavit eum*," Voysey resigned "*significando qualiter ad specialem rogatum et requisitionem per literas nostras et per Consiliarios nostros*," he granted in fee simple "*diversis Consiliariis, servientibus, et subditis nostris*" certain manors and "*alios redditus episcopales*": and that they had granted him annuities, "*prout in eorum cartis, sigillis suis signatis, continetur*," &c. *Rym.* xv. 282. His successor, Coverdale, was limited by a Privy Seal to a revenue of five hundred pounds, "*et non ultra*."—*Ib.* p. 284.

† Strype, iii. 480: who gives an account of the benevolences which were showered on Gates by Warwick. They included the site of St. Stephen's Free Chapel in Westminster, all but the Parliament House, after the attainder of Sir R. Fane, the former possessor.

was created baron of Chiche, and received of the King the magnificent gift of the house and site of the late monastery of St. Osyth Chiche: which had been once the prey of Thomas Crumwel himself. He held also St. John's Abbey, Colchester.* In the summer the Council ordered the bishops and the licensed preachers to preach against the sin of covetousness.†

The exhortations of the foreigners were not wanting at this juncture, when further alteration was in prospect, and in particular the emendation of the Prayer Book. Calvin, at the beginning of the year, addressed himself both to the King and the Primate: to the former with the usual admonition of uprooting the remaining roots of Antichrist, pointing among other things to a curious symptom in the Universities, which may not perhaps be so amazing as it seemed to him: that there were young persons there, maintained on the exhibitions of the Church, who were for pulling down religion altogether.‡ His tone was brisker to Cranmer, for an archbishop

* Strype, iii. 461.

† *Ib.* p. 495. I may insert here the list of royal grants of the residue of the monastic spoil for this year, 5 Edward, as I have made it out from Tanner.

Chatteris, Cambr. Ben. nun. little: all to Lord Ed. Clinton.

Berking, Essex, Ben. nun. great: site to Ld. Ed. Clinton.

Halsted College, Essex: site to Marquis of Northampton.

Merwell College, Hamps.: all to Sir Henry Seymour.

Tanington Hosp. without Canterbury: to Rt. Dartnall.

Alrington, Linc. Gilb. little: all to Ld. Ed. Clinton.

Fosse, Linc. Ben. nun. little: all to Ld. Ed. Clinton.

Swinshed, Linc. Cist. little: site to Ld. Ed. Clinton.

Humberstein, Linc. Ben. little: site to Sir Jn. Cheke.

Stanford, Ben. cell, little: all to Sir Wm. Cecil.

Luffield, Northampt. Ben. little: site to Sir Nic. Throgmorton.

Warwick Black Friars: to Earl of Warwick.

Newcastle Aust. Friars: to Earl of Warwick.

Tynemouth Ben. great: site and most lands to Earl of Warwick.

Melsa, Yorks. Cist. great: all to Earl of Warwick.

‡ *O. Lett.* p. 707. To Bullinger he wrote about this time, "Regis Angliæ egrégiam indolem acuere conatus sum." *Calv. Epist.* p. 132.

cannot satisfy a revolution: or Calvin belike had not heard of the great work on the Eucharist. "The lofty post," said Calvin, "which thou holdest, makes thee observed of all. Men follow thy movement, or lie still under cover of thy torpidity. Three years ago, if thou hadst led them to a bold assault, there would have remained less trouble and conflict in destroying superstition. Take not thy rest: be not to be admonished, as if thou hadst done all, and were at the goal. To speak freely, I am beset with the fear that so many autumns are passing in delay, that a perpetual winter may succeed. I fear lest thou shouldest have to depart with the consciousness of having delayed too long, and left all in confusion. By confusion I mean, that, though foreign superstitions are corrected, there are quick suckers and shoots left in the ground. I hear of many remnants of the papacy. One intolerable evil I know, that the revenues of the Church are exposed to depredation. Another is, that there are slow bellies in the Church, who sing Vespers in an unknown tongue. It is more than ridiculous in thee to approve of such an absurdity. But the excellent Peter Martyr will suggest a better course to thee: and I am glad that thou consultest him."* Nor less the vigilant Bullinger, the chief pastor of Zurich, exhibited in England, with the approbation of Cranmer, of Warwick, and of Dorset, the Helvetian teaching, in his tract on the Sacraments: which was both published this year in England by Laski at the Archbishop's request in a separate form, and was included in the Fifth Decade of the author's sermons, which saw the light and was

* I venture to put this undated epistle of Calvin's here: there is another undated epistle to Cranmer printed before it, in much the same tune. *Epist.* p. 134, 5. The grateful Primate answered that Calvin could do nothing better than keep on writing to the King. "*Cantuarensis nihil me admonuit utilius facturum, quam ut ad Regem sæpius scriberem.*" To Farel, June 15.

brought into England in this year with particular ceremony.* And about the same time Bullinger conveyed to Doctor Cox an earnest admonition of his duty in the reforming of the Church, that she might not be defiled by popish ceremonies: for which advice the conjectured employment of Cox in correcting the divine offices has been thought to have ministered occasion.† But Cox seems not to have been of the commission, or body of men, that revised the First Prayer Book;‡ and though he answered Bullinger with reverence, he could but say that his own authority was small, and that he wished that the bishops might be of his mind and belief. The bishops in the mean time, four of them at least, whether with a commission or without a commission, Canterbury, York, London, Ely, and with them Peter Martyr, were proceeding with the important work of the alteration of the Prayer Book.§ Their secret deliberations seem to have remained, or to have perished, without record, though the issue of them came forth in due time. But the assistance which they received from foreigners, especially at this early stage of the revision, was considerable: and the labours of Peter Martyr himself, and the more extensive and important recommendations of Bucer, who was expressly called to aid, may be considered now.

* Bullinger's *Absoluta de Christi Domini et Catholicæ ejus Ecclesiæ Sacramentis Tractatio* was published by Laski in London in April 1551. Laski had kept it three years. He then showed it to Cranmer, who desired it to be edited, remarking that Bullinger's writings needed no previous inspection. Laski to Bull. 10 April, 1551. *Cardwell's Liturgies, Pref.* (This date, according to old style, would make the year to be 1552.) About the same time Bullinger sent his Fifth Decade into England, in which his tract on the Sacraments was embodied. *Orig. Lett.* pp. 426, 428.

† Strype, iii. 531.

‡ See above, p. 249.

§ Strype, it may be noticed, speaks as if the Bishop of Ely alone had been called in by Cranmer. This he seems to have concluded from Martyr's letter to Bucer: in which only that bishop is mentioned. Strype's *Cran.* bk. ii. ch. xxiv.

Peter Martyr, who was unable to read English, and was only furnished with an inadequate Latin version, made by Cheke, of the Prayer Book, composed and sent to the urgent Primate some annotations at the beginning of the year. At the same moment Bucer, whose opinion of the Book had been formed by previous study, and who seems to have been able to read it for himself,* completed, and sent to his own diocesan, the Bishop of Ely, from whom he had received the formal invitation to write it, his elaborate *Censura* of the English service: of which he sent likewise a copy to Martyr. Peter read, and discovered not without chagrin that he had himself missed many things which his yoke-fellow had noted to deserve emendation. He hurriedly collected all these points, which Bucer had discerned, into articles, and sent them to his patron the Archbishop: at the same time acquainting Bucer with what he had done. "Oh, why had I not a better version given me to work withal? In the version that was given me were many defects, as I found to my sorrow on comparing my observations with yours. But in some former annotations, that I made, almost every point that you noticed was detected by me: as I could prove, if I could think of an example. And there is one point which you have omitted: I cannot tell why. It is, that when a priest takes the reserved elements to a sick person, he is not directed

* Bucer, on his first arrival, and Fagius wrote jointly to their friends at Strasburg, "As soon as the description of the ceremonies now in use shall have been translated into Latin, we will send it to you." (*Orig. Lett.* p. 535.) He probably knew no English, or little then: and in his *Censura* he tells us that his first knowledge of the Prayer Book was got "*per interpretem*," apparently an oral one. But it would be easier for him to learn English than for the Italian Peter Martyr. A year and a half's residence in England would have rendered him able to read the Prayer Book, of which he displays in his *Censura* the most minutely accurate knowledge, and which he quotes in the original on all occasions. If he used a Latin version, it was not that of Aless, to which our older historians believed him to have applied himself. See below.

to repeat the words. It is the words that concern the receiver rather than the bread and wine. They repeat not to a sick man, who has not heard them, the words ; which they repeat in the church, if the wine fail in the cup, though men have heard them before." Thus Martyr, unburdening himself.*

The *Censura* of Bucer is an extensive treatise of twenty-eight chapters, in which he reviews the Prayers,

* Martyr to Bucer, 10 January, 1551. Strype's *Cran.* App. lxi. What has become of the *Priores Annotationes* which Martyr says that he made on the Prayer Book? Much stress has been laid on a sentence or two in this important letter by those writers who would prove that foreigners had very little to do with altering the English service book. Ridley says in his *Life of Ridley* that Martyr and Bucer "had no further hand in the alterations than in delivering their censures separately to the Archbishop : for in this letter Martyr says that *what the points were that it had been agreed should be altered, he knew not, nor durst presume to ask*. And as for Bucer, he died the latter end of the month, and could be no further concerned in it. And as the reviewers were not moved by them, but by some members of the Convocation, so many alterations were agreed before *these Professors were consulted, as appears from the same letter*" (p. 333). Martyr's words however seem to bear the contrary meaning. After mentioning the particular which Bucer had omitted, he goes on : "In omnibus autem, quæ censuisti emendanda, tuæ sententiæ scripsi. Et gratias Deo ago, qui occasionem suppeditavit, ut de his omnibus Episcopi per nos admonerentur. Conclusum est jam in hoc eorum colloquio, quemadmodum retulit mihi Reverendissimus, ut multa immutentur. Sed quænam illa sint, quæ censuerint emendanda, neque ipse mihi exposuit, neque ego de illo quærere ausus sum." (*See also above*, p. 248.) That is, he and Bucer were asked their opinions, their censures and suggestions were before the bishops in their conference, and many things were to be altered, though he knew not what they were. The letter which Archbishop Laurence has quoted (*Bampton Lect.* p. 254), in which Bucer says that no foreigner was asked his opinion, but that some of them did what they could spontaneously, is nothing to the purpose. ("Quod me mones de puritate rituum, scito hic neminem extraneum de his rebus rogari. Tamen ex nobis, ubi possumus, officio nostro non desumus, et coram ac in primis, ut plebibus Christi de veris pastoribus consulatur, deinde etiam de puritate purissima et doctrinæ et vitæ.") The letter was of 12 January, 1550 : that is, a year before this. At that date it is likely enough that the foreigners had not been asked. Bucer however was then, and always, labouring spontaneously for the good of England, as his many treatises prove.

the Order of Communion, the Ordinal, and the Offices of England. It is very minute, but it is also very excursive : and the learned author repeated in it several propositions that are found in other works, on which he was engaged for the benefit of his adopted country. It is remarkable moreover for the extensive application of the favourite position of the reformers of the sixteenth century, that whatever was at variance with their own convictions was Antichrist : a distinction however which they bestowed on one another on occasion as readily as on the common enemy.* “The provost of Christ’s College,” said Bucer, “has signified to me, Most Reverend, thy desire to have my opinion of the Book of sacred rites used in this kingdom. When first I came hither, I tried through an interpreter to study that Book, that I might determine whether I could with full consent hold office in your Church. I found nothing therein that was contrary to the Word of God, properly understood, though there were some things that might appear, without a candid interpretation, contrary to the Word of God. I will briefly note what I think meet to be retained in your Book, what to be emended or expunged, and what explained more fully. The contents and order of the Daily prayers and of the Communion Service seem entirely scriptural and primitive. But to have the choir separate from the rest of the church is Antichristian, and makes the ministers, of whatever life and doctrine, nearer in station, as it were, to God than the laity. From the shape of the most ancient churches, and from the writings of the Fathers, the station of the

* The remark of Hume is not unjust, that Luther and his followers “treated the religion of their ancestors as abominable, detestable, damnable : foretold by Sacred Writ itself as the source of all wickedness and pollution. They called the Pope Antichrist,” &c., ch. xxix. But the application of the mysterious and awful term to the Roman pontiff was far earlier.

clergy was in the middle of the church.* In respect of the Holy Communion, and the mode of celebrating it, I have much to say. Excellent are those directions about giving notice beforehand, and forbidding wicked persons: but I wish that the vesture appointed for that ministration were taken away: not because it is impious, but because we ought to have nothing in common with Romanensian Antichrists.† I see also that a direction is subjoined, that, when there are no communicants, the ministers are to come forth dressed as if there were. What is that but a Romanensian Antichristian adumbration of the Supper of the Lord? And I am told that there are women of title who boldly demand memories to be celebrated when there are no communicants: and that there are mass priests who celebrate memories in the very time and place that the ordinary ministers are celebrating the Communion. When there are none to communicate, moreover, you only say half a Mass (as I may so say), and yet with all the vesture of a whole Mass. As to the direction (which is also at the end) for having the Communion in chapels annexed, the old rule is to have it only in the parish church: and it is to be feared lest in those chapels there should be superstition practised.‡ But truly it is lamentable how the faithful are waxed cold: and how difficult it is to have a Communion even in the parish churches. All that you say of the

* In the Second Book a long rubric was put instead of the simple "The Priest being in the quire," of the First Book, in Matins. Bucer had some effect there.

† Vesture taken away, silently omitted, in rubric before Communion in the Second Book. I shall go on noting where Bucer's objections coincided with the alterations made in the Second Book, and where not.

‡ Altered accordingly: nothing about chapels annexed in the rubric of the Second Book. Moreover, the mention of chapels annexed, among the places where the service was bound to be held, at the end of the Preface of the First Book, is abolished in the Second.

matter, form, and fraction of the bread is excellent: but I should like to add that in the Eucharist leavened and usual bread may be used, as well as the round and unleavened bread of which you speak.* And the following words, that no man should think less to be received in part than in the whole, I would omit altogether.† I would omit also the following regulations at the end there, that some one at least of that household to which it appertains in the parish to offer for the charges of the Communion, or some other in his stead, should communicate with the priest: and that every one should communicate once a year.‡ In place of them I would have an exhortation to constant communion, for it is horrible how neglected it is: and I would enforce this by excommunication. They who will not communicate are unworthy, as St. Chrysostom says, to be present at the prayers of the Church. What is to be thought of the man who only comes once a year, and that because he is compelled by law? Something moreover should be done to repress indecency. Men walk about and talk in the churches, even whilst the sacred ministrations are being performed: and this impiety is encouraged by the remoteness of the ministers in the choir, and their hurried and indistinct performance. As to the people receiving in their mouths, and not in their hands, I cannot agree.§ It implies that the anointed hands of the priest are more holy than the hands of the lay people. The Romanensian Antichrists favour that opinion. There are some more

* More than altered accordingly—no bread but usual spoken of in the Second Book.

† Omitted accordingly.

‡ Omitted. Once a year altered to three times at least. But Bucer may have had nothing to do with this latter. It was the old English rule that every one should communicate thrice at least. See *e.g.* Johnson's *Canons*, i. p. 487.

§ Abolished accordingly.

directions in the middle of the Communion service, after the Offertory sentences: about singing, the poor man's box, separating men and women, and placing on the altar no more than sufficient bread and wine. All are excellent: but as to the last, some superstitiously think that it is impious for any bread and wine, that has been so placed, to come into common use.* There is Anti-christ again. Once more: at the end of the book you say that touching, kneeling, crossing, knocking the breast, and other gestures, may be used or left. They are gestures of the Mass, never to be sufficiently execrated. Away with them.†

"As to the Order of Communion itself," proceeded Bucer, "I find (as I have said) all pure and congruous with God's word: but the following points I think ought to be explained more fully, or corrected. With regard to the Sermon, it is better certainly to have a Homily read than to have nothing: but the living word of the preacher is more edifying. Hence the need to reform the Universities, and make them seminaries of preachers: to put an end to the cruel robbery of parishes: to seek for real pastors and institute them. As to the way in which the Homilies are read, oh, they might as well be written in Turkish or Indian! And you talk of dividing them into parts. They are, short as it is: and who would not hear with erect and eager mind the whole of a salutary Homily? The Homilies are far too few in number: more are wanted: employ the eminent preachers that you now have: and, for subjects, I can suggest many.‡ In the Prayer of Consecration I like

* Altered in Second Book more than Bucer proposed.

† Abolished: all the "Notes" at the end of "Of Ceremonies" in the First Book disappeared in the Second.

‡ The First Book of Homilies was divided from twelve into thirty-two as early as August 1549. It is possible that Bucer may have known them thus divided, and have thought it undesirable to subdivide them

not the commemoration of the dead, and the petition that they may have eternal peace. I know that it is an ancient institution, but Antichrist may come in thereby. I suggest something instead of that. And in the same prayer, for the words *With thy Holy Spirit and Word vouchsafe to bless and sanctify these thy gifts and creatures of bread and wine that they may be unto us the Body and Blood of thy most dearly beloved Son*, I would have another form of words, which I give: for there is no command of Christ, no word nor example of the Apostles for such a blessing and sanctifying of bread and wine that they be to us the Body and Blood of Christ. I also advise you to take away the prayer for the ministry of the holy angels: and I give you another instead of it.* I observe also that you provide for a

further. Otherwise it is difficult to see how he could have feared they might be made too short. He suggests the following topics for Homilies: 1. De vera Christi communione atque disciplina. 2. De sanctificandis locis et temporibus consecratis. 3. De frequentandis sacris cœtibus. 4. De oblationibus liberaliter faciendis pauperibus. 5. De digna cujusque Sacramenti perceptione. 6. De correctione peccantium. 7. De abstentione in graviora peccata prolapsorum. 8. De pœnitentium reconciliatione. 9. De revocandis ethnicis et publicanis. 10. De procuracione egentium. 11. De fovendis ubique scholis, et ad pias literas olendis pauperum liberis, qui deprehendantur idonei. 12. De sacro conjugio. 13. De educatione decente ad Christianorum liberos. 14. De honesto labore et vitando otio. 15. De usura. 16. De omni fraude proximi. 17. De omni genere rapinæ et spoliis. 18. De luxu vestium. Some of these seem answerable to some of the homilies in the Second Book of Homilies. But it does not plainly follow that this is so because of Bucer's suggestion: because some of these homilies of the Second Book, which answer somewhat to some of Bucer's suggestions, were already promised to follow at the end of the First Book of Homilies: *q. v.*

* As to these important suggestions observe—I. That the commemoration and praying for the dead was one of the express purposes of the Mass: as we have seen Gardiner declaring. Instead of the petition in the First Book, "We commend unto thy mercy, O Lord, all other thy servants which are departed from us with the sign of faith, and do now rest in the sleep of peace," &c., Bucer proposed a form taken partly from the Burial Office, "Quomodo una cum his et omnibus qui ad te hinc in fide nominis tui præcesserunt, nos possimus in adventu Filii tui gloriose

double Communion on Christmas Day and on Easter Day: as if your churches were as narrow as the old basilicas, which could not contain all the people at once. With the cause the effect might disappear.* However I agree that all present ought to partake of the Sacrament. And I cannot but note that some of your clergy make use of very fallacious modes of securing that desirable end. Some of them celebrate very seldom, for that end: three or four times a year. Others dismiss the congregation at a certain point, that they may celebrate only with those who will communicate, two or three, it may be, in number.† Assuredly the Holy Communion ought to be celebrated on every Sunday and on all festivals, whenever the whole Church comes together: and they who at the time of the Communion either walk off, or remain without communicating, disobey Christ's word.

prodire ad resurrectionem vitæ, atque collocari in dextram Filii tui, et audire lætam illam vocem, Venite, benedicti, &c. The whole was simply abolished in the Second Prayer Book. 2. We saw how the old "fiant" in the Canon of the Mass was turned into "may be" in the First Book (above, p. 33). Bucer assails this reduced form, and would have instead "Benedic nobis, et sanctifica nos verbo ac Spiritu Sancto tuo, ut Corpus et Sanguinem Filii tui ex ipsius manu his mysteriis vera fide percipiamus in cibum potumque vitæ æternæ." How this clause was altered, we shall see. Bucer pointed it out for alteration. 3. For the petition "accept this our bounden duty and service, and command these our prayers and supplications by the ministry of thy holy angels to be brought up into thy divine tabernacle before the sight of thy divine majesty, not weighing our merits," &c., Bucer suggested "suscipe benevolus propter Filium tuum nostrum Mediatorem has preces." But the clause was cut out, and all this part of the prayer transferred.

* It disappeared accordingly. This suggestion, and the rest here mentioned, come from cap. 27, the last but one, in the Censura.

† "Sed sunt qui in eo nobiscum sentiant, quo autem id obtineant ut presentes omnes sacræ cœnæ sacramenta percipiant, non veris utuntur rationibus. Alii enim eo rarius sacram cœnam celebrant ut in anno vix pluries quam ter aut quater. Alii populum qui ad predicationem Evangelii et preces confluit, omnem dimittunt, ut cœnam celebrent cum iis tantum qui volunt ea communicare, quorum forsán duo vel tres sunt," &c. Cap. 27.

“As touching your Baptismal Office, it is well to order baptism to be ministered before the congregation: but when is the congregation greatest? Not at the morning or evening prayers, but at the time of sermon. I would therefore administer baptism immediately after the sermon, while the church is still full, before the Holy Communion be begun. So the ancient Churches had it, and some still have it so.* There is reason, doubtless, for having some of the prayers, in the rite of baptism, outside the church, to signify the state of nature: but I doubt whether this have enough decency and order to recommend it.† So as to the white vesture and the chrysm of the baptised. In the ancients these signs were pious expressions of gratitude: but the Romanensian Antichrists turn pious ceremonies into wicked games.‡ Then, that prayer about sanctifying the flood Jordan and all other waters: there is nothing of that in Scripture.§ Of the sign of the cross I approve, but the words accompanying are addressed to the child, who cannot understand them. For the same reason, *coming to thy holy baptism* should be *brought*.|| As to exorcism, are all who are born in sin demoniacs, that you retain such a thing?¶ As to the questions put to the godfathers and godmothers, to be answered in the name of the child, who cannot understand what is promised for him, it is not Scriptural, however ancient, and it has no reason in it. It is not unlike the Marcionite heretics, who, when a catechumen died, crept under the bier, and answered for the dead man that he

* Not obtained.

† In the First Book half of the Baptismal Service was at the church door. This was altered in the Second Book, according to Bucer's suggestion.

‡ Abolished accordingly, the sign of the cross, which took place at the door in the First Book, being put in their place.

§ Not altered.

|| Altered accordingly. Not altered.

¶ Abolished accordingly.

wished to be baptised. Rather let the godfathers and godmothers be asked whether they will take good heed that the child believe and do the things required by religion.* I approve not of the benediction and consecration of things inanimate, and of the water of baptism: it gives the persuasion of magical immutation: there is no Scripture for it.†

“In Confirmation you admit any who can repeat certain things, like parrots. But the young should be required to give some proof of understanding and living: and should be examined to that end before they be confirmed.‡ Children should be instructed in the Catechism not once in six weeks, as you have it; but every Sunday and holiday.§ You order masters and parents to cause their servants and children (which are not yet confirmed) to come to the catechising. Out with that parenthesis!|| Let all be made to come, confirmed or not, till they be fully instructed in Christ’s religion. ¶ Divide your catechumens into classes. ¶¶

“As it regards Matrimony, the King and Council should commit to the bishops the making of a law to declare the degrees of consanguinity and affinity. The tyranny of the Romanensian Antichrists on that part is relaxed. All are not satisfied with the degrees prescribed by the Mosaic law, nor by the civil law.** As to the sick, I wish extreme unction abolished.†† In the Burial Service, I would except that prayer in which the sins of

* Not altered.

† This refers to a little office, printed at the end of *Private Baptism* in the First Book, to be used after the changing of the water in the font. It was abolished accordingly.

‡ Not altered.

§ Altered accordingly—“upon Sundays and holy days.”

|| Altered to “(which have not learned their Catechism).”

¶¶ Bucer meant that all the nation should go on being catechised all their lives.

** Not done.

†† Abolished accordingly.

the dead are asked to be remitted, and that he may escape the gates of darkness: I prefer the prayer following, which you have assigned to the Communion of the Dead.* In the Churching Office, I dislike the giving of a chrysom, or white vesture, and other accustomed offerings. It seems a mercenary precept.† The Comminations on Ash Wednesday are truly excellent: I would have them repeated three or four times in the year. Nay, I would have them fitted to the Ten Commandments, in the way of expository maledictions. You might have ten, such as I here exhibit: the tenth of them to comprehend all who denied original sin, and innate unbelief and ignorance.‡ The whole of the penitential discipline ought

* In the First Book the prayer "O Lord, with whom do live," &c. went on with petitions that the sins of the dead might be remitted, &c. : as Bucer describes. In the Second Book it was so altered that there was scarce a word of it left : in fact a new prayer was put for it : nearly the same as now. The following prayer, "O merciful God," now the last in the Burial Office, was in the Communion for the Dead of the First Book, an Office which was abolished in the Second Book, and the prayer put where it now is : but the last petition in it, that "we and this our brother departed, receiving again our bodies, and rising again in thy most gracious favour, may with all thine elect saints obtain eternal joy," was abolished, and part of the former prayer (rejected in its own place) was used for it. Bucer indicated somewhat here.

† Altered as to chrysom.

‡ Perhaps the reader may like to see some of Bucer's "Maledictions according to the Decalogue." The first is, "Maledictum omnem esse qui non unum credat colatque Deum, eumque quem nobis divinæ Scripturæ prædicant, patrem Domini nostri Jesu Christi." The second, "Maledictum omnem qui ponit fiduciam in ullum alienum numen aut hominem, quique damnatas divinandi artes sectatur aut consulit, vel auscultat iis qui illas profitentur : Item, qui facit imaginem ullam aut ullum signum ad usum religionis, vel ullam peregrinam instituat ceremoniam, verbo Dei non præceptam." The eighth, "Maledictum omnem qui sciens et prudens fraudat proximum furto, iniqua usura, remotione antiquorum terminorum, aut ulla fraude alia ; aut defraudat Rempubicam et Principem peculatu, aut subtrahit Domino et Ecclesiis ejus, quæ consecrata sunt pro sacris et fidelibus religionis ministris, pro scholis et egenis, sacrilegio." The tenth, "Maledictum omnem, qui non agnoscit et deplorat inhabitans in se peccatum, innatam ab Adam incredulitatem erga verbum Dei, ignora-

to be restored to the Church. I may add, on Ceremonies, that in many of your churches there is still found a studied representation of the execrated Mass, in vestures, lights, bowings, crossings, washing of the cup, breathing on the bread and cup, carrying the book from right to left of the table, having the table where the altar was, lifting the paten and cup, and adoration paid by men who nevertheless will not communicate. All these should be expressly forbidden. There are too many holydays, and too much bell-ringing. And the churches ought to be shut, save it be for divine service: to put a stop to the impious walkings and talkings that are carried on. The noise made by boys is intolerable, even when sermons and ministrations are being had. The people should be taught to say all the responses, which they do not: as, for instance, those in the Litany. Indeed I would have them all repeat the prayer *We do not presume*, in the Communion: and the thanksgiving after it."

Bucer ended by representing pathetically the dearth of fit ministers. "Everywhere are parishes with mere readers instead of pastors: nay many cannot so much as read. And yet every parish could competently maintain a minister, if it had still what was once dedicated to God and religion. Seek for good pastors: put a stop to the ruin of the Universities: repair the schools: prevent the desolation, the spoliation of parishes: be as diligent in guarding the property of Christ from sacrilege as you are in guarding your own from rapine. Care for the poor. If Christ be our King, let Him have His treasury, His fiscal purse, the offices of His kingdom. Let there be an end of making gifts and grants out of His goods. Avarice is never quenched by such gifts: it

tionemque Dei, et varias pravas cupiditates: neque studet veterem exuere et novum Adam, Dominum Jesum Christum induere."

is stimulated. Let a bishop consider how heinous a sacrilege it is to diminish the churches in order to procure or repay favours: to bestow any of the goods of the churches on any other account than the service of the churches. There is need," he went on to say, "of a Confession, or Symbol, to be drawn, concerning all the doctrines and precepts of the Christian religion, particularly those that are in controversy: and with this there should be a larger Catechism for the use and instruction of ministers. In your new Ordinal you say something about examining candidates for the ministry. But a far more exact examination is needful: and to keep the ministers active and faithful, you ought to have annual inspections and synods."

Such were the chief animadversions of an honest and learned man, who had aided the destruction which he mourned in attacking the superstition which he hated: and who beheld anew in a foreign country many of the evils for which he had fled his own. At the same time that Bucer sent Cranmer his *Censura*, he sent to the King, as a New Year's gift, his treatise *De Regno Christi*: a curious work, in which some of the propositions of the *Censura* were repeated: such as the larger Catechism, the examination of ministers, and annual provincial synods, but with lay presidents to be co-ordinate with the metropolitan. For some of these requisites he has furnished models in various parts of his Anglican writings.* Bucer was a man of wider

* A full account of the treatise *De Regno Christi* is given by Collier; who justly observes that "a noble air of freedom and integrity appears in it." It is in two books: the former generally definitive or exhortatory: the latter legislative, since it contains twenty-four laws, fully expounded, on which the author deemed the restitution of Christ's kingdom to depend. Of these laws, the fourth, On the Institution of Ministers, is one of the most characteristic. He advises bishops to govern with the aid of the presbytery, advises the restoration of the old rural bishops, or chorepiscopi, one over every twenty parishes or so; biennial provincial synods,

and more sympathetic mind than the other exiles. His intelligence was shown by his ardour to restore, rather than destroy: he propounded innumerable plans for the reformation of colleges, of ecclesiastical offices and persons. His diligence had raised for itself a monument of treatises designed for the good of England, when, two months after completing the *Censura* of the first Prayer Book, he expired in the midst of poverty and of an unfinished sentence of a long *Explication* of the Christian Ministry. A public funeral, and the concourse of three thousand persons attested the admiration of Cambridge for her professor: the orations of Cheke, Haddon, Redman, and Parker were poured above the open grave of Bucer: the elegies of Nowell, Lever, Kitchin, Udal, and Traheron, proclaimed the respect of the English nation: and the friendly sigh of Peter Martyr was echoed from afar in the lament of Calvin and the panegyric of Beza.*

The knowledge, which the dying critic had of the first English Prayer Book, was not gained from the remarkable Latin version which was published about the same time by Alexander Aless the Scot, though the works of the two were afterwards printed abroad in the same volume. Aless, who was now professor of theology at Leipsic, made his version, as he himself said, with the knowledge and consent of the Emperor having a lay president equal to the metropolitan. In another part of the book he bids the young King leave off exacting first-fruits and tenths, or not escape the guilt of sacrilege. No one more freely exposed the evils of the age than Bucer. Among his *Scripta Anglicana* there is a "*Ratio Examinationis Canonicae*," a full scheme of examination for the clergy, such as he indicates in the *Censura*. It deserves to be read.

* Peter Martyr's letter to Conrad Hubert on the death of his fellow exile has some pathetic touches. "Venit ad me Oxoniam elapsa æstate, atque in domo mea per undecim dies fuit. Qui sermones, quæ confabulationes de vobis omnibus optimis in Christo fratribus intercessæ sunt! Dum una loqueremur, in medio vestrum Argentinæ videbamur nobis agere. De reditu cogitabamus, verum ille me anteverit."

Charles, with the design of exhibiting to the continental communions the points in which the English rites and order of Divine service agreed with their own, so as to afford a common ground of union. Hence many of the objections brought by Bucer against the Prayer Book are pronounced frivolous in the very work which was put beside Bucer's *Censura* to enable foreign readers to understand what Bucer was writing about.* A liberal spirit pervades Aless: his version is notoriously unfaithful: but the variations from his original, which he

* The two were printed together at Basle in 1577, in the volume entitled *Buceri Scripta Anglicana*: whence our earlier historians have concluded that Aless's version was made for Bucer's use. And certainly the titles of them are considerably alike. Bucer's work is called *Censura super Libro Sacrorum, seu Ordinationis Ecclesiæ atque Ministerii Ecclesiastici in Regno Angliæ*. Aless's version is entitled *Ordinatio Ecclesiæ seu Ministerii Ecclesiastici in florentissimo Regno Angliæ conscripta sermone patrio et in Latinam linguam bona fide conversa, et ad consolationem Ecclesiarum Christi, ubicunque locorum ac gentium his tristissimis temporibus edita ab Alexandro Alesio Scoto, S. T. D.* It may be worth noticing that the title in an early Leipsic edition in the British Museum is not quite so flourishing, and has no voucher of fidelity: *Ordinatio Ecclesiæ seu Ministerii Ecclesiastici in Regno Angliæ, conscripta sermone patrio, et in Latinam linguam conversa, et edita ab Al. Alesio Scoto, Lipsiæ*, 1551. See *Parker's Revisions*, xxxi. But there is another Leipsic copy in the Bodleian of the same date and size, a quarto, which, as I have ascertained, has the longer title, word for word. Aless had formerly translated the first Communion Book, of 1548, and adheres to his earlier version where the first Communion Book varies from the Order of Communion in the Book of 1549. Mr. Proctor, in his *History of the Prayer Book*, allows the internal difficulty of supposing that Bucer studied the Prayer Book in Aless's version, but seems unable to account for the similarity of the titles of the two. I think it may be explained by the literary history of Bucer's writings. 1. The death of the author prevented their publication in England, though a volume of elegies and orations on his funeral was published. 2. They all remained unpublished till 1557, when his children published his *De Regno Christi* at Basle (Strype, iii. 551). 3. The rest remained in manuscript till the reign of Elizabeth, when they were sent by Archbishop Grindal to Conrad Hubert, Bucer's enthusiastic admirer, who at length edited them in 1557 with the title of *Buceri Scripta Anglicana*. See his Preface to that volume. He included all the former publications above mentioned, and also Aless's version of the Prayer Book: and it seems most probable that he modelled the title of the *Censura* on the title of that version.

permitted himself, came not from carelessness, nor from the set design of mutilating the service in one only direction: they seem referable to several definite principles. He wished to present the English rites, the rites, to use his own expression, of his almost native country, as attractively as possible to the eyes of his imperial patron on the one hand, and on the other hand to make them acceptable to Frankfort, or Zurich, or Geneva. Moreover he seems to have shared the just aversion of the earlier reformers (of whom he may be reckoned) from stirring the terrible controversy of the greater Sacrament.* “What is the good,” he exclaims, “of quarrelling and separating about lights and caps and vestures and gestures? There are those who are offended with the English Catechism, because it treats of the Creed before the Decalogue! In the Supper of the Lord itself there are some rites, such as elevation, maintained in the English Book, which are abrogated elsewhere. What then? It is merely inhuman to suppose that every Church may not have her own peculiar customs. In reforming it is best to depart as little as possible from what is in use: for sudden and great changes are always dangerous.”† From these

* See Vol. I. p. 118 *huj. op.*

† Prefatio. The apparently inconsistent alterations, interpolations, and mutilations of Aless’s version seem reducible to the principles indicated in the text: and, as the subject is somewhat curious, the reader may perhaps excuse a general survey of his variations from the first Prayer Book. 1. He seems to act through common sense, and a wish to get things right. Thus he often puts the exact thing that is meant when the English expression is somewhat imperfect. In Private Baptism, where the English is, “they shall warn them that without great cause *they baptise not children* at home,” Aless has “ne exhibeatur Sacramentum baptismi,” which brings out the reason of the caution. In the same Office it is directed that the persons present “call upon God for His grace, and say the Lord’s Prayer:” but no mention is made of the Lord’s Prayer in the subsequent question, “Whether they call upon God for grace and succour in that necessity:” where Aless has, “Utrum invocarunt Deum,

principles he was led sometimes to recur to the old Latin Uses in his translation, and, in one remarkable

dicta Dominica prece." So in one of the Communion rubrics, "When the people do offer," is, "Offert *ad altare*." In the rubric before the Offertory, where the men and women are ordered to "tarry still in the choir, the men on one side, the women on the other," he has it, *to come* into the choir, the men on one side, &c., *and kneel down there*. In the exhortation, to the words, "not considering the Lord's Body," he adds, "*nec ei debitum habentes honorem*." Some of his rubrical versions are valuable at the present day, as giving the mind of a peculiarly competent contemporary on meanings that have been disputed since. Thus in the Communion he understands by "the vesture appointed for that ministration, that is to say, a white alb plain, with a vestment or cope," the priest shall be "*indutus alba casula vel cappa*." The direction "standing humbly afore the midst of the altar," is "*stans ante altare*": but directly afterwards the apparently indefinite "standing at God's board" is "*stans ad medium altaris*." 2. He makes many alterations to please the Emperor and the Old Learning. He often turns *congregation* into *ecclesia*. He puts in the word *Missa* several times where it is not: "*Officium Missæ, ad introitum Missæ*." He renders "The priest or *he that is appointed*," "*sacerdos aut subdiaconus*," as to the reader of the Epistle: "The priest or *he that is appointed*" to read the Gospel, "*sacerdos et diaconus*." The passage in the Exhortation, "For as the benefit is great if with a true penitent heart and lively faith we receive that holy sacrament, for then we spiritually eat," &c., he turns so as to make the subsequent clause primary: "Nam, sicut magnum beneficium est spiritualiter manducare corpus et bibere Sanguinem Christi, manere in Christo, et habere Christum in se habitantem, ac unum effici cum ipso; quod contingit illis qui digne accedunt, id est, corde contrito ac humiliato cum vera fide ac fiducia certa misericordiæ promissæ per Christum." In the other Exhortation, "The most comfortable Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ," is "*Sacramentum plenum consolationis, i. e. Corpus et Sanguinem Christi*." The rubrical direction that "the minister shall take as much bread and wine as shall suffice," &c., is "*Sacerdos sat hostias calici et corporali imponet*." In one of the subjoined rubrics, "the bread prepared for the communion" is "*hostia*." In another, "The *receiving* of the Sacrament of the blessed Body and Blood of Christ," is simply "*Cœna Domini*." In the post communion Thanksgiving the phrase "hast assured us (*duly receiving the same*) of thy favour and goodness towards us," is deprived of the bracketed words. In the Communion of the Sick, the direction "to the oft receiving of the Holy Communion of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ," is tersely rendered, "*ut frequenter communicent sacramento altaris*." He often returns, either actually or in spirit, to the phraseology of the old Latin Uses: as in the Collect for 2 Lent, and for St. Stephen; and the beginning of the Litany, where in him the invocations are, "*Pater de cœlis Deus; Fili Redemptor mundi Deus; Spiritus*

instance at least, to a Lutheran model: sometimes to give curious turns to clauses which he seemed to be translating: once or twice to compose, not render: to alter in several places the order, or succession of parts:

sancte, Deus, ab utroque procedens: Sancta Trinitas, unus Deus. Miserere nobis." The "detestable enormities of the Bishop of Rome" all disappear also from the Litany of Aless. In the same Office the petition for the King "to rule his heart," is delicately turned "the heart of his Highness: *mentem Celsitudinis suæ*." In the Burial Office, for the thanksgiving words "into sure consolation and rest," we find the old form "ad locum refrigerii, lucis, et consolationis." To a softening spirit may be attributed in the description of children by nature, "born in original sin, *and in the wrath of God*," the omission of the latter phrase. Other changes of the same general kind are, that whereas at the beginning of the Communion, sinners in the primitive Church are said to have been "put to open penance, and punished in this world that their souls might be saved in the day of the Lord:" this is briefly but plainly put, "ejicerentur ex Ecclesia, ut agerent publicam pœnitentiam." In the piece "Of Ceremonies," the somewhat indefinite qualification that no man ought to appoint or alter them "except he be lawfully called and authorised thereto," is strengthened, "nisi sit ad hoc divinitus vocatus, et habeat auctoritatem publicam, et consensum Ecclesiæ." 3. He has another class of alterations which seem designed to please the various sections of the reforming party. Thus, in the Communion, in the exhortation, "Let him come to me or to some other discreet and learned *priest*," the word is *virum*. The Absolution in the same service is taken from Herman's Consultation, as Mr. Proctor has remarked, *Prayer Bk. Hist.* p. 65. The direction that the priest shall "let the people depart with this blessing" is simply "orabit." The petition in the Litany "give to all nations unity," &c., is give to all *Christians*, not nations at all. But the boldest alteration was the entire omission in the Baptismal Office, and in the Visitation and in the Communion of the Sick, of all the prayers and rubrics concerning chrism and extreme unction. In the former, the "*linea vestis*," which was put on the infant, and which was commonly called "the chrysom," was mentioned, but not the anointing at the same time, from which it had its name. This was to gratify the Calvinists. He also omitted, in Confirmation, the direction "Then the Bishop shall cross them in the forehead, and lay his hand upon their head, saying," though he kept what was said. He omitted also the Versicle and Answer that then followed, viz. "The peace of the Lord abide with you—And with thy spirit." 4. There are other variations of no particular significance. Sometimes he puts in bits, in the struggle for perfection, which men who are not mere scribes, undergo, whatever they may be engaged on: as in the Collect for the Purification he thinks some mention of Simeon necessary. In another case he has composed a whole Collect, and a very spiritless one, because he did not like to think of St. Luke as a physician.

because Calvin and the rest were troubling about unction, to omit unction wherever it occurred: and in other instances also to abrogate what he thought likely to be unacceptable. But the motives on which he acted have been forgotten: and Aless has the reputation, among the lovers of the Old Learning, of a mere fanatical falsifier.

The contest of the Lady Mary with the Council was now rising from the narrow precincts of a private household into a magnitude which concerned the Cabinets of Europe. The compassion of the Emperor had been manifest before: his indignation and the menace of his power was displayed when, at the beginning of the year, the English resident at Brussels, Chamberlain, reported home that he had been forbidden to use the English service, where he was.* By way of answer, the Emperor's ambassador in England was informed by the Council that, if Chamberlain were interdicted in Brussels, his own license for having Mass in his house in London would be withdrawn. The envoy reminded the Council of their promise to Mary, hoping that it would hold good till the King came to years of perfection: † but he

* "Mr. Chamberlain having lately been denied the service of his religion in Flanders," the Council caused the Emperor's ambassador in London to write home to procure him liberty, on pain of his own restraint. Council to Mason, 18 Jan. *Foreign Calend.* p. 67. A month later, 22 Feb., they asked the ambassador what answer he had received: who said that he had none.—*Ib.* p. 75.

† "Of late the Emperor's ambassador has moved them that the Lady Mary might freely retain the ancient religion in such sort as her father left it in this realm, according to a promise made to the Emperor, until the King should be of more years. They denied such promise to have been made, save to this extent, that the King was content to bear with her infirmity that she should for a season hear the Mass in her closet, or privy chamber only, whereat there should be present no more than they of her chamber, and no time appointed, but left to the King's pleasure. Such permission the Lord Treasurer and Lord Paget had made relation of to the ambassador's predecessor at Bridewell. Although they positively assured the ambassador that no such promise was ever made, yet those

was answered that the promise had been only temporary, and was now revoked. In the following month the Council issued a letter to the shires, in which they threw the blame of the complication on Mary, charging her that she was in correspondence with foreign powers, to bring England under the girdle of the Spanish and Fleming.* For proof they alleged her residence changed recently from Essex to her old abode of Hunsden in Hertfordshire, the scene of some of her former troubles under her father and Anne Boleyn.† They summoned her to London to explain herself.

Mary made her entry into the capital, March 18, attended by a gallant cavalcade of gentlemen and ladies, all wearing at their girdles a black rosary and a cross. The citizens thronged her progress with acclamations and tears of welcome and blessing: and even under the shadow of the throne of the Reformation it seemed that the heart of the people was with the steadfast upholder of the ancient faith. In the exultation of the moment it was exclaimed that heaven gave token of good-will by supernatural signs: that the earth shook: that three their answers he would nowise admit: but, as he is a man much unbroken and rude, he still pressed them with the promise, and would not receive their flat denial. Therefore they bore with him so far as to agree that he should have a resolute answer in three days: and as he alleged that the promise was made by some of the envoys, the Lord Treasurer, Lord Paget, Sir Wm. Petre, and Sir Phil. Hoby, went to him, and showed him that such had neither been made in the realm nor out of it: showing him also by divers reasons why such a promise could not be made, considering the example too perilous in any commonwealth to grant a subject license to violate a law, and too dangerous for a Christian prince to grant a liberty that one of his subjects should use a religion against the conscience of the Prince. In the end he still beat upon the promise, without any other proof than his own affirmance." Council to Moryson, 22 Feb. *Foreign Calend.* p. 75. I suppose that this ambassador must have been Francis Vanderdilst: *Ib.* p. 27.

* Froude, v. 329.

† About this time they summoned her Comptroller Rochester before them, 22 March, and demanded how many ordinary chaplains she had: "who answered four, Mallet, Hopton, Barker and Ricardes." *Council Book.*

suns illuminated the air with equal beams : * that men in armour were seen in the clouds, who came down to the ground, and faded away. And certainly the brightest day in the life of Mary Tudor was that on which she sought the tribunal of her brother as an offender against his laws. She rode through Fleet Street to Westminster, alighted at the palace, and was ushered into the chamber of presence. A royal banquet was served to her : but the opportunity of a personal appeal to Edward, if she designed it, was frustrated by the assiduous attendance of the Council, who intervened with respectful dexterity. "My sister came to me," wrote the sententious King, "and was called with my Council into a chamber. It was declared to her how long I had suffered her Mass against my will, in hope of her reconciliation : and how, now being no hope, which I perceived by her letters, except I saw some short amendment, I could not bear it." Her answer was, "My soul is God's : my faith I will not change nor dissemble." To which the reply made on the King's behalf was, "that he constrained not her soul ; but willed her to obey as a subject, not rule as a King : and that her example might breed much inconvenience." † The spirit of Mary seems to have flashed out at this, and she exclaimed

* The appearance of three suns, the effect of refraction, which is related by Machyn (or see Froude, v. 329), is attested by one Francis, who was present, and afterwards went over to Germany to Moryson, the English ambassador there. "He brought with him a paper containing three suns," wrote the witty ambassador, "and says he saw them with many others. I heard of it a week ago. They who often see more moons than they should may sometimes find more suns than other men." *Foreign Cal.* p. 91. Moryson to Council. Mr. Mozley, in his recent entertaining *Recollections*, however, relates that he himself witnessed a similar phenomenon in London some years ago.

† *Edward's Journal*, 18 Mar. The words *against my will* are struck out, as Miss Strickland has observed (*Life of Mary*), and are not published by Burnet. This may have been done by the King, or may prove that his Journal underwent supervision. It is just the sort of deletion that is often found in state papers of this reign.

passionately: "Rather than constrain my conscience, take my life." Hereon the King, with his own mouth, appears to have returned a gentle answer; and she was dismissed to return to her former residence in Essex.* The attempt to overawe the Princess failed: but on the other hand Mary was unable to impress her brother: the matter was where it was before.

The next day the Emperor's ambassador appeared again at the Board, and peremptorily offered the alternative of toleration for the Princess or war. "The ambassador came," wrote Edward in his Journal, "with a short message from his master of war, if I would not suffer his cousin, the Princess, to use her Mass." No answer was returned to him that day: and on the next the Council met in perplexity. The question was, how to escape both ignominy and danger: and the advice of Warwick was needed. "The Earl of Warwick," said his admirer Moryson in his account of this affair, "had such a head, that he seldom went about anything but he conceived three or four purposes beforehand." His advice was, to perceive that this was a case of conscience which they were inadequate to determine: and to consult the bishops. Their three choicest episcopal advisers, Canterbury, London, Rochester, Cranmer, Ridley, Ponet, were called in, and demanded whether it were lawful to yield in extremity, seeing that "the realm was in great peril, and like to be utterly undone, if either the Emperor would take no nay, or the King would give him no yea." The answer of the bishops was, that "to give license to sin was sin: to suffer and wink at it for a time might be borne, so all haste possible might be used." †

This resolution being received, the next difficulty is

* This appears from her subsequent letter to the King, 10 August, in Ellis's *Lett.* I. ii. 176: or Strickland, p. 270.

† *Edw. Journ.* Mar. 20.

said to have been to reduce the young King, who had been so lately instructed to hold the highest language of conscientious rigour towards his sister: and who might be inexperienced enough to expect his advisers to stand fast by the principles which they had inculcated. He was invited to attend a sitting of the Council, 23 March. On his entrance, the Lord Treasurer Paulet, Earl of Wiltshire, falling on his knees, told him that the realm was about to come to nought, unless they yielded to the Emperor in this matter; that the bishops agreed that they might yield in the extremity. "Are these things so, my lords," Edward is said to have said, "is it lawful by Scripture to sanction idolatry?"—"There were good kings in Scripture," answered the bishops, "who allowed the hill altars: they were called good."—"We follow the example of good men," the English Josiah replied, "when they have done well. We do not follow them in evil. David was good, but he seduced Bathsheba and murdered Uriah. We are not to imitate David in such deeds as these. Is there no better Scripture?" The bishops knew of none. "I am sorry for the realm then," is said to have said the inflexible child, "and sorry for the danger that will come of it. I shall hope and pray for something better: but this evil thing I will not allow." *

But this touching story of the pious scruples of Edward, which seems to have become current after his death, receives no confirmation from the King himself. According to him, the port of refuge, which the bishops

* This story is given by Mr. Froude (v. 330) from the MS. "Discourse" of Sir R. Moryson, Harleian MSS. 353. I think that it rests on a rotten foundation. It is not the account of an eye-witness, or of one who had opportunity: for Moryson was out of the country. It was not a contemporary account, for Moryson wrote it after the King's death, in the reign of Mary: as is evident from many expressions that he uses. It is confirmed by no contemporary writing.

opened, was surveyed: on the other hand the state of the armouries and of the markets was coolly considered: and at length it was resolved to stand firm, but try to gain time.* A change of ambassadors was pretended, to be made at leisure to meet the necessity: the Council affected to think that Moryson might have angered the Emperor by indiscreet boldness of language about religion: and Wotton was ordered to replace Moryson at the Emperor's court, with instructions to conciliate without yielding. In the mean time warlike preparation was to be made: and, as a sign of defiance, all the King's subjects, as well as the Lady Mary's servants, who had heard Mass, were to be punished. Sir Anthony Brown, though a courtier, was sent to the Fleet: and with him the learned Sergeant Morgan: while another person, named Clement Smith, who had heard Mass a year before, received a reprimand.† Upon the following day, when the Imperial ambassador reappeared, and demanded his answer, he was told that, as the Council perceived that Moryson's earnest talk about religion had

* "The Council, having the bishops' answers, seeing my subjects taking their vent in Flanders, might put the whole realm in danger. The Flemings had cloth enough for a year in their hand, and were kept far under the danger of the Papists: the 1500 cinquetales of powder I had in Flanders, the harness they had for preparation of the Gendarmery, the goods my merchants had there at the Woolfleet, decreed to send an ambassador to the Emperor, Mr. Wotton, to deny the matter wholly, and persuade the Emperor in it, thinking by his going to win some time for a preparation of a mart, convenience of powder, harness, &c., for the surety of the realm. In the mean season to punish the offenders, first of my servants, then of hers." *Edw. Journ.* Mar. 23.

† The King's Journal puts all this under Mar. 24: but it was on Mar. 22 that Brown was sent to the Fleet. He had heard Mass "twice or thrice at the New Hall, and once at Rumford now as the Lady Mary was coming hither about ten days past." *Council Book.* Morgan was sent to the Fleet on Mar. 19 "for hearing Mass at St. John's in the Lady Mary's house two or three days past; and not being able to excuse himself because he being a learned man he should give so ill an example." *Id.*

offended the Emperor, Doctor Wotton should be sent with an answer that would reasonably give contentment: and that Wotton was nearly ready to go. The ambassador said that the Emperor would be well enough content to have an answer from Moryson, and would like his continuance, so that he were advised not to intermeddle in religion.* He was observed to be nothing so earnest as before in delivering his mind: and of this the Council took care to advertise Moryson. For the rest, Moryson continued where he was, in attendance on the Emperor, mostly at Augsburg, to the end of the reign: and Wotton, the experienced Dean of Canterbury, so far from being ready to depart at once, never set out till the middle of May, and never arrived at the imperial court till the middle of June.†

In truth, notwithstanding his menaces, Charles was utterly unable to have risked so strange a hazard as a war with England. The affairs of the Interim, which, from the victory of Muhlberg to the defeat of Inspruck and the peace of Passau, coincided chronologically with the extent of the reign of Edward, occupied and gradually diminished his power, and the autocratic empire of his imagination was but a dream. The former event laid the Protestant cause in ruins: the latter was the basis of the revived religious liberties of the Protestants. In the interval between the two their real strength gradually asserted itself against the apparent superiority of their hostile master. The theological decrees indeed of the Emperor were admitted by their princes: the most

* "The Emperor's ambassador came to have his answer: but had none, save that one should go to the Emperor within a month or two to declare the matter." *Journ.* Mar. 25: cf. *Foreign Cal.* p. 84. When Moryson heard of Wotton's appointment he said "he hoped he could better warrant all he had said to the Emperor than excuse himself for saying no more." *For. Calend.* p. 90: April 21.

† *Foreign Calendar*, pp. 108, 132.

powerful members of their dissolved League were in captivity: the divines of Saxony consented to appear at the Council of Trent, whenever it should reassemble: and in the mean time the imperial diets were held under the cannon of the imperial army. But the constitutional life of such a federation as the Empire could not be suppressed: the dejected powers were secretly counselled not to despair by the traitor of Muhlberg himself: thwarting interests worked. The Pope, as jealous as a Protestant of the threatened despotism, delayed the Council which might have confirmed it: and the desperate resistance of the imperial cities, which from the first had refused the Interim, divided and weakened the forces of Charles. At this very moment, when the English Council were debating the case of the Lady Mary, the news arrived of the relief of Magdeburg, a great reverse which at once disclosed the difficulties of his position: and it might be remarked that it was not before they were informed of that event that the English Council despatched their new emissary Wotton to the imperial court. They then proceeded to deal with the servants of Mary according to their resolution: and her chaplain Mallet was apprehended.* Wotton reached Augsburg, and had audience of the Emperor on the last day of June. "Ought it not to suffice you," said the Emperor, "that ye spill your own souls, but that ye have a mind to force others to lose theirs also? My

* The news of the relief of Magdeburg is noted in Edward's Journal on April 2: the despatch of Wotton on April 10: the committal of Mallet on April 27: the "letter to the Earl of Salop to apprehend him" having been sent by the Council on April 14. *Council Bk.* Wotton's message is very succinctly put by Edward: "that if the Emperor would suffer my ambassador with him to use his service, then I would his: if he would not suffer mine, I would not suffer his: likewise that my sister was my subject, and should use my service appointed by Act of Parliament." See it more gently given in Wotton's instructions. *For. Calend.* p. 87.

cousin, the Princess, is evil handled among you : her servants plucked from her, and she still cried upon to leave Mass, to forsake her religion, in which her mother, her grandmother, and all our family have lived and died." Wotton, who evidently knew nothing of Mallet's arrest, answered that when he left England the Princess was honourably entertained in her own house, with such about her as she best liked, and so he thought it must be still, having heard of no change. "Yea, by St. Mary," answered Charles, "of late they handle her evil : and therefore say ye hardly to them, I will not suffer her to be evil handled by them. I will not suffer it. Is it not enough that my aunt, her mother, was evil entreated by the King that dead is, but my cousin must be worse ordered by councillors now ? I had rather she died a thousand deaths than that she should forsake her faith and mine. The King's Majesty is too young to skill of such matters." Wotton answered that the young King was as able to give account of his faith as any prince in Christendom : and that in England there was but one king and one law. "A gentle law, I tell you !" exclaimed Charles. The ambassador then asked that Chamberlain might have the English service or Communion in his house at Brussels, without access of strangers. "English service in Flanders !" was the reply, "I speak not of it. I will suffer no doctrine or service in Flanders that is not allowed by the Church. Knowing in my conscience that the Communion, as it is used in England, is not good, but contrary to the order used by all the Church so many hundred years, I should offend God if I permitted it. If my cousin may not have her Masses, I will provide her a remedy. And if my ambassador be restrained from serving of God, I have already given him order that if the restraint come to-day, he depart to-morrow." He added however

that he would consult Granvelle, the well-known Bishop of Arras, his chief adviser.*

In the mean time the struggle was waged between the Lady Mary alone and the Council. The arrested chaplain, Mallet, was examined before the Lords at Durham House, April 20, and committed to the Tower. Mary lost no time in protesting against this, expressing her astonishment that no knowledge had been given her of the matter wherein her chaplain had offended.† They replied that they had not certified her, because she was certified already: for it was for his former

* *Foreign Calend.* pp. 137-8.

† There is some difficulty in seeing in what Mallet's offence consisted, if it were not the old one of saying Mass in Mary's household, but without her presence. For this it would appear that he was indicted in Essex in the former year, but remained at large. Burnet not unduly concludes that it was for this that he was now apprehended. But Harmer (*Specimen*, p. 105) cites the Council Book to show that he had committed a second offence. "Dr. Mallet" was brought before the Council, and "being examined, what he meant, that after he had been once forgiven, he would again wilfully offend the King's laws in saying of Mass, and other like, could not deny but he had done evil in so doing. He therefore was committed to the Tower." So also Strype. Wharton (Harmer) adds, "So that Mallet was now imprisoned for a second offence, not (as the historian saith) because he could not be before this apprehended since his first prosecution." And yet I am inclined to think Burnet not far wrong. 1. Supposing that Mallet had said Mass a second time, or any number of times, as Mary's chaplain, this was not an offence till the month of August following, when (as we shall see) her chaplains were for the first time forbidden to do so. If the use of an allowed exemption was now alleged against him as a breach of the law, he was badly treated. His former offence was not saying Mass for Mary and her house; but for her house without Mary; and it seems unlikely that he should have repeated this. 2. In the letters which passed between Mary and the Council on his case, after his commitment, which are presently to be examined, there is no reference whatever to any second offence. Both sides speak and argue about his one mistake, and about nothing else. If then there were but one, the Council raked up an old fault to punish. I may add that Wharton has not given the whole passage from the Council Book, which has (after the word *doing*), "so that partly having confessed his faults, inasmuch as besides his lewd doings he also had and (*sic*) persuaded certain other of the King's subjects to embrace his naughty opinions, he therefore," &c. April 29.

offence that Mallet was now apprehended: and that the strange thing was, not that he was now apprehended, but that he had escaped so long. She denied that he had ever been condemned for his former offence, though he had been indicted: and they (after a long delay) replied that it made no difference by the Act whether Mallet had been convicted by a jury, or the fact were notorious, but that he had been convicted in both ways, and had fled from the process of the law.* She offered to take the fault upon herself, since he had committed it by her commandment: and they regretted that she was so ready to defend one whom the law condemned: that he was not condemned because she commanded him to do it, but for doing it. She said that the promise, certified to the Emperor, covered Mallet, and that the Emperor's ambassador had told him so. They referred her to their former replication as to the promise. She repeated her request for his discharge: and they replied that it was necessary to have the laws executed in such cases of contempt of the ecclesiastical orders of the Church of England.† In the following

* The words of the Act are: "shall be thereof lawfully convicted according to the laws of the realm, by verdict of twelve men, or by his own confession, or by the notorious evidence of the fact." 2 and 3 Edw. VI. i. § 11. The Council say, "By the Act of Parliament, if either Mallet hath been convicted by the oaths of twelve men, or the fact have been notorious, then the punishment doth follow justly: the truth of the one and the other way of conviction in this case is notorious enough, besides his flying from the process of the law." To Mary, 27 May, *ap.* Fox.

† Letters between Mary and the Council, 2, 6, 11, and 27 May: 21 and 24 June, 1551. Fox. The courteous, though plain, tone of these letters on the part of the Council is in striking contrast with the rough summary of the last of them, which the young King gives in his Journal, 22 and 24 June. "The Lady Mary sent letters to the Council, marveling at the imprisonment of Dr. Mallet her chaplain for saying of Mass before her household, seeing that it was promised the Emperor's ambassador she should not be molested in religion, but that she and her household should have the Mass used before them continually. They answered, That because of their duties to King, country, and friends, they were

month of July Mary was at Richmond: where three of the lords waited on her with a message from the King. Her answer was that she "had neither varied from the beginning, nor would vary hereafter." * With this she returned to her house in Essex, where she continued to use her Mass under the ministration of her remaining chaplains, Hopton and Richards.

It was necessary to put her down with more vigour: and a meeting of the Council was held, 9 August, at Richmond, when twenty-four were present, with whom was the King. It was resolved to send for the officers of her house, and command them to allow no other service than the English service established by law: it was resolved to forbid her chaplains to say Mass, and her servants to hear it: and that this should be communicated to his sister by the King.† They made

compelled to give her answer that they would see not only him, but also all other Mass-sayers, and breakers of Order, strictly punished. And that, as for the promise, they had nor would give none to make her free from the punishment of the law in that behalf."

* Strype, iii. 453.

† "At Richmond, Aug. 9. The Lords, considering how many and sundry ways the King's Maj. hath travailed with his Highness' sister the Lady Mary to have reduced her to conformity in religion and divine service established by his Maj.'s laws and Acts of Parliament: And considering also that the long-sufferance of her and her family to do as they have done, sithens the making of the said statute, hath been and yet is a great occasion of Diversity of opinions, strife, and controversy in this realm; and now remembering withal how much the King's Maj.'s honour might be touched if this matter were not provided for, have with one accord resolved that the head officers of the said Lady Mary's house should be sent for, and charged that from henceforth they shall not permit nor suffer any other divine service to be done or used within the said Lady Mary's house than is set forth by the Laws of this Realm. And they shall also further on his Maj. behalf strictly charge and command all the said Lady Mary's chaplains not to presume from henceforth to say any mass or other divine service than is appointed by the Laws of this Realm. And likewise command the rest of her Grace's servants not to presume to be present to hear any such Mass, &c. upon pain of his Maj. indignation, and for that to be punished according to the laws. It was also thought good to the Lords that at the return of those officers letters shall be sent to the said Lady M. from the King's Maj. by which his

an instrument, and signed it with their hands and seals, Somerset reluctantly with the rest: and it was soon to be remembered against him that he had endeavoured to soften the rigour of the proceeding, in opposition to Warwick, Northampton, and Herbert. While the young King wrote his letter, a warrant was sent to Mary's officers to appear on the 13th of the month: and as they failed from some unknown cause to obey it, a second despatch attested the urgency of the matter, and brought them to the tribunal on the following day.*

They who were summoned were Rochester the comptroller, Walgrave and Inglefield the chief officers of the Lady Mary's household. By them rather than through the intrusion of strangers, was the resolution of the Council to be enforced: from their familiar hand was she to receive the letter of her brother: from these chief managers might the chaplains and the rest hear the prohibition of the Mass with the less reluctance.†

Maj. pleasure shall be signified also to her for the observation of this order." *Council Book*.

* *Edw. Journ.* 9, 11, 13, 14 Aug.: Strype, iii. 454. It may be observed that on the next day, 15 Aug., the Council sent a despatch to Wotton, that they thought it very strange that the Emperor persisted in maintaining the promise made to Mary, which had been for a time only. The King now saw, said they, that his sufferance "not only works not in her that obedient conformity that he wished, but is a cause of great strife and contention, and a very ill example of disobedience to the rest of the realm. Therefore his Majesty will no longer suffer such, but has sent for the officers of the Lady Mary's house, to give them commandment to see the laws sufficiently executed therein. And if any chaplain of hers, or any other, shall presume after this warning to use the Mass, or any other ceremony or service contrary to the laws, they must look for punishment." As to the imperial ambassador using the Mass and other divine service after the popish manner in England, while the English ambassador might not use the Communion in Flanders, it was too much unreasonable and unequal: and the Emperor would doubtless otherwise consider. *Foreign Cal.* p. 161: *Council Book*, Aug. They said nothing about Mallet's imprisonment.

† Burnet, Strype, and others seem to hold that they were to give the

But they seemed backward in accepting the charge: Rochester made many excuses: and was commanded on his allegiance to see the matter executed. He urged that his mistress would certainly dismiss him from her service, if he did the message. Whereon he and the rest were commanded in the King's name not to accept the dismissal nor leave the house, but to stay and see the order performed. Late in the evening of the next day the unfortunate commissioners found themselves back at Copped Hall: and there on the following morning, being Sunday, manifested their secret inclination by delaying everything till the Mass was over. After dinner they presented the King's letter.* They then prayed their mistress to be content to hear their commission: which she at first refused. "I know right well that it agrees with the letters before me: therefore ye need not rehearse it." They entreated, and she consented: and, as they read, her colour changed, she seemed deeply passioned, and in their misery they thought that they had brought on her an attack of the sad malady from which she suffered. When they reached the end, she peremptorily ordered them not to declare it to her chaplains and household, on pain

same charge to Mary (along with the King's letter) as to the rest of the household: first to her, then to them. And this is what they themselves understood that they were to do. But, as Wharton points out, it is plain, from the Council Book, that they were only ordered "to charge the chaplains not to say Mass in her house, or elsewhere, and the servants not to hear it, and themselves to conform to the same order, and to take care that the others did it" (*Specimen*, p. 106). So that all they had to do with their mistress herself was to present the King's letter.

* Strype (iii. 455) gives the contents of this letter, as he says, from the Cotton MSS. Otho, C. 10. He says that it has not been published. Unfortunately he has given a wrong reference. There is no such letter in Otho, C. 10: nor in any other volume of the Cotton collection, that I can find. The letter was severe: that she was more wedded to her own mind than before: that she refused so much as to hear learned men: that her officers would declare his commandment concerning her family.

of dismissal. Thus, by exceeding their instructions in one way, they put it out of their power to execute them in the other: unless indeed they had chosen to run the risk of refusing to take a discharge, and attempting to control the Princess in her own family. She exclaimed that she would leave the house immediately. In not unmanly terror they could only implore her to pause, to "consider the matter within herself," before making any answer: and on the Wednesday following they waited on her again, hoping, as they said, to find her more conformable. She gave them a letter to her brother, which was plain and indignant enough. "I am troubled by your letter, received from my own servants: and am troubled that my servants should attempt to move me in matters touching my soul. The meanest subject in your realm could evil bear this at the hand of their servants. I have utterly refused hitherto to talk with them in such matters: and of all other persons have least regarded them therein. Your father and mine ever had the Mass. I have been brought up in it from my youth: my conscience bindeth me to it, and will not suffer me to think one thing and do another. The promise which your Council made to the Emperor was an assurance to me that I should not offend the laws in so doing, although they now seem to qualify and deny the thing. You have more gifts and knowledge than others of your years: but it is not possible that at that age you can be a judge in matters of religion. If you will not suffer and bear with me, as heretofore, till you may be able to judge herein yourself, then I offer my body to your will, and death shall be more welcome than life with a troubled conscience."*

It is evident from this that these unfor-

* Mary to the King, Aug. 19: Harmer, p. 172: Ellis, I. ii. 176: Strickland, v. 269. The letter is in the Council Book.

fortunate gentlemen had been getting deeper into the mire at every step. They had awakened in Mary the indignation, to be dealt with through servants, which the Council would have avoided by communicating with her through her brother. It was by their suggestion that she answered her brother, a thing in itself beyond their province: and now they had to go back themselves to the Council with her answer, instead of staying in her house, to see their orders executed, as they had been commanded.

They returned to the Council, August 22, and reported the manner in which they had carried out their orders, and the failure of their commission.* They were commanded to be in attendance till they should hear further: and on the next day were called in one by one; and after a severe reprimand for not prohibiting the chaplains to say Mass, and for doing their commission to the Lady Mary herself, and not to her chaplains and family, they were ordered to go back again and do better.† “No,” said Rochester, “I have had enough of it: I will carry no more messages: send me to prison, if you will.” The other two, Walgrave and Sir Francis Inglefield, were of the like mind, the latter adding that he could find neither in his heart nor his conscience to do it. They were ordered again to be in continual attendance: and the Council resolved to fulfil their designs through some of their own body. Rich, Wingfield and Petre, the

* Strype, iii. 455: who has published a MS. from the Cotton Library. I have compared the Council Book. [Now published, Vol. III. 336.]

† They were charged that “having been commanded to declare to the chaplains and household of her Grace such matters as they were enjoined—they did not execute the said command, but without saying anything to the said chaplains and household, did trouble her Grace with the opening of their message to her, contrary to the order and charge prescribed to them.” *Council Bk.* Aug. 23.

chancellor, the comptroller, and one of the principal secretaries, composed a triumvirate honourable enough to wait on the Princess, and of deep experience in the Revolution: a second letter armed them from the King: and they arrived with good speed at Copped Hall, August 28. Rich handed the letter to Mary, who received it on her knees, saying that she kissed it for the honour of the King's hand, which had signed it, although the matter contained in it proceeded from the Council. As she read it, she remarked, "Ah, good Master Cecil took much pains here." It was indeed a careful, though brisk composition.* Rich then began to open the matter of their instructions to her: † but she cut him short; that she was not well at ease, that she had already written her mind plainly to the King. However they proceeded at full length to rehearse the history of the royal forbearance from the first, the disappointed hope, the growing scandal, the meeting of the twenty-four councillors against her Mass: concluding the harangue by offering to show her the names of those who had set their hands against it. She said that it needed not: that she knew them to be all of one sort therein. They then unfolded the prohibition of the Mass in her household: on which she spoke firmly and fully. "I am," said she, "his Majesty's subject

* This letter is given from the Council Book by Fox, Wharton (*Specimen*, p. 174), and Froude, v. 360. I need not therefore give it again. The briskest thing in it was, "Our sufferance hath much more demonstration of natural love than contentation of our conscience and foresight of our safety. Wherefore although you give us occasion, as much almost as in you is, to diminish our natural love, yet be we loth to feel it decay: and mean not to be so careless of you as we be provoked."

† These instructions are set forth at great length in the Council Book, under 24 August, 1551. Rich seems to have followed them closely.

and poor sister, ready in all things to obey his laws, my conscience saved, and to suffer death for his good: but rather than use any other service than was used at the death of the late King my father, I will lay my head on a block, and suffer death. When the King comes to years of judgment, he will find me ready to obey his orders in religion: but though the good sweet King have more knowledge than others of his years, it is not possible that he should yet be able to discern in divinity. If my chaplains say no Mass, I can hear none, nor can my poor servants. My priests know what they have to do: the pain of your laws is but imprisonment for a short time: * and if for fear of that imprisonment they will refuse to say Mass, they may do therein as they will. But none of your new service shall be used in my house: and if any will do it, I will not tarry in the house." The history of the conduct of Rochester, Walgrave and Inglefield in their commission being next rehearsed to her, she answered that it was not the wisest counsel to have sent her servants to control her, and that if they had refused to come again, they were the honester men. They enlarged upon the old subject of "the Emperor's promise": but could not move her. She had it under the Emperor's hand: it had been repeated in the King's presence before seven of the Council: and she made no secret of her intention of acquainting the Emperor's ambassador of the manner in which she was used. "If you think little of the Emperor," said she contemptuously, "you ought to show me more favour for my father's sake: for he made the more part of you almost of nothing." They told her that they had a gentleman

* She forgot perhaps that for the third offence it was imprisonment for life. 2 and 3 Edw. VI. i. 17.

with them to supply Rochester's place during his absence. "I will appoint my own officers," answered Mary, "and if you leave any such man here, I will go out of my gates." She added that her sickness might be mortal, and that, if it were, they would be the cause of her death: and so, delivering the Lord Chancellor's ring on her knees, protested finally her love and loyalty to the King, though she knew, she said, that he would never hear of it. With that she left them: and they proceeded to open their instructions to the chaplains and the household. After some demur the chaplains promised obedience: the rest appeared conformable: and the three commissioners prepared to take their departure. As they stood in the courtyard, Mary called them to speak at a window. "I pray you," said she, "to send me back my comptroller, for I was not bred to brewing and baking. But if you will put him in prison for such a cause, beshrew him if he go not to it merrily. And I pray God to send you good both in your souls and in your bodies: for some of you have but weak bodies." With this feminine taunt ringing in their ears they took their way back to London, and made to the Council their report, from which this narrative is compiled, on the next day: on the same day the Council committed Rochester, Walgrave, and Inglefield to the Fleet: and two days afterwards, August 31, transferred them to the Tower.*

The Council remained doubtful of the conformity of Mary's chaplains: and her house, for the next thing, was placed under espial. For that honourable office old Rich and old Petre were appointed, together with the Lord Chamberlain and the Vice Chamberlain: to "see

* Ellis (I. ii. 179) first printed in full from the Council Book the account which Rich and his fellows made to the Council of their adventures. Strickland has used it; Mr. Froude has inserted it bodily into his text, v. 361. [It is now published, in Dasent's Acts of the Council.]

by what means they could whether she used the Mass; and, if she did, that the laws should be executed on her chaplains." At the same time certain pinnaces, or light vessels, were prepared to prevent any attempt to convey her over seas. Mary on her part made good her threat of acquainting the imperial ambassador with her condition: and the ambassador appeared before the Council early in the following month, and demanded, of his own motion, that her officers should be released, and her privilege of worship restored until the Emperor were certified of the position of things. He was told that he spoke without warrant, and could have no answer from the King: and was warned not to move those piques without commission. At the beginning of the following year he renewed his intercession: but in vain. The imprisonment of Rochester, Walgrave and Inglefield was not severe. Their health failing in the Tower, they were removed to better lodgings: and, in the April following, they were set at liberty, and allowed to return to their mistress.*

* Edward's *Journ.* 28 Aug. : 5 Sept. : 3 Jan. 1552. Strype, iii. 458.

CHAPTER XIX.

A.D. 1551.

IN the middle of the year 1551 the state of the country was very bad. The sweating sickness swept through the towns, carrying off several thousands in London alone: not sparing the nobles, causing the Court to fly from Westminster. The enhancement of the prices of victuals, caused by the insatiable greediness of the hoarders and regratters, rose to the pitch of famine: and more than thirty royal commissions were issued to investigate the cause of the strange scarcity. The cause, as these enquirers were led to conclude, lay within: it was covetousness and hard practices, rather than bad weather or thinness of crops. The remedy suggested by the Council was prayer, together with corn imported from France.* The pillage of the churches, of the Universities, of the hospitals, still went on, however, both publicly and privately, without relaxation or

* *Council Book: Strype*, iii. 494. They sent a letter to the bishops, July 18, to which Somerset affixed the King's stamp signature: for the Protector had got a stamp made of the King's signature, to save trouble, and many documents that bore the King's name were signed by this means, and probably never seen by him. The letter in question was signed by laymen only. It is verbose, and hypocritically exhorts the bishops to exhort the people to shun "the insatiable serpent of covetousness, wherewith most men are so infected that it seemeth the one would devour another without charity," &c. Tytler, i. 404.

restraint: while the debasement of the coinage had now reached the lowest point, the shilling being intrinsically worth but sixpence, the groat twopence, and so on. Suddenly it was found necessary to reduce, or cry down the value of money by proclamation: and within two months, by a rapid series of edicts, amid the consternation of the realm, the purchasing power of every coin was declared to be but half of what it was professed to be: while at the same time, by means also of proclamations, violent efforts were made to reduce proportionately the prices of commodities. Such operations, desperate remedies of diseases that never ought to have been contracted in the body politic, sound almost incredible in the present age. They caused bitter distress, and a jubilee of knavery: but the base money was gradually recalled into the mint, and a new coinage, in the denominations now used, was issued.*

The troubling of bishops, whether it came of the rapacity of courtiers who desired to get at their possessions, or of the public necessities of the Revolution, formed a main feature as of the reign itself so of the year: and whatever the cause, the King's name and the machinery of the State was used with the same facility. Bush, the Bishop of Bristol, had a fair manor, parcel of his see, which attracted the gaze of Sir George

* Strype (iii. 486) accounts this regulation of coin among the glories of the reign. It is not unknown for a revolution to consider its own correction of its own excesses a new public benefit. In this instance there was great uncertainty and distress at the time. Rumours rigged the markets by industrious circulation, now that money was down, now that it had been enhanced. "The price of everything," said a contemporary, "is daily increasing more and more: and this by reason of the diminution of the value of money. This had hitherto been much debased, and being ordered to be restored by the proclamation of the King's Majesty and his whole Council, has lost a fourth of its value, to the great detriment of the people." *Orig. Lett.* p. 727, Aug. 1551. The loss of value soon afterwards went to one half. The proclamation about the new coinage, October 1551, is in Strype, iv. 211.

Norton, high sheriff of Hertfordshire. From some of the Council Norton obtained the King's letters to offer a parsonage in exchange: and, when the bishop refused to yield, he procured a second letter from the Council to him, marvelling that he had not granted the King's request, and requiring him eftsoons to grant it. As the bishop still delayed, he was commanded in a third letter to lay aside vain excuses, and to send an agent to the Council to act for him. Bush went up in person, and had the boldness to explain that he could not commune of the matter, the manor being leased to his own brother on condition that it should revert to the see. He was allowed to depart: but another letter pursued and finally forced him to relinquish his possession.*

Tunstall, the venerable incumbent of Durham, and with him Whitehead the dean, and the Chancellor Hindmarsh, were summoned to London on an obscure charge of treason, which had been brought against them a year before. They were frequently cited before the Council, but seem never to have been confronted with their accuser: and instead of English law ecclesiastical law was ministered to them in the form of written accusations, depositions, and interrogations, which they were required to answer. The case exercised the skill of the dexterous Cecil and some other inquisitors for some months: and though nothing was made of it, the bishop was confined to his house in London through the summer and autumn, with a certain liberty of ambulation: nor is it likely that the others fared better. The dean indeed, Whitehead, who had been prior of the great Benedictine monastery of Durham, died in the trouble; and his place was instantly filled by a licensed preacher named Horn. At last, at the year's end, a piece of evidence was found, which was decreed

* Strype, iii. 525.

to have confirmed the suspected treason of Tunstall, and he was committed to the Tower, where he lay till the end of the reign. The truth was that it was convenient to have him removed from the Council of the North, of which he was a member.*

* Strype is indignant at Hayward's contemptuous account of Tunstall's imprisonment: but the latter is not far from the truth. He says, "He was sent to the Tower for concealment of I know not what treason, written to him I know not by whom, and not discovered until what shall I call the party did reveal it." The case was that one Ninian Menvile in the north had some design said to be treasonable: he had written to the bishop, as he deposed; and the bishop had sent him an answer. The case languished for lack of proof, till the answer was found. The chronology of it, so far as I can trace it, is as follows.

20 May. "The Bp. of Durham, upon hearing of the matter between him and the Dean of Durham, was committed to his house." *Council Book*, ap. Harmer, p. 110. Dasent, iii. 277.

8 July. The Council "ordered the Dean of Durham to answer in writing unto such matters as he was charged with at his being before the Council, and in such sort as he will stand to at his peril." *Ib.*

2 Aug. The bishop had license to walk in the fields. *Ib.*

20 Sept. "The Secretary Cecil and Sir Philip Hoby went to London to help the Lord Treasurer in the matters of the Bishops of Chichester, Worcester, and Durham." *King's Journal*.

5 Oct. Letters sent from Council to Lord Treasurer, Lord Chamberlain, Secretary Cecil, and Mr. Mason, "to hear and examine the Bishop and Dean of Durham's case, and to make their report of the same: and if they shall so think convenient, to send for them and their Accuser, together or apart, as shall seem best unto them." *Council Book*, ap. Harmer.

5 Nov. The dean bound over by the Council in a recognisance of £200 to appear before them on the first day of next term. He was then very sick; and seems to have died a few days after. Harmer.

20 Nov. The deanery given to Horn. Harmer: Wood's *Athen. Oxon.*

20 Dec. "The Bishop of Durham was for concealment of treason written to him, and not disclosed at all till the Party did open him, committed to the Tower." *King's Journal*. "Whereas the Bishop of Durham about July in anno 1550 was charged by Ninian Menvile to have consented to a conspiracy in the North for the raising of a rebellion, as by the same accusation in writing, the Bishop's answer thereunto, and Menvile's replication to the same, may at length appear. Forasmuch as for want of a letter written by the said Bishop to Menvile, whereupon depended a great trial of this matter, the determination thereof was hitherto stayed, and the Bishop only commanded to keep his house until he should be

Heath and Day, the two fellow prisoners of the Fleet, had been under the same restraints and indulgences during their confinement: * the same persuasions were now tried on both of them, before they were examined and deprived by the same commission. Heath, the elder, who had suffered imprisonment already for two years for the curious offence of refusing to subscribe to a book, to which nevertheless he was willing to conform, was first summoned before the Council. "You have showed yourself a very obstinate man," said the lords, "in refusing to subscribe to the Book devised for the form of making Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, being authorised by Parliament. You were gently required to subscribe at the time, and also manifestly taught by divers learned men that all things contained in the Book were good and true, and the Book expedient and allowable. You deserve longer imprisonment. Nevertheless you may recover the King's favour, if you will subscribe to the Book." The bishop answered that he was still unwilling to set his name to the Book, though he would not disobey it: admitting that he had been very gently used, more like a son than a subject. There were but five of the lords

called to further answer: which letter being lately come to light, found in a cask of the Duke of Somerset's after his last apprehension; the Bishop was now sent for, and this day made his appearance before the Lords, by whom being charged with this matter, and his own letter produced against him, which he could not deny but to be of his own hand, and unable to make any further answer thereto than he had done before by writing; he was, for that the same seemed not a sufficient answer, committed by the King's commandment to the Tower of London to abide there," &c. *Council Book*, ap. Harmer, p. 109. Cf. Strype, iv. 21, and his *Cranm.* bk. ii. ch. xxxii. The case against Tunstall was pursued next year in Parliament, where it broke down. See next chapter.

* 9 June. Order was sent to the Warden of the Fleet "to suffer the Bishop of Chichester to have such number to attend on him, and to be ordered as those who attend on the Bishop of Worcester." *Council Book*, ap. Harmer, p. 115.

present at the Board that day, and they were laymen: but Wiltshire, Warwick, Herbert, Cecil, Mason, all strove severally to move his resolution: and when they failed, they offered him to have conference with learned men. He refused, declaring that he should never be of other mind: adding that there were other things to which he could not consent, as, to take down altars, and set up tables. He was then expressly charged to subscribe within two days, or suffer deprivation. His answer was, "I cannot in my conscience do as his Majesty desires: and therefore I shall be well pleased to suffer deprivation, or any other pain which it may please his Highness to lay upon me." On this he was, "as a man incorrigible," remitted to the Fleet. Day was summoned, tested, and remitted at the same time, and after five days a commission was appointed, of three lawyers and three civilians,* to try both the bishops at Whitehall. To this tribunal the Council, warned perhaps by their experience of the trials of Bonner and Gardiner, sent an injunction not to allow the prisoners long delays by granting them learned counsel, or otherwise, seeing that their contempts were manifest. For contempt they were deprived within a fortnight: their temporalities were seized; and they were subjected to a further incarceration of eight months: after which they were consigned to the milder custody the one of the Bishop of London, of the Bishop of Ely the other. Heath's bishopric of Worcester was taken by Hooper *in commendam* with heavy pillage on the part of the courtiers: and when Chichester was vacant of Day, it was filled by Scory, who was translated from Rochester, leaving his former see void of bishop for two years, with heavy pillage.† To finish the

* So King Edward acutely remarked, *Journal*, 28 Sept.

† *Chronology of Heath and Day in 1551* (taken up from chap. xvii. p. 206).

misfortunes of the episcopate in this year, Skip of Hereford died, and his place was left unfilled for two years or more: Bulkeley of Bangor died, and Bangor remained unoccupied to the end of the reign. Both these patrimonies were miserably robbed in the interval.

Amid the enforced silence of other voices, the licensed preachers had proved themselves, from the beginning of the reign, the effectual instruments of spreading the knowledge of the Reformation, as the Reformation was contained in the King's godly proceedings. But some difference of estimation, it is not improbable, might be discerned among those ministers of Uniformity: for there were some of them who derived their commission from the highest fountain, who were granted extraordinary payments, traversed large districts in the performance

20 Sept. Cecil and Hoby sent to London to help the Lord Treasurer in the matters of the Bishops of Worcester, Chichester and Durham. *King's Journal*.

23 Sept. Heath called before the Council, and reproved for his refusal to subscribe to the Ordinal. What took place is related in the text from the Council Book, which the reader may see in Harmer, p. 117: compare Soames, i. 631. The Council said it was "a contradiction of reason" to say that he would obey but not subscribe the book.

27 Sept. Commission appointed for sitting on the Bishops of Worcester and Chichester: viz. Sir Roger Cholmondeley, Lord Chief Baron, Sir Rich. Read, Goodrich, Gosnold, Oliver, and Ryall. *Strype's Cranm.* bk. ii. ch. xx.

28. The Council take care to have the commission signed by as many of their body as could be reached. *Ib.*

5 Oct. The two bishops "deposed for contempt." *Edward's Journal*.

10 Oct. According to Cranmer's Register and Stow, the deprivation took place. Harmer, p. 117.

24 Oct. The temporalities seized. Harmer, p. 115: *Strype's Cranm.* bk. ii. ch. xx.

15 June, 1552. Day, "late Bishop of Chichester," sent to Goodrich of Ely, then Lord Chancellor, "to be used of him as in Christian charity shall be most seemly." A like order sent to Ridley with regard to Heath.

17 July. Ridley kindly procures an order of Council to send Heath from Fulham to his own house in London for a time for his health. *Strype's Cranm.*

of their office, and marched with the hired armies of the Revolution: and there were others whose authority was more ordinary, and their ministry confined to a single region. Licenses to preach were granted only to the more trusted of the bishops themselves: who in turn, or some of them, cautiously issued licenses to such of their clergy as they would. But the license granted by a licensed prelate was not to be compared to the wide jurisdiction that was opened by the immediate warrant of the Council. Traces of the services rendered by the eminent emissaries who were armed with such credentials have been found by us already: many of them are celebrated names in the history of those times. Ridley and Ferrar accompanied the Visitors of the first year of Edward in their destructive circuits. Coverdale sanctified the victory of the revolution of the rich by a service of thanksgiving on the bloody field of Clist. Hooper went through Kent and Essex, when the insurrections were subsiding, to reconcile the people to the Reformation.* It appears now to have been resolved to nominate six of these privileged orators to the permanent dignity of chaplains to the King: Bill, Harley, Perne, Grindal, Bradford, Eastwick: but this college of licentiates was not designed to be a mere adjunct to the royal court. While two of them indeed were to be present with the King, the rest were to perambulate in preaching, two and two, in courses of four years, the stubborn fields of Wales, Lancashire, and Derbyshire, of the Scottish Marches and Yorkshire, of Devon and Hampshire, of Norfolk, Essex, Kent, and Sussex.†

* The case of Hooper I have not mentioned before. See Price's *Hist. of Nonconf.* p. 86.

† "It was appointed that I should have six chaplains ordinary, of whom two ever to be present, and four always absent in preaching: one year two in Wales, two in Lancashire and Derby; next year two in the Marches of Scotland, two in Yorkshire; the third year two in Devonshire,

The brevity of the King's life prevented this rotation from being completed, and the number of the chaplains was reduced to four. But the design must be acknowledged in Hampshire; fourth year, two in Norfolk and Essex, two in Kent and Sussex, &c. These six to be Bill, Harley, (*Eastwick*), Perne, Grindal, Bradford." *King's Journ.* 18 Dec. The name in brackets is dashed out, and was long supposed to be Knox. Thus Strype, after enumerating the six names from the Journal, adds, "The sixth dashed out in the Journal, but probably Knox; for he was one of the preachers in the north, at Newcastle and elsewhere, and had a salary paid him out of the Exchequer. But the number was reduced to four (Bradford also being left out), who were styled the King's ordinary chaplains" (iii. 521). It has been discovered however by Mr. Barnes, Editor of Strype for the Ecclesiastical History Society (i. 423), and Sir F. Madden, that the name so erased was Eastwick. Bradford therefore and Eastwick were nominated for royal chaplains, but not retained. As for Knox, I should be willing enough to indulge his latest biographer Dr. Lorimer in his anxious conclusion that he held "the high and influential position" of a royal chaplain ("Knox in England," 80): but on what rests it, when the entry in the King's Journal is Eastwick, not Knox? Upon nothing, but some passages that Strype wrote under the belief that it was Knox, not Eastwick. Thus he says, in relating that the four chaplains, Bill, Harley, Perne and Grindal, got forty pounds apiece, "Whether Bradford and Knox were discharged, or their patents for their annuities not yet finished, might be doubted: But it appears that Bradford and Knox were nominated for chaplains, yet the four former only were retained" (iii. 524). It should be Bradford and Eastwick. Strype adds (*ib.*) that Knox had an annuity of the same amount "for his good service in preaching in the north, till he should have some place in the Church conferred upon him." But this was a temporary grant, to be paid quarterly because it might end at any time: and seems different from the annuities of the four, though of the like amount. It was "An annuity of £40 to John Knox until he be promoted to some benefice: to be paid at the Augmentation quarterly" (Strype, iv. 275). The grants "to the King's ordinary chaplains" were made in different terms (*ib.* p. 269). Knox's grant was also a year later at least: it is ordered in the Council Book 27 Oct. 1552, thus: "A warrant to the four gentlemen of the privy chamber to pay to Mr. Knoles, preacher in the north, in the way of the King's Majesty's reward, the sum of forty pounds" (Lorimer, p. 80). This order was not executed till December: and it seems certain that Knox never got a whole year's income out of his patent, even if he ever got anything at all. See his grumbling letter to Mrs. Bowes, which Dr. Lorimer cites. He is nowhere clearly denominated King's chaplain. In one place Strype calls him "one of the King's itineraries" (iv. 56): which he may have been without being one of the King's chaplains. However in the next chapter we will see if we can make him one.

ledged to have been good, to create a highest grade among the itinerant licensed preachers: and the powers entrusted to them appear to have been considerable. They were, for example, among the licensers or allowers of books to be printed.* And, in one part of the country at least, the notion of establishing in a corporation, adorned with a royal title, certain of the more notable licensed preachers, appears to have been entertained even previously: the “King’s preachers of Lancashire,” four in number, maintained out of the dissolved college of Manchester, seem to have existed before the King’s four chaplains in ordinary.†

The whole of the itinerant force, of whatever rank, were active in their duty. For the space of three years Bradford travelled Manchester, Liverpool, Bolton, Wigan, Prestwick, Middleton, Ashton-under-Line, and the other towns and villages of Lancashire and Cheshire: and scarcely second to Bradford were Pendleton, Lever, Pilkington and Saunders.‡ The north knew Knox, a

I may add that “by way of the King’s reward” seems to have been the way in which Knox was always paid. There is another entry in the Council Book, 7 April, 1549: “Warrant to the receiver of the Duchy for £5 to John Knock preacher by way of reward.”

* In the last year of Edward, March 4, 1553, the well-known publisher Seres had a patent to print Primers. “Provided that before the said Seres and his assigns do begin to print the same, he shall present a copy thereof to be allowed by the Lords of the Privy Council, or by the King’s Chancellor, or by the King’s four ordinary chaplains, or two of them.” Strype, iv. 231. This provision was probably made before, when the chaplains were first instituted. We shall see in the next chapter some curious results of it.

† We have seen already (p. 175) that the Earl of Derby, in 1 Edward VI., obtained the buildings and part of the lands of Manchester College, on condition of appropriating a small part of the rental to maintain preachers to itinerate in the neighbourhood, preaching the Reformation. At the beginning of every subsequent reign, until the revenues of crown lands were subjected to Parliament, two hundred a year was granted to pay four preachers, either as itinerants, or officiating in poor chapelries. Halley’s *Lancash.* i. 65.

‡ Pendleton was “an able man, handsome and athletic, possessed of

Scottishman, who afterwards rose to great celebrity in his own country : but not Knox only ; nor, perhaps, was Knox very ambulatory. There was another Scot there, named Willock, who in the eyes of Knox himself was “a notable man,” and who accompanied the unfortunate Dorset, the unsuccessful warden of the Marches, in an inroad into Scotland.* There was Horn also, who was exalted to the deanery of Durham at this time : and above all there was the apostolic Bernard Gilpin, whose labours revived Christianity in the regions where Saint Cuthbert planted it of yore. Of the rest, but I cannot trace them all, there were some who were attracted to Canterbury or to Lambeth : of whom the chief was Latimer, now called a father, but somehow never advanced in station ; not admitted, for example, into the number of the royal chaplains. Others there were who forsook Cranmer’s household, like the illustrious Rowland Taylor of Hadley, and confined their ministry to their own parish and neighbourhood. Others found their centre in Ridley, and perambulated his diocese, as Parker, Grindal or Cardmaker. Of the whole body of them four names were specially mentioned by Ridley for their boldness and fidelity in rebuking the evils of the time, Latimer, Lever, Bradford and Knox.† And the whole

a fine clear voice, of ready speech, and powerful utterance : his preaching was in popularity and influence second only to that of Bradford.” Halley’s *Lancash.* : Hollingworth’s *Chron. of Manchester*. Bradford and Saunders were afterwards eminent martyrs.

* “The marquis is gone into Scotland with three hundred cavalry and some good preachers ; with the view principally of enlightening and instructing that part of the country which has been subdued during the last few years. I think of joining them there in a few weeks. . . . I will give both to Willock and Skinner a copy of the *Decades* in your name.” Ab Ulmis to Bullinger, Mar. 1551. *Orig. Lett.* p. 428. “Skinner is at court with the King : Willock is preaching the Word of God with much labour in Scotland.” Same to same, May 1551. *Ib.* p. 431.

† “As for Latimer, Lever, Bradford, and Knox, their tongues were so sharp, they ripped in so deep in their galled backs, to have purged

body of these licensed preachers, the eighty or more names of whom are preserved, are to be regarded with respect. Some of them may have been fanatics; but they were men who were prepared to stand by the Reformation and to suffer for it. They did the work. They were not, at least not all of them, of the number of those who saw worldly advantage in the name of the reformed religion; and changed their tune as soon as ever the wind shifted to the opposite quarter. Many of them were men of great eloquence and learning, the choice of the Church. Some of them became martyrs for religion.*

Of the licensed preachers of Edward none has exceeded the historical importance of Knox, the famous, if fanatical Scottishman, who afterwards instigated the terrific revolution of his own country, and who at this time entered on his not insignificant relations with the Church of England. Landing in England, at the

them no doubt of that filthy matter, that was festered in their hearts, of filthy carnality and voluptuousness, of insatiable covetousness, of intolerable ambition and pride, of ungodly loathsomeness to hear poor men's causes, and to hear God's Word, that these men of all others these magistrates would never abide. Others there were, very godly men and well learned, that went about by the wholesome plaisters of God's Word; howbeit after a more soft manner of handling the matter: but, alas, all sped in like." *Piteous Lamentation, Works*, p. 59, Park. Soc. Of Knox, Ridley can scarce have formed his opinion before his court sermon. See next chapter. He knew the other three at Cambridge as well.

* The list of licensed preachers, given p. 485, Vol. II., *huj. op.*, contains eighty names. From the last chapter but one of Strype's *Eccles. Mem.* (Vol. IV.) may be added the following:

Wm. Dawson.	Griffith Jones.
Wm. Ayland, B.D.	Jn. Madowel, B.D.
Ths. Bernard, M.A.	Jn. Parkhurst.
Miles Wilson, M.A.	Guy Eton (or Eaton).
Nicolas Grimwald, M.A.	

Strype also gives the licenses, or abstract of the licenses, of these, and of sixteen of those in the list in Vol. II. *huj. op.* He also gives abstract of licenses to several bishops to preach, and to license or inhibit others. This Grimwald was the poet of the name.

beginning of the year 1549, after a grievous spell of eighteen months on board the French galleys, to which the fall of St. Andrew's had consigned him, John Knox immediately procured a preaching license, and was sent from London to the debatable fortress of Berwick-on-Tweed. There he began his ministry to the town and the garrison. He soon merited a reward from the Council: * but it cannot have been for his services in bringing in the newly established Book of Common Prayer: for he took advantage of the disorders of the times, and abused his license by nonconformity. He invented a form of his own instead of the Order of Holy Communion. To him may be ascribed, his admirers arrogate to him, unless he were outrun by Laski the Pole, or Hooper, or some other of the more ardent reformers who were about London, the scruple of kneeling at the Eucharist: a scruple which confounds celebration with repetition, and disowns the purest Christian antiquity. "I thought it good," he ignorantly said, "to avoid all other gestures than Christ used, or commanded to be used, and to use sitting at the Lord's Table." He is said to have added to this irregularity the use of common bread, instead of the peculiar bread ordered in the First Book.† Let none suppose that Knox did a thing great, valiant, or dangerous in thus insulting the ordinances of the Church of which he professed himself a minister. He was only heading his congregation, and fulfilling the secret wishes of those who employed him. The fame or noise of his doings and preachings extended itself beyond Berwick: and in a year he was invited by the Council of the North to preach before them,

* Sunday, April 7, 1549. "Warrant to the Receiver of the Duchy for £5 to John Knoock preacher, by way of reward." *Council Bk.* (*above*, p. 327).

† Lorimer, pp. 31 and 290.

during one of their sessions at Newcastle, on the appointed subject of the Sacrament: "to give his confession why he affirmed the Mass idolatry." He delivered on the occasion a dull and violent discourse, to which Bishop Tunstall, being one of the Council, was compelled to listen.* In the following summer

* The biographers of Knox, McCrie and Lorimer, make sure that a charge had been brought against him before Tunstall: and that the Council of the North gave him an opportunity of vindicating himself, although the bishop, with the malignity of bishops, would fain have had him presented before himself. The same story is given in the old *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and, I regret to say, repeated in the new one, under Knox. They give no evidence of it: nor have I been able to discover any beyond a passage in Bale's biographical notice of the still living Knox. "Anno 1550 in terra Dunelmensi Dei verbum annuncians coactus est coram Episcopo Tunstallo et ejus doctoribus, super missa papistica opinionem suam dicere. Et 4 die Aprilis ejusdem anni, aperiens in concione ejus idolatrias et horrendas blasphemias, tam solidis argumentis abominationem esse probabat, ut cum omnibus sciolis Saturnius ille somniator refragari non posset." *Cent.* xiv. p. 228. It is odd that Bale should have fixed this date so exactly in a brief general sketch of a man: and it is evident that he has only given a garnished version of Knox's own account of his sermon, which is as follows. "The 4th of April in the year 1550 was appointed to John Knox to give his confession why he affirmed the Mass idolatry: which day in the presence of the Council and Congregation, amongst whom was present also the Bishop of Durham and his doctors, in this manner he beginneth," &c. *Works*, iii. 39. From this it appears simply that Tunstall was present as a member of the Council of the North. At that time it was far more likely that Knox should persecute Tunstall than Tunstall Knox. The phrase "give his confession" seems equivalent to "uplift his testimony," so often used in later days: not signifying that he was placed on his defence. In fact Knox was protected by the powerful family of the Bowes: one of whom, Sir Robert, was one of the Council of the North, while his brother Richard was captain of Norham castle. The wife of this latter gentleman has fallen into a religious melancholy, for the relief of which Knox used his ministry. He formed an attachment to her daughter Marjory, whom he afterwards married. When he published his sermon, soon after, he prefixed a motto about bows and arrows: which seems a punning allusion to the name of his patrons. See Longstaffe's *Append. to Life of Barnes of Newcastle*, Surtees Soc. This was not like a persecuted man, but a bold reviler exulting in powerful protection. If Knox had been persecuted by Tunstall, assuredly

he was transferred from Berwick to Newcastle; and preached constantly in the church of St. Nicholas: of which the vicar may be presumed to have been silent, if he had no license, like all other unlicensed incumbents throughout the realm. Here Knox continued his irregularities.

William Cecil, the former secretary of the Protector Somerset, and Master of his unfortunate Court of Requests, was now among the secretaries of the Council, and on his road to the dignity of knighthood, to which he rose before the end of the year. Keen sagacity, respectable ability, great diligence, and some learning composed the character and aided the rise of this not uncelebrated statesman, who was destined to have considerable influence upon the fortunes of the Church of England. His faults were want of generosity and magnanimity, but these were covered by complaisance, or guarded by the reserve to which they might at times be imputed. No man knew better whom to choose, how to use and when to desert his associates: none could judge more accurately whether the weak might be made strong by assistance, or whether the appearance of strength concealed an incurable weakness. He connected himself with prudence: under the shadow of law he studied politics: and some offices of emolument, some patrons of weight, and one of the

he would have let the world know of it. That he was nonconforming with full intent and knowledge is plain from his own words. In 1558, when he had run away to Frankfort, he wrote to his late congregations at Berwick and Newcastle: "How are ye corrupted, &c. : alas ! &c. : ye feared not to go before statutes and laws : yea, openly and solemnly ye did profess, by receiving the Sacraments not as man had appointed, but as Jesus Christ had instituted, to be subject in all things concerning religion to His yoke alone, &c. How oft have ye assisted to baptism ! How oft have ye been partakers of the Lord's Table prepared, used, and ministered in all simplicity, not as man had devised, neither as the King's proceedings did allow, but as," &c. *Works*, v. 475.

learned daughters of Sir Anthony Cook, bore witness to his success at the age, to which he had now attained, of thirty years. A cold nature may have the aspect, and indeed supply some of the elements of public virtue to a time of rapid mutation. Cecil was less rapacious than his contemporaries in proportion to his opportunities: and a couple of monasteries was a smaller share of the plunder of religion than fell to the lot of many a private man.

From the letters of the ambassadors resident in the foreign courts, most of which passed through the hands of Cecil, many curious incidents, which may be gathered, show the low estimation into which England was fallen at the time. In Paris the Lenten preachers denounced the English as heretics, as one with the Lutherans. A book was written against England under the title of *La Response du Peuple Anglois*, which was such that the Council deemed it necessary to demand the suppression of it. It was suppressed, but the Constable took the opportunity of remonstrating against the tardiness of English justice in regard to foreigners. Strange rumours were continually rife of the violent dissensions of the rulers, of the confusion of the kingdom, of the public corruption, of the decay of the seminaries of learning: and the honest denunciations of English preachers against the evils of the times were repeated in France to the derogation of their own country. The French court scarce attempted to conceal their expectation of the revolt of Ireland and the capture of Calais. In consequence of the depreciation of the coinage, France was so flooded with English money, that scarce any other was to be seen. At Angers a friar, a celebrated preacher, denounced the King of England as a heretic: and no redress could be obtained. The fame of the nation for impiety reached the height

when three or four vessels, laden with the images that had been cast out of the English Churches, anchored in the Seine, and opened their venerable wares to the reverent emulation of Rouen and of Paris. In the more ordinary articles of commerce the ill dealing of the English was celebrated from Denmark to Italy. Bales of English cloth, fraudulently made, were cut in pieces in Venice, and hung about the Rialto.*

At the court of the Emperor the English name was in no better reputation. "The death of Bucer," wrote Moryson the ambassador there, "has raised again a bruit that was here aforetime, that the English are all become Jews! This bruit first arose out of a story that Bucer once said to our King that the best argument against the authority, which the Bishop of Rome claims from Christ, was that the Messiah was not yet come. Thus they lie, without even the colouring of truth. Bucer is safely laid up: and our country not a mite the worse that they, who know no more of Christ than His name and His dwelling-place, take us all for damned souls." † The ambassador at Brussels, Chamberlain, wrote that "people say that England is at this day the harbour for all infidelity." ‡ In Italy, as in France,

* See the various letters of Sir John Mason and Sir Wm. Pickering, the envoys at Paris, and of Peter Vannes at Venice, in Turnbull's *Foreign Calendar*. In particular Mason says, "The preachers of Paris speak their pleasure of us, and forgetting all honesty call us heretics, and count us with the Lutherans" (p. 791). He discovered that the author of the book against England was one Peter Hoque, who had been in this country disguised during the insurrections: it was published by Monluc (pp. 67 and 72). The preacher at Angers was Dyvole, Provincial of the Jacobin friars: Pickering says that he declared that the King of England "by his heresy and infidelity had lost the power of working miracles, as curing the falling sickness, which his predecessors had." He was allowed to preach next year, in spite of Pickering's remonstrances (pp. 238, 258). As to the images, p. 56. As to the cloth, p. 227.

† Moryson to Council, 14 Ap. 1551. *For. Cal.* p. 88. On the curious report about Bucer's Judaism, see Raynold, the continuator of Baronius, *Ann.* 1551, ch. lxiii.

‡ June. *For. Cal.* p. 122.

the King and Council were called Lutherans.* Now first began to be felt the difficulty of having or permitting the English service in the realms of the Roman obedience: now also to be observed first the peculiar demeanour for which the English have become remarkable in the presence of the old service of Christendom. Throughout Europe indeed the reformed services were brought into the presence of the old service: the Communion (to use the accurate language of the time) was brought into the presence of the Mass. Within the Empire the reformed services of the Protestants, the Lutheran liturgies, were everywhere brought into the presence of the Mass: and under the truce of the Interim the two services were often celebrated the one after the other on the same day in the same churches.† In France, which at this time was wavering in her obedience to the Holy See, it was discovered that a Communion had been secretly practised even within the precincts of the royal court by some ladies:‡ and

* At least an Englishman named Winslade, or Winslow, was in the habit of calling them so in Siena. *Ib.* p. 149. The time was not yet come altogether, when the English were anxious to prove the derivation of their Reformation from the Lutherans. The sickness of this summer was imputed by foreigners to the alteration of religion. "Here they rejoice at the calamity, and impute it to the religion, and say, *Ubi est Deus eorum.*" Wotton to Cecil, Augsb. 10 Aug. 1551. *Cal. of Cecil MSS.* p. 91.

† Moryson to Council. *For. Cal.* p. 96. He relates that at Strasburg however, and at Augsburg, where the Emperor's court was, the Protestants had their own churches: and, in the latter place, the people were very fervent: in one small Protestant church, not so big as the Parliament House, there were six thousand persons, "stages being purposely made round about, as be used in England at disguisings." It was not however exactly true that there were Protestant churches in Augsburg: but the Protestants had the use of five of the churches there, allowed by the Emperor: an arrangement that had been begun in 1548. Sir Ph. Hoby relates this in a letter of that year. The Emperor "appointed unto them five churches, wherein at their liberty to preach and minister after their accustomed manner, leaving the rest of the churches to the priests, friars, and others who did formerly possess them." Tytler, i. 127.

‡ Pickering to Cecil, Feb. 1552. *For. Cal.* p. 250. Some Frenchmen at Augsburg, contrary of course to their own nation, went to one of the

in Italy itself the Holy Father was compelled to punish some of his bishops who had turned Protestant.* As for the English ambassadors, they and their households were usually allowed to have the English service in private: but some of them also attended Mass in public, explaining in their letters home that they went with no purpose of devotion, but merely to see the ambassadors of other countries, and to hear the news. If they and their retainers happened to meet a procession in the street, when the Host was being carried to the sick, they maintained the insular orthodoxy against the religion of the country; and by refusing the customary sign of reverence provoked and braved the impotent indignation of the ministers of Babylon.†

Protestant churches, and communicated there under both kinds. Moryson, *For. Cal.* p. 86.

* *Ib.* p. 88.

† We have seen, in the affair of the Lady Mary's Mass, that the English resident in Flanders, Chamberlain, was allowed to use the English service in private. Sir John Mason at Paris relates that he used the Communion on holidays, and the Common Prayer sometimes on weekdays in the open place where he dined and supped; and that he was often joined on Sundays by a good number of Frenchmen and Scots (*Ib.* p. 72). Before this year Mason had written to the Council to know how he should behave to the Pope's Nuncio, if he met him at the French court, and was told to use his discretion, "remembering the trust committed unto him being the King's Majesty's ambassador." *Council Bk.* 27 Ap. 1550. At Venice Peter Vannes used to go to church, on solemn occasions, but "not for the worshipping of images or idols, but rather for the ambassadors to confer together familiarly of divers things, and observe what may stand there to their masters' behoof and advancement" (*For. Cal.* p. 94). The Marquis of Northampton passing through France on an embassy, at Saumur the following "fond part" happened. "A lewd priest had been with his pix to minister after their manner to some sick person:" and passing by the lodgings of the Marquis, most of whose company were in the street, and "seeing that none of them would stoop to his idol, he fell into such a rage that it were long to rehearse." The authorities committed the priest to ward; and apologised "for his lewdness, which they would see punished as his folly deserved." The Marquis interceded for him, the rather that no complaint had been made by the English, but the authorities took up the priest of their own motion. *Ib.* p. 139.

Of all the writers of despatches, to whom we owe our knowledge of these foreign affairs, the most voluminous and certainly the strangest was Sir Richard Moryson, who resided at the court of the Emperor, at Augsburg mostly. An elderly man, a former Henrician apologist, the patron of Peter Martyr at Oxford and Visitor of the University, so fond of uttering his religious opinions as to be called in his embassy by some of the imperialists in contempt an apostle rather than an ambassador, the author (it is to be said) of the illegitimate existence of several children,* Moryson was withal an inveterate jester, who could not keep his mirth out of his official letters, even at the risk of offending the dignity of Cecil or of the Lord Chancellor Rich.† To the rising fortunes of Cecil he seems to have attached himself, and was fond of saluting him by anticipation with the title proper to knighthood, addressing his letters to Sir William, and commending himself to my lady. From him we gain a lively picture of the life of an English ambassador in that age: and, not least, of the straits to which he was reduced to maintain an appearance worthy of the country which he represented. The

* Wood's *Athenæ Oxon.* i. 99. He wrote a book or two, one of them about the glories of Henry the Eighth's Reformation, dedicated to Thomas Crumwel.

† It may be worth remarking that Moryson and his queer letters have attracted the notice of a modern German student, Dr. Katterfeld, the biographer of Roger Ascham, who has traced his career minutely. "Seine Briefe," says this writer, "private wie officialle, sind oft in einem so humoristischen Ton gehalten, schildern so sehr ins Einzelne seine Beobachtungen, sind mit so viel Anekdoten und Randbemerkungen durchsetzt, dass Cecil sich einmal ernstlich diese 'toys' verbitten und ihn mahnen musste, einen ernsteren, dem Diplomaten zuständigeren Ton anzuschlagen." *Roger Ascham*, p. 91. Moryson complains in one letter that he was traduced in Augsburg that he used to preach to his household, whereas he used to read to them Ochino's sermons, or Machiavelli for the sake of the language. "No marvel," he says, "why the Emperor wrote I was an apostle, a doctor, a preacher, and I know not what." *Ib.*

allowances of the ambassador, or, as they were called, his diets, were ever unpaid: and he was reduced to sell his lands in England to keep himself abroad. "I am sorry for the toys I have used," this curious person writes, "I will do on more gravity in future, and keep my mirth where I have more occasion for it." Presently he remarks, "How weary I am of writing in cipher! None can tell what weariness it is. I would rather do any drudgery. If you are as weary of finding me as I am of hiding myself, I will write plain from henceforth. Let not my lady your wife send me any more Greek by way of cipher: if she do, they will show it to Jacob Sturmius. If she write me a scolding letter, I will show it to strangers. But no: I will thank her even for that: and yet let her take heed, for I speak apace when I am angry. Why do you not send me my diets? Is my land so increased since I came out here that I can serve the King without diets? If my doings be still misliked by you, I am sorry for it. I can do no better: let some wise man call a fool home. How am I to get my house found without diets? May I never come home, if I have not spent a thousand pounds since I came hither. And now I have to borrow: and when I borrow, I fail to pay: and when I fail to pay, I blush. You say that I am too merry. Master Hales says the same. The Chancellor says the same. He is sour. Let him be Momus to Moryson! They be *morosiores quam quibus morem gerere vel queam vel velim*, who deny me my mirth. I want my diets in leather. If I would willingly clothe you in silk, why will you not clothe me in leather, my horses, I mean? Leather me, leather me, leather me! But that string I will not touch: it always puts me out. And yet send me leather: for when Wotton comes, I expect to be baited; and I would fain throw the dog off. My lady Cecil knows

whence I steal my Greek. My lady Moryson here will be like to mourn for silk, if I have not some leather. You would have me speak French. I am sorry, for I scarce understand it. However, *Dieu vous garde*, as Doctor Butts used to say: and, as Doctor Butts got so far as to add, *de bon jour*.” *

To this merry man the Pope was His Hollowness, and the Hollow Father; he described him as the bishop who travelled up and down from French to Imperials and from Imperials to French, who had gain for his god, and loss for his greatest evil. He relates that a picture was made in Germany, presenting the Pope in a garment adorned with the imperial eagle outside, and inside with the French lilies. “The eagles only are to be seen in the Pope,” said he, “so closely folds he his mantle: but the lilies are nearest to his heart.” It was indeed under an irresolute and somewhat contemptible pontiff that a handful of Fathers, the most of them bishops, assembled again on the first of May 1551, and commenced the second period of the Council of Trent. The acute legate who had presided in the former period, seemed to have changed his nature in assuming the Papacy: and the height of office found in Julius the Third little besides levity and inconsistent wit. A series of baffling negotiations, which he had with the Emperor, filled the interval between his election and the renewal of the Council: a business which the one urged, and the other seemed willing to evade. “Indict the Council to be held at Trent, and nowhere else,” said Charles. The Pope agreed, after some deliberation, that Trent would be the most convenient place. “Summon the Protestants, that there may be a full settlement of differences,” said the Emperor. “I will not fight with a cat in a closed room,” was the reply. “Then summon

* See his Letters in *Foreign Calendar* of the reign.

them, and let them find what is to be done only after they are come." "Nay," answered the Pope, "it is more honest to certify them that they are to come to a council to be managed by me, according to my right." In the mean time Charles was putting forth, as the sequence of his Interim or Interreligion, in the decrees of the diet of Augsburg, a large measure of reformation without reference to the Holy Father. He ordered the diocesan councils to be held throughout the Empire, and the provincial councils: and he was obeyed. Diocesan Councils were held, in which the state of the churches was freely agitated: and these were followed by the provincial councils of the great electoral arch-sees of Treves, Mentz, and Cologne. On the other hand the Pope and the Empire were kept together by the hostility of France to both. France under Henry fed secretly the resistance of the Free Cities to Charles, combined against him with the Turk, and stood foot to foot with the imperial garrisons in Parma, the Duke of which duchy the Pope on his part having, in a family quarrel, excommunicated, was held by implication to have smitten also his ally, the French monarch, with the same spiritual weapon.* The affair of Parma threatened to spread into a general war at the moment when the Council was opened: and the thin frequency at Trent almost escaped observation amid the thundering rumours of the hour. "A few Italian bishops were there," said Moryson, adding a very profane description of the opening ceremonial; "no good is expected:

* "Has he not excommunicated your master also, if he have excommunicated both Octavio and all who give him aid?" Moryson asked of the French ambassador at Augsburg. "Ma foi," replied the Frenchman, "the Pope's words are very large, and perhaps he may stir hornets so long that the sting will stick when he shall not be well able to pull it out." To Council, 5 May. *For. Cal.* p. 100.

the second session is put off to September.”* A month later, when the Congregations were being held between the first and second sessions of the Council, the same jocund critic wrote to England that “the assembly at Trent was more like a privy conspiracy of a few than a general Council: there whisper together a few bishops with a few Spanish monks, devising how they may lie a good deal, and blush but a little, when the time comes.”† The Congregations, however, were treating of the greatest subjects than can occupy man; of the Holy Eucharist, the nature and history of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, the reformation of the Church.

But between the first and second sessions of the Council, the Emperor suddenly took a measure which rendered it useless for the reconciliation of Christendom, and which was destined to close his own reign in disaster and calamity. About the end of August he expelled the Protestant preachers from Augsburg: and attempted to procure the expulsion of preachers from the whole territory of Wirtemberg. The city of Augsburg, where the imperial court now lay, was cast into mourning, when seven preachers and two deacons departed from it, under oath to leave the Empire by the shortest road, and never to preach therein again. The streets were in commotion: the shops were filled with weeping: in the open places men stood in clusters with frowning countenances. A mob of women gathered at the Emperor's gates, demanding with frantic outcries where they were to be married, and where their infants were to

* To Council, 12 May. *For. Cal.* p. 106. There is great profanity in this letter about the opening of the Council. Subsequently he wrote, “Nothing is said of the Council, nor any good expected from it. The second session is put off to September: and many judge it to be rather appointed for the advancing of princes' affairs than for any good order to be established in religion according to God's law and His honour.” p. 110.

† *Ib.* 9 June, p. 126.

be baptised. The Emperor doubled his guards : the Protestant churches were locked up : and those of their congregations who sought matrimony (the only necessity which could bring them to the Romanensian temples) either repaired to Strasburg for the Protestant rites, or accepted the offices of the priests of Baal, who benevolently broke their own rules by joining them together without the celebration of the Mass, and had no eyes to see the contempt with which they dashed off the holy water with which they were aspersed.* After this act of persecution it was to little purpose that the Emperor gave a safe-conduct to the Lutheran divines at the instance of Maurice of Saxony, and that the negotiations proceeded for their appearance at the

* "The town is sore troubled : men and women in a marvellous dump. There are few shops wherein people may not be seen in tears : few streets without men in plumps, looking as if they would do worse rather than suffer this thralldom. Last Friday there were 100 women at the Emperor's gates, howling and asking in their outcries where should they christen their children, or whether their children not christened should be taken as heathen dogs : where they should marry. They would have gone into the Emperor's house, but the Catholic Spaniards kept them out, reviling and treating them so as they would rather send than come again. Eighty of them went to the Duke of Wirtemberg's, who came the day before," &c.—"The Papist churches have no more customers than they had : not two of the townsmen in some of their greatest synagogues. The churches where the Protestants did communicate by thousands at once are locked up : and the people, being robbed of all their godly exercises, sit weeping and wailing at home, &c. There be many babes unchristened, and so shall be till they meet with such as christen in Dutch. The people will have no Latin christening, as they say, till they can understand Latin themselves." *Ib.* Sept. 1, p. 165. Again : "Last week the magistrates ordered all christenings and marriages to be celebrated at the parish church, and the parties thereafter to hear Mass : and during the last three days five or six marriages have taken place by a sort of compromise on either side. The priests obtain license for parties to marry without massing, contrary to the magistrates' order : and then the priest wins this again, and those who have to marry wait at the church door till the priest fetch them in : and as he casts on them, at their entry, holy water, so they wipe it off, as if it were horse-dashings. They that marry are content he cast his water, and he that casts it is content they wipe it away." *Ib.* Sept. 8, p. 169.

Council. The astute Elector however kept on the mask until he had completed his secret preparations for a decisive rupture : and while the German bishops in obedience to the imperial mandates were continually arriving to swell the numbers of Trent, the Duke of Wirtemberg sent to the Council a Confession on which the Protestants of Saxony and those of Strasburg and Upper Germany were agreed. On the part of Strasburg John Sleidan was there already, waiting the Saxons, in order to make common cause with them.* The conditions which the Protestants demanded seemed not easy : that impartial and neutral judges should be chosen both by them and the Council to decide religious questions according to Holy Scripture, and that the Council should have a fresh beginning, ignoring or annulling the decrees made in the former period of its existence. But the urgency of the need of peace may have fostered the hope of it : the day of St. Paul, the twenty-fifth of January of the next year, which was fixed, seemed not inappropriate to the reception of the new Gentiles, and distant enough to allow them to arrive.† The day of

* "The Duke of Wirtemberg has sent a certain nobleman, a doctor of laws, and a secretary to the Council at Trent, to submit to it the Confession drawn up by Brentzen and the other ministers, and subscribed by many other theologians of Saxony and this part of Germany." Mount to the Council, Strasburg, Oct. 15. *For. Cal.* p. 180. It was Brentzen whose violent preaching against the Interim aroused Charles to expel the Augsburg preachers. "Nothing certain from Trent. This city has sent thither John Sleidan, who was formerly sent by the Protestants to England. He is ordered to do nothing till the arrival of the Saxons, and on their coming to make common cause with them on terms of the Confession lately drawn up in Saxony." The same, p. 189, Nov. 2.

† "The people here are summoned to the Council on the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, but they make very tardy preparations. For the Duke of Wirtemberg and Maurice demand conditions from the Council which they will not easily obtain : the first of these being that impartial and neutral judges shall be selected both by the Council and the Protestants, who shall determine the religious questions controverted according to the Holy Scriptures, as they cannot trust these very serious points

the session came: but the Protestants were not there, though they still negotiated, and on the previous day the envoys of the Elector of Saxony had been admitted to speak at a general Congregation. This final stratagem deepened the fatal security of the Emperor. He left Augsburg, and moved into the Tyrol, whence he might command Italy and observe Trent with greater advantage, fixing his camp upon the hills of Inspruck. Maurice suddenly commenced hostilities, raising the cry of religion and liberty. He seized Augsburg, and advanced on Inspruck, where he surprised the camp of Cæsar, who fled with difficulty in the darkness of night amid the snows of winter, owing the escape of his person to the prudent magnanimity of the victor. At the same time the French monarch, who at the outset had insulted the Council through his envoy with the title of a convention, and who had prevented the Swiss from sending representatives thither, took up arms. The Council resolved, in the sixteenth session, April 8, on an adjournment for two years: and so reached the end of the second period of its eventful history. As for Charles, with broken fortunes and shattered health, he entered on the disastrous war which was signalised by the loss of his finest army before the impregnable walls of Metz.*

to the Roman Pontiff and his partisans: the other, that the Council shall proceed *de novo*, and not suffer injury to be done to the doctrine of the universal Church by the prejudices and ill-considered decrees of the few formerly present, or condemn unheard the doctrines of their opponents, which they know to be in accordance with those of the prophets and apostles. Such requests have been preferred to the Council in writing by the ambassadors of Wirtemberg. Those of Maurice desire the same from the Emperor. They seem to him rather to seek grounds for refusing the Council than to expect to obtain what they ask. The banishing of the preachers of Augsburg has unmasked the designs of the crocodile." Mount to Cecil, Strasb., Dec. 10. *For. Cal.* p. 203.

* The despatches of the English ambassadors have not, that I know, been before applied to illustrate the history of the Council of Trent. For

Before the decisive triumph of the Protestants, before even the renewal of the Council of Trent, and under the distress of the Interreligion, the delusive project of a general league in maintenance of the Reformation, having England at the head, the project so often moved, so often frustrated under Henry, revisited for a moment the scene of Edward. The Lutheran Doctor Bruno, whom we have seen engaged in this business before,* appeared again, about the end of the former year, with extensive and elaborate proposals,† enumerating the various princes of Europe and

this reason the reader may be inclined to pardon the somewhat inordinate length at which I have narrated this part of an important but still a foreign transaction.

* Vol. II. p. 368 *huj. op.* Bruno came as far as Calais on that occasion : perhaps he ventured as far on English ground upon this. He was, it may be added, in the English pay in 1549. The Council Book has, "Warrant for £100 in reward to Mr. Dr. Bruno," Sept. 22.

† "Discursus D. Brunonis" endorsed by Cecil, Oct. 1550. *State Pap. Edw. VI., Foreign*, Vol. V. p. 262 : in Record Off. As this curious document has never been printed, I will give it here.

Quandoquidem, eam pacem, quam in Christo et nusquam aliubi certam habere possimus, dicente Domino, In me pacem habebitis, Adversarii autem suo Tridentino Consilio rursus a nobis avellere vel saltem turbare conentur, cuperem equidem huic venienti malo occurri ; quod mature fieret, si omnes potentatus et status Evangelii, ut sunt

Serenissimi Reges.

Angliæ et Hiberniæ.
Sueviæ.

Daniæ et Norwegiæ.
Poloniæ, aut utcumque.

Præterea hi Reguli et Germaniæ Principes.

Duces Saxoniæ Mauritius Elector et Augustus frater, Ducis Frederici Filii.

Dux Fredericus Palatinus Elector.

Marchio Joachimus Brandeburgensis Elector.

Joannes Marchio Brand. frater Joachimi Elect.

Albertus et Georgius Marchiones patruelles et Burgravii Noremburgen.

Duces Holsatiæ Joannes et Adolphus.

Dux Breussiæ.

Duces Pomeraniæ.

Dux de Launenburg.

of the Empire who favoured the Protestant cause, proposing that they should send in common some learned

Duces Brunsurcenses in Grobenhay.

Duces Launenburgenses omnes.

Dux Wirtembergensis cum Christophoro filio et Georgio patre.

Dux Wolfgangus palantinus, bipontinus.

Ducatus Schlesiæ.

Landtgravii Hessiæ Provinciæ.

Principes de Anholt, etc.

Tum præterea hi Germaniæ Comites.

De Hennenberg

De Nassauiæ tres vel quatuor.

Frysie Orientalis

De Deckelnburg

De Altenburg

A. Mansfelt

A. Stolberg

ab Königstein

A. Wydde

A. Nuenair

ab Manderscheit

A. Waldeck

A. Reneck

ab Werthem

A. Holoch (?)

A. Castel

ab Oetting

A. Hannaviæ

A. Erpach

ab Rhein Comites

A. Schwarzenburg

A. Solms

ab Obstein

Et reliqui Germaniæ Comites et Barones Augustanæ Confessionis.

Item Civitates aliquot Germaniæ.

Argentoratum, Norumburga, Frankfordia, Augusta, et plures aliæ Sueviæ Civitates Augustanæ Confessionis. Tum etiam Saxonie maritimæ oræ (?).

Ex Helvetiis Cantones Evangelici.

Tigurini, Bernates, Basilienses, Schaffusienses, Sancto Gallenses, Mulhusienses.

Nisi forte accideret quod discrepantia quæ est inter notatos Ordines et Helvetios de Eucharistia vel Cæna Domini aliquam causat divisionem et separationem.

Quodsi, inquam, predicti Ordines omnes, vel saltem major pars, ut fieri non dubito, in hoc convenirent, quod ipsorum omnium nomine et communi consensu, ad pretensum Concilium mitterentur aliquot boni et prædocti viri, quales esse poterunt aliqui ex nostris Episcopis; et præter hos D. Martinus Bucerus, Philippus Melanthon, Jo. Brentius, et similes qui jamdudum in eo negotio per precedentia Colloquia Religionis valde exercitati sunt. Qui selecti viri una et eadem sententia, nomine omnium Ordinum, tam bonam, piam et justam causam dicant, audacter et palam contra istos papisticos sophistas defendant, verbis tum scriptis pro virili defendant atque tueantur. Quod si ita fieret, sperandum ejusmodi actionem non solum conservaturam veram Religionem, sed etiam efficere posse quod aliqui status jam hesitantes et per presentem persecutionem omnino territi perfractique, brevi a vera et pia religione defecturi, iterum confirmarentur, atque denuo erigerentur: præterea sperandum quoque esset tam amplam legationem non solum irritum facturam hoc Concilium, sed

men, such as Bucer and Melanchthon, to the next pretended Council of the Papists: and that if they

etiam terrori futuram Adversariis, quominus auderent postea tam impia hujus Concilii Decreta, ubique locorum (ut peracto Concilio pretendunt) in effectum sua vi et potentia deducere. Nam qui et quales futuri sint illorum Conatus futuræque animadversiones in pios, satis jam nobis indicant illorum publice edicta, horribiles Inquisitiones et cruentæ persecutiones.

Quodsi non cum reliquis Evangelicis Ordinibus, et uno nomine, ut supra, non mittamus ad dictum Concilium, ac si non teneamur pro defensione atque fidei confessione ibidem comparare et respondere, vel divisim et separatim aliqui mittant, et trepidanter vel frigide (ut fit) tam sanctam causam defendant, accidet quod videamur ab Adversariis meticulosi, tanquam malam causam foventes, et quæ lucem ferre nequeat; item divisos inter se, et nobis ipsis male conscios. Quod et Adversarii cupiunt, et inde illis animus multo quam antea elatior, et quæ tandem in causa erunt quod multi, qui jam consentirent nobiscum, et recte tam piam causam defendendam arbitrantur, et qui alios brevi propter divisionem horum Ordinum, ut superioribus annis etiam accidit, prorsus deficient, atque impiis Concilii decretis, ubi nullam amplius viderint eminere spem, sese submittant, stentque.

Quare si legatio ut supra (quo ad minimum posset in meliora tempora protrahere hoc pretensum Consilium) tuæ Magnificentiae probaretur, tunc ad eam instituendam cuperem ego Sereniss. Regem nostrum, ut est olim istorum Ordinum major, ita etiam tanquam Caput, reliqua membra primo quoque tempore ad officium præcipuos Ordines et status commonefaceret, et ad hanc legationem urgeret: et si hujus rei Sua Majestas non velit videri Autor, ne forte offendatur Cæsar, qui tamen in hac parte minus offendi deberet (meo judicio) ex quo Sua Maj. omnibus Augustanæ Confessionis Ordinibus, quos Protestantes vocant, jam promittat tum liberum accessum (quem salvum conductum dicunt) tum etiam et sua libera suffragia, etc. Nihilominus nos hoc negotium possimus per alias interpositas personas, et secreto quidem tentare et promovere, si videatur, consultim: nempe per P. Melanthonum et Andream Ozian-drum, qui nunc sunt in Prussia, qui ambo multa possunt apud Prussiæ Ducem: quodsi Melanthon videatur timidior ac tardior quam hoc negotium expostulat, tunc per alios bonos et ad hanc provinciam idoneos viros poterimus eandem causam urgere apud eundem Principem. Quamvis illius ex fratre Nepos, Marchio Albertus olim ad hoc hinc inde sollicitandum et promovendum aptissimum existimem: et qui apud Patrum suum tanquam filius apud patrem, etiam possit rem et agat; ut ille Prussiæ tanquam senior Principum: et omnibus nominatis Ordinibus gratis et vicinis hoc munus subeat, et cum vicinis Regibus imprimis et principibus efficiat ut ad hoc institutum singuli suos doctos quam primum ad prescriptum per eundem principem diem mittant. Hamburgi, ut in eo scilicet Conventu, primum docti omnes in Articulis fidei inter se

could not prevail by the arms of reason or intimidation, a general league should be formed, King Edward to

convenient atque concordēs sint, saltem in dogmate : de ceremoniis non æque refert : nam ubique similes necessarie non requiruntur. Preterea quod idem docti de ejuscemodi Tridentina legatione ad defensionem causæ per unam (omnium Ordinum) sententiam, vel fidei Confessionem, ut factum fuit Augustæ per Protestantes anno MDXXX., consultant atque concludant.

Quodsi in eo conventu Reges, et major purs reliquorum statuum compareant, non dubito quin, et si sint qui non ea prima vice compareant Augustanæ Confessionis Status nihilominus postea in nostram sententiam, illos brevi tempore accessaros. Esto quod etiam aliqui jam ex malignitate temporis et causa preteriti belli a reliquis deficiant, animum sint resumpturi, et caput denuo erecturi, maxime si novum aliquod videant robur, ad quod tanquam ad sacram anchoram possint confugere.

Et si tum omnium istorum Ordinum Legatio Tridenti nihil efficiat, nec quod æquum est obtinere queat ; et Adversarii videantur rejicere et contemnere nostra tanquam impia, et velle nos cogere vi, ut pareamus suis frivolis et impiis decretis ; tunc, post factam decentem protestationem, nostris Ordinibus omnino licitum, commodum, et necessarium erit, pro tuitione causæ, et vim pellendam, fieri inter omnes Ordines, vel saltem Principes et precipuas Civitates, foedus defensivum. Quod nemo melius poterit sollicitare apud Reges, et vicinos cogere, ipso Prussiæ Principe, cujus res etiam jam agitur per actionem quam contra eum pretendunt Milites Ordinis Teutonici. Et apud reliquos Germaniæ et Saxonæ status nemo, inquam, melius illius Nepote Alberto, qui plurimum valet auctoritate apud eos tum propter vicinitatem tum etiam propter militem quem habet at alit stipendiis istis periculosis temporibus : et qui summa diligentia in hoc esset elaboraturus ; si daretur illi spes aliqua ipsum et Mauritium Saxonem futuros istius foederis Capitaneos : et qui revera hoc officium tanquam ad hoc idonei prestare possent, et imprimis Albertus, ut qui sibi habet devinctum et addictum precipuum Germaniæ militem.

Quodsi hoc meum quaecunque consilium non probetur vel tibi satisficiat, vel neutrum horum tibi placeat, viz. quod neque legati tibi mittendi videatur Tridenti tanquam frustra, vel foedus, ut dictum est, tanquam bellua multorum capitum, et tanquam confusum chaos, etiam non sit rogandum ; et quod hæc mea deliberatio tibi, ut dubia, incerta, periculis plena, laboriosa, et sine fundamento, videatur ; ecce, aliam habeo tibi indicandam viam ; sed sumptuosiore ; quam etiam aperiā, quoties vuleris me commode audire : Quam si etiam contempseris, tunc ad minus cuperem Regium Senatum aliquam habere familiaritatem cum Helvetiis nostræ Religionis et non ob aliam causam, quamque quod illa nobis forte poterit usui esse aliquo ad hoc, quod hi tanquamque qui multa possunt apud Gallum in eventum controversiæ inter utrumque Regem, ut sæpe fit, propter vicinitatem suborirentur ; tanquamque mediatores et pacificatores, ut qui bene nobis volunt propter religionem, sua intercessione

be head: or that at least, if not with the Protestants, the English should make a religious treaty with the

Gallum in officio amicitiae perpetuo retineant, quandoquidem nobis Gallis parum fidendum est propter eorum ambitionem, et quod credam certa illorum esse consilia muniendi omnem lapidem, ut nos penitus et plane de continenti deturbent, nec pacem servaturi diu. Quam ob causam diligenter munienda sunt Caletum et reliqua ultra marina, et arces quæ Scotiam respiciunt, invigilandumque utrobique. Attamen quodsi tale foedus ut supra cum his Ordinibus coiret, vel aliud quod tibi secreto indicare constitui saltem fieret, dubito ista duo posse, mutare, vel aliquantisper remorari Gallorum consilia, et aliorum quoque.

Et ad comparandum nobis Helvetios aliquam familiaritatem poterimus efficere, partem per Bulingerum, qui est Tiguri, partem etiam per Musculum, qui est Bernæ, et Calvinum qui est Genevæ, sub Bernatibus, et alios bonos viros, quos novi ad hanc actionem aptos. Et hæc quidem tandem adjunxi ob eam causam, quod si neutrum horum contingat, sc. vel legationem mitti, vel foedus coire, vel etiam tertium, quod verbo aperui, in effectum, perducere, nos isto tempore non habere commodiores conservatores pacis diuturnæ inter nos et Gallum, qui nunquam carent paterno odio, ipsis Helvetiis.

Hæc vota, clarissime vir, tibi admodum reverenter indicavi ut tu prudentia, qua soles in omnibus uti dexterrime, deliberes, si aliquod insit quod facere possit ad rem publicam nostram vel ulteriori deliberatione dignum.

Quod reliquum est, nisi conversi fuerimus ad Dominum, et exuamus veterem hominem, et in novitate vitæ ambulemus, nihil proderit nobis jactatio Evangelii, vel novas habere ceremonias, si novi mores non sequantur, nisi quod majorem iram Dei contra nos excitant: et tandem nobis accadat (si non prius) quod nuper Germanis evenit, et quæ nulla humana consilia quantumvis valida vel prudentia avertere poterunt. Quare, etc."

In the same MS. volume is a paper endorsed by Cecil "Articles of the Credence of the messenger from the princes of Germany," 1 Oct. 1550. *Comp. Foreign Cal.* p. 60. This shows that some negotiations took place: and a "messenger" seems to have arrived from the Germans. Whether this messenger were Bruno, I cannot tell: but Bruno was at Strasburg about this time: he had the reputation of a man not to be much in trust, and that would "play with both hands." Abel to Cecil, *Cal. of Cecil MSS.* p. 87. I have given so much space in this work to the unexplored subject of the negotiations of England with the Protestants, that I feel reluctant to pass over this final unpublished document, the "Articles" of the messenger of Germany. The following is a condensation of it. "My princes desire and propose," said the messenger, "a mutual conjunction with the King's Majesty, who is raised up by God for the beautifying of the Church of Christ. They desire a sound, Christian, and steadfast conjunction, not garnished with words, but to be kept and

Helvetians. The project was considered: the league was entertained in speculation: and it was proposed that, if war should be levied by the league, some means should be devised, "some colour and craft by which the war should be dissembled not to be made for religion:" and in this respect the model was to be furnished by the treaty of the Duke of Prussia with Alasco three years before. But the matter went no further.

The second of the three years was now expiring, for which the last Parliament of Edward had reordained that thirty-two persons should be nominated "to examine the ecclesiastical laws, and gather and compile such laws as might be convenient to be practised within the realm

fulfilled, as beseemeth Christians. All profits and disprofits, all perils that may pass upon the confession of the Gospel, should be common: all counsels and aids should be reckoned also common. If either my princes or the King's Majesty be empeched with war for religion, there are two things to be considered; first, a great provision for the war, secondly, the colour and craft whereby the war shall be dissembled not to be made for religion. As to the charges, it is meet to know what the one part may look for of the other: and it is not a few that will be needed for the weight of the war. My princes request such a sum of money as might maintain 12,000 footmen, with artillery and other provisions for a year: that is to say, about 400,000 thalers. And they offer to the King as many men of war as the aforesaid sum would maintain, if the King should be first empeched. As to the colour and craft, by which some other cause may be pretended for the war, dissembling the cause of religion, my princes refer themselves to a treatise of the Duke of Prussia with Mr. Alasco, had these three years past. And if in this behalf the King's Majesty shall think fit to add anything for the commodity of either part, my princes will receive the same in all good will, as being so well minded to make this conjunction, that not only will they make a league and bond civil and politic with the King's Majesty, but also a very Christian: that is to say, that all things of either side may be mutual and common, as it were, in one body under Christ (which is never severed by any distance of place), either for profit or loss, if the Lord shall so permit. In the treaty of this conjunction my princes have willed me to use the counsels of Master Alasco, of whose faith both toward the King's Majesty and themselves, and chiefly toward the cause of Christ's religion, my princes doubt not."

in all spiritual courts.”* At length, in the fragment of time that remained, a commission was issued to that effect: the thirty-two were named: bishops, theologians, civilians, lawyers: of every sort an equal number: the whole to be divided into four classes, or companies, of two apiece of every sort. This large commission however was not allowed to go presently to work: another commission was issued at the same time to one fourth of the total number, to one class or company out of the four: then, after some further changes, the work was really taken in hand: † and Cranmer and Goodrich, Cox and Peter Martyr of bishops and divines: May and Rowland Taylor, of Hadley, of civil and canonical lawyers: of municipal lawyers John Lucas and Richard Goodrick, undertook to provide an ecclesiastical code for England.‡

* 3 and 4 Ed. VI. c. 11. See before, p. 159.

† It seems certain, from the magnitude of the work produced, that one or two, Cranmer and his choicest coadjutors, had worked in secret without commission long enough.

‡ The chronology is as follows. 1. Strype, in an important passage, says: “This third year, October 6, a commission was issued out to the same number of persons, authorising them to Reform the Canon Laws: that is to say, eight bishops, eight divines, eight civil lawyers, and eight common lawyers: whose names, as they occur in an original, are as follows:

BISHOPS.

Canterbury, London, Winchester, Ely, Exeter, Gloucester, Bath, Rochester.

DIVINES.

Mr. Taylor of Lincoln: Cox, Almoner: Parker of Cambridge: Latimer: Cook (Sir Ant.): Peter Martyr: Cheke: John a Lasco.

CIVILIANS.

Petre: Cecil: Sir T. Smith: Taylor of Hadley: Dr. May: Mr. Traheron: Dr. Lyell: Mr. Skinner.

LAWYERS.

Justice Hales: Justice Bromley: Gooderich: Gosnal: Stamford: Carel: Lucas: Brock, Recorder of London.

It was so ordered that this number should be divided into four distinct classes or companies, each to consist of two bishops, two divines, two

The celebrated treatise entitled *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* is the monument of their labours, and the only result of the promises made and repeated to the Church of England in half a dozen statutes in the course of the Reformation. The persistent misfortunes of the undertaking pursued it however to the end: and the

civilians, and two common lawyers. And to each company were assigned their set parts: which when one company had finished, it was transmitted to the other companies, to be by them all well considered and inspected." *Life of Cran.* bk. ii. ch. xxvi. Fox gives the same account, though without the names, in his Latin Preface to the *Reformat. Leg. Eccles.* (p. xxv, ed. Cardwell). The original of this is, no doubt, the Order in the Council Book of Oct. 6: which Mr. Pocock has printed in his *Burnet* (vol. iii. p. 362): "Letter to my Lord Chancellor to make out the King's letters of commission to the thirty-two persons hereunder written, authorising them to assemble together and resolve upon the reformation of the canon laws, as by the minutes of the said letter at better length appeareth." Then follow the names, as in Strype: and then the further order, "Eight of these to rough hew the canon law, the rest to conclude it afterwards." It is curious that the commission should have contained eight bishops, when the Act of Edward only speaks of the number of four. 2. Strype says that on the 22nd October a commission was issued to eight persons, (or one class,) out of the greater number: viz. Cranmer, Ridley, Cox, Martyr, Rowl. Taylor, Traheron, Lucas, Gosnold. And that, a month later, 11 Nov., this was superseded by a new commission to the same number, three of the persons being changed: so that it stood at last, Cranmer, Goodrich, Cox, Martyr, Taylor, May, Lucas, Gooderick (*Eccl. Mem.* iii. 530: *Life of Cran.*). See also Burnet, who reverses them: and Wilkins, or Cardwell's *Doc. Ann.*, where the latter commission is given. The original entry about this, also printed in Pocock's *Burnet* (ib.), is, "9 Nov. A letter to the Lord Chancellor to make out a new commission to these eight persons hereunder named, for the first drawing and ordering of the canon laws, for that some of those other, that were before appointed by the King's Majesty, are now by his Highness thought meet to be left out, and the commission made to these following." Then follows the latter set; Cranmer, Goodrich, &c. How then could the written commission of this working party (in Wilkins or Cardwell) have it that the larger number of thirty-two would be *thereafter* appointed, when it had been already appointed on October 6? For the King is made to say therein that this smaller commission was designed to prepare the way for the larger, whom "brevi assignare et deputare proponimus." The answer is that the commission of Oct. 6 was only for the fragment of the three years that was left: as when a further triennium was granted by Parliament, and it was in the beginning of next year, 1552, the thirty-two were renominated in another commission. See below.

reader might be spared the examination of a document which was prepared only to be neglected by the next Parliament of Edward, which then remained unpublished for twenty years, and saw the light only to be finally rejected by the legislature in the time of Elizabeth, if so remarkable a memorial of a frustrated design, of the better aspirations of an age that failed in much, and of the latent mind of the man, whom that age used the most for good and evil, could be passed over in silence. Nor will the time be lost, if in considering this futile yet perfect piece we are tempted into a wider survey of the ancient and curious systems of the canonists of the West, and of the primitive and mediæval laws of the Church of our own country.

The rules of the Christian society from the earliest times (to glance, then, over the general field before entering the English precinct) were begun to be collected and arranged in the East long before the Latin world possessed a collection: and the most ancient collections of the West exhibit the original influence of the East, containing translations of the canons of the earlier Greek councils, along with African canons and the letters of the primitive popes. It is in the most ancient Western collections that the Eastern sources are most conducive: in the subsequent compilations no more appeared therefrom beyond the original infusion.* Though not the

* The earliest known Western collection seems to be that which Quesnel published in 1675, in his edition of Leo the Great, under the unfortunate title of "*Codex Ecclesiæ Romanæ*." It was also published by the brothers Ballerini, in their *S. Leonis Magni Opera*, iii. 1. This was probably of Gaul of the end of the fifth century. There is another of perhaps equal antiquity, which was first published by Justeau in his *Biblioth. Jur. Can.* i. 275, *Par.* 1661: and again by the Ballerini in their *Leo*, iii. 473. This is known as the "*Prisca*." Another early collection was the "*Hispana*," which consists, like the rest, of two parts, conciliar and decretal.

In this part of my work I am indebted for several valuable suggestions to my friend the learned Dr. Hatch of Oxford.

earliest, the most celebrated and prevalent of the Western collections was the work of Dionysius Exiguus, a Roman abbot, who about the beginning of the sixth century published the Apostolical Constitutions and the canons of the Greek Councils in a Latin version: and who afterwards made a collection of the ordinances of the popes of the fourth and fifth centuries. These two books were soon combined together, and treated as one. In time following they were augmented by the decretal letters of several of the subsequent popes: of which additions the most important were made under Hadrian the First, by whom the whole was sent, in the latter part of the eighth century, to Charles the Great. The Dionysian collection became the foundation of the ecclesiastical legislation of Charles: and so, in reality, of the dominant canon law of the West. The sanction which it had from Rome, though informal, gave it celebrity over other collections; which, however, ceased not to be made.

In one of these collections, which was published in the ninth century by a French ecclesiastic, the laws of the Church were subjected to a curious and finally fatal process. The pontifical source of law, the rescripts of the popes, the letters of advice which they sent to bishops and other prelates consulting them, had long been more copious than the conciliar source, the canons and constitutions of councils and synods. But Isidorus Mercator, himself perhaps a fictitious name,* both poisoned the spring of simple antiquity and swelled the running stream of authority by his celebrated fabrication of the False Decretals. Into the body of perfectly genuine ancient matter he skilfully infiltrated a leaven of spurious additions, of which the design was to uplift

* This collection, though made in France, was based upon the Hispana. And the Hispana was attributed to the great bishop Isidore of Seville.

the power of the papal monarchy. It has been argued indeed that deliberate forgery cannot be charged against the author of the False Decretals: that he but supplied perished originals out of his own ingenuity, or put floating traditions into written form: and that, after all, the importance of his inventions has been exaggerated in controversy. But it is impossible to acquit him of design. His inventions are extremely skilful and apposite. They were received without suspicion. They fell in with the tendencies or the necessities of the times: and found their way into the great subsequent collections, which finally issued in the code of the Papacy.*

Collections still continued to be made in the following ages, down to the twelfth century: but now they

* Mr. Hunter, in his valuable article on Canon Law in the new *Encyclopædia Britannica*, takes the view that the design of forgery cannot be brought against Isidorus. Hinschius, in his *Decretales pseudo-Isidorienses*, Lips. 1863, gives notes in which the source of each interpolation is shown, and the uninterpolated letters and canons are printed in different type. The general tendency of the interpolations was to break down the power of the great metropolitan sees by taking appeals from them to the papal see. They thus protected the simple *Episcopi* from their immediate superiors, and consequently augmented the papacy. As to their being forged, they were none the less a forgery because they were very skilfully done. It is difficult to find any single composition which is wholly invention. In every false decretal, probably without exception, there is some sentence from a genuine writing. For example, the letter of Anicetus about archbishops (Hinschius, p. 120) begins with an extract from a genuine letter of Leo the Great. Then follows an extract from a Latin preface to the Nicene canons (found in Quesnell's Codex): then an extract from another letter of Leo: then perverted versions of Apostolic and Antiochene canons. Shortly afterwards comes a passage which cannot be traced to an earlier source, and which from its novelty as an ecclesiastical rule must be attributed to the false Isidore himself. The marginal analysis of this passage, which is given in some MSS., is "*De inflacione Metropolitanorum et fastu et de Episcopis qui lædantur a metropolitano.*" This is the gist of the letter; the genuine bits, into which it is thus inworked, merely serving as blinds. The same kind of thing, and the same statements, occur repeatedly in other letters: as, that a bishop could not be tried by a metropolitan without the presence of his comprovincial bishops: and that he had an appeal to the apostolic see.

were not merely chronological in arrangement, they began to follow the order of subjects and matter. Bishop Burchard of Worms led the way in this change, and was followed by Ivo, Bishop of Chartres, who moreover brought in much from the Civil Law, from the Pandects and the Code.* But their Collections were quickly superseded by the labours of Gratian, a Benedictine of Bologna, who thoroughly applied the new method; or, as is more usually said, arranged the laws of the Church in a system which was partly his own, partly imitated from the jurisprudence of the ancient Romans. Gratian aimed to impart to the ordinances of councils, prelates and pontiffs, which had been hitherto regarded as a branch of theology, the rank of a separate science. He treated of the sources of law, of causes, and of penance (which is the criminal branch in the Church), under divisions that recalled Justinian and Trebonian.† Henceforth the two faculties of Roman law, imperial and papal, flourished side by side in every university; and divided the study of the clericate of Europe. The Decretum of Gratian is a monument of industry: the system on which it is composed is ingenious, and not ill adapted for use in the courts: but in other respects it is less satisfactory; it has an air of unreality, and of separation from sources, which was not felt in the older chronological collections. An ordinance or a letter is not

* Burchardus, Wormaciensis Episcopus, non ordinem temporum et provinciarum, ut Isidorus, sed rerum et causarum sibi sequendum putavit. Isidem vestigiis institit non ita multo post Ivo, Carnotensis Episcopus, sed exorta interim Berengarii heresi, multa ad illum confutandum pertinentia addidit, et multa etiam præterea ex Pandectis et Codice. *Lancelot. Perusin. Pref. Corp. Jur. Canon.*

† The Decretum of Gratian is in three parts, of which the first, *De jure divinæ et humanæ constitutionis*, is divided into 101 *Distinctiones*, subdivided into *Capita*: the second consists of thirty-six *Causæ*, which are subdivided into *Questiones*, or cases arising. But *Causa xxxiii, Questio iii.* is called a *Tractatus de Penitentia*, and is divided into seven *Distinctiones*. The third part is *De Consecratione* in five *Distinctiones*.

given entire, but scattered in fragments up and down the book, according to the subjects on which it treats. However, it exhibits some balance still subsisting between the sources of law, between the fathers and councils on the one hand, and the pontiffs on the other: nor as yet had the letters of the latter altogether outweighed the ordinances and declarations of the former.

But in less than a hundred years several fresh codes or digests were formed, on Gratian's method, of materials drawn mainly from the papal registers. Five of these, of great importance, which have descended to us, have been published more than once under the name of *Compilations*. These all exhibit the same plan: each of them consists of five books, divided into titles, which are subdivided into chapters or canons. The titles are, so far as could be, the same in all: they contain the epistles of those popes who were in a manner the founders of the later canon law, as an engine of power. The first of them was composed by Bishop Bernard of Pavia; who perhaps invented the model that was followed by the rest, and in every future code.* But all were superseded when, in the year 1234, Gregory the Ninth commanded no other compilation to be used than that of his chaplain Raymond of Pennaforte, which then appeared. This work professed to contain the papal letters and cases from the time of Gratian, though

* Prof. Friedberg has recently edited these old codes under the title of "*Quinque Compilationes Antiquæ*," Lips. 1882. Bernard's work, the first of them, the *Compilatio Prima*, became the standing model of canonists. A verse of five words exhibited the contents of his five books, of all subsequent codes, and of ecclesiastical jurisdiction—

"Judex, judicium, clerus, connubia, crimen."

The tituli into which the libri of Bernard's *Compilatio* were divided, were reproduced in all his successors, with but few additions. They ran, *De Constitutionibus*, *De Rescriptis*, *De Consuetudine*, &c. &c. The reader will see presently the necessity of giving these particulars.

it omitted a considerable number of those that were in the other Compilations. The frank title which it bore exhibited the Apostolic see as the great source of ecclesiastical law: and the *Decretales Gregorianæ* were taken to be the authoritative successor of the *Decretum*. They were arranged, like the previous Compilations, in five books of titles subdivided in canons. The *Sext*, of the decretals of the subsequent popes, and mainly of Boniface the Eighth, followed in some eighty years: but it was not a mere supplement, but again a code in five books of titles and canons. The *Clementines*, and the *Extravagants*, whether of John the Twenty-second, or the later *Extravagantes Communes*, came next, carrying the whole down nearly to the end of the fifteenth century: and repeating the same arrangement of five books, of the same titles.* Under the diffusive designation of the *Decretals*, these several codes, from the Gregorian downwards, were generally held to have completed the second part of the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, of which the former, but less regarded part was Gratian's *Decretum*. Such was the curious and partly factitious system, which after penetrating the laws of the nations of Europe with more or less power and permanency, perished in part under the scrutiny of the Reformation.

The place occupied by our own country in these foreign digests of laws from Gratian downwards, that claimed to be universal, was not inconsiderable: and from them may be gathered some not uninteresting particulars concerning the English Church. In the *Decretum* of Gratian itself, the noble "book of answers" sent by the first great Gregory to the questions of Augustine the apostle of England is among the sources

* It may be remarked however that *John's Extravagants*, the pre-sumptuous code which stirred in England the wrath of the Singular Occam, were not sufficient to form more than a single book.

of law; and parts of it are given under various heads. The same is true of the commentaries and homilies of the Venerable Bede, and of the Penitentiale of the great Archbishop Theodore. As for the other digests, which came after Gratian, in which the papal epistles so greatly predominated, the question is not whether English doctors supplied to them materials, but whether the attention of the popes were greatly or constantly directed to the affairs of England. It may be answered that the five ancient Compilations, and also the large digests which under the name of Decretals formed (as we have seen) the second part of the whole Body of Canon Law, contain many cases from England, and many epistles of popes to English bishops and abbots, and deans and chapters: so many perhaps as to bear a fair proportion to other countries; far greater than is given to some, such as Ireland or Scotland. The *Compilatio Prima* contains altogether 912, the *Compilatio Secunda* consists of 320 capita, chapters, or canons: of which 190 in the one, in the other nearly forty are concerning England. Nearly all of them are the letters written by pope Alexander the Third, the pope who canonised Becket, the pontiff who most engaged himself with the affairs of English churches. By far the greater part were sent to bishops; to the bishops of Canterbury, York, London, Winchester, Hereford, Exeter, Norwich: several to one or other of the metropolitans and all his suffragans: one was addressed to all English prelates: another to all archbishops. It is surprising, perhaps, that very few, not a dozen, should have been addressed to heads of religious houses: and that of these only two or three should have been universal mandates, the others being to St. Albans, Fountains, St. Laurence, Grimsby, Canterbury, or the Dean and Chapter of London, and of Wells. The *Compilatio Tertia* consists entirely of the letters

of the great pope Innocent the Third, nearly five hundred in number, of which about forty are of English matters. The *Compilatio Quarta*, published in 1205, and the *Compilatio Quinta*, published and authorized twenty years later, contain respectively less and more than 200 chapters, of which there related to England no more than three in the one and six in the other.

Of all the chapters or canons of these more ancient codes, which formed a sum total of 2143 canons or chapters, the number of 372 were rejected by Raymond of Pennaforte, the composer of the Gregorian Decretals which superseded them.* Of these rejected canons sixteen were concerning England: and it may be regarded as significant of the growing claims of the Papacy that one of them had permitted the assent of the King of England to be asked in the election of a bishop to the place of a bishop deposed.† As to the Gregorian Decretals themselves, the accepted code, they form a large body of near eighteen hundred canons, mainly composed of papal letters, but with fragments of Scripture, of councils, of capitularies, of penitentials. Out of the whole about 230 are English: and these exhibit the same proportions that have been already observed: for more than half of them are letters of Alexander the Third; about thirty are of Innocent the Third; most of them were directed to bishops, especially to Canterbury, York, London, Winchester, Ely, Durham: several to one or other of the archbishops and his suffragans: not more than twenty of all to heads of religious houses.‡ As to the other papal codes, the

* See here the careful tables of Friedberg, the Editor of the *Quinque Compilationes*.

† A letter of Pope Lucius III. to the Dean and Chapter of Worcester advises that the royal assent be asked to an election to fill the place of a bishop deposed, “*si aliter fieri non possit.*”—*Compil. Prima*, I. iv. 5.

‡ The reader may like to know the kind of business that the popes

Sext, the Clementines, the Extravagants, which make up the second part of the Corpus, in them the style was more abstract and general, and the incidents of particular Churches can be traced but seldom.

But, whilst the part which England bore in that general system of Canon Law which at last became almost wholly Roman was such as has been indicated, the English Churches possessed and exercised from the beginning the free and independent right of making laws for themselves, and acquired from their own councils, their own synods, the ordinances of their own prelates, a body of ecclesiastical laws. These laws were no doubt in general agreement with the Canon Law: and at length the later of them were codified in close imitation of the Decretals. But both their existence and this codification gave proof of the independence of the realm; into which whatever was admitted from abroad, was admitted by reception. They existed outside of all the great collections and codes that have been reviewed: they were codified, although there was another Corpus.

were used to write about to England. Here are a few specimens from the *Gregorian Decretals*. To Canterbury, to confirm the sentence of the Bishop of Coventry about a prebend: and to summon a false-speaking clergyman to the pope's presence. (I. iii. 2.)—To York: that if in a rescript the pope has ordered an inquiry to be made into two cases alternately, it shall be sufficient if the one case be proved. (I. iii. 4.)—An affectionate letter to the Bishop of London, who wished to resign. (I. ix. 1.)—Alexander III. to Canterbury: that churches given to minors should be administered by clergymen, not laymen, till the minors came of age. (I. xiv. 2.)—The same to the same and his suffragans: that no one under fourteen years of age should have a church. (*Ib.* 3.)—The same to Winton: that perpetual vicars are not to be removed by rectors, nor robbed. (I. xx. 3.)—The same to the suffragans of Canterbury: that though their metropolitan cannot hear cases from them except on appeal by virtue of his metropolitcal right, yet by his legatine right, inherent in him, he can hear all cases, whether of appeal or of simple queremony. In short the letters range over all kinds of questions: and some of them were among the "notable" decisions of the Canon Law.

The old ecclesiastical laws of England may be, and have been, divided into two parts, the one previous, the other subsequent, to the codification of the Canon Law at the hands of Gratian and his fellows in the twelfth century.* The former part consists of ordinances made by English primates and bishops with their clergy, or enacted by the same personages in the national councils along with the kings and the temporalty, and enrolled without distinction among the other laws. In whatever manner they were made, whether in clerical synods or national councils, whether they bear the name of prelates or of kings, they have the same character. They are unmistakably national. They are just and reasonable in themselves or allowing for the times. They bear the mark of unanimity among the parties concerned. The Church implicitly maintains her freedom: the temporal powers implicitly suppose the inherent right of the Church to legislate for her own governance; and order the administration of the laws of the Church along with the administration of the secular laws. In that period the freedom of the Church in the nation was complete: or rather the identity of the Church with the nation.

These old laws, when they were not of native growth, came from the common fountains; from the Scriptures, the "holy fathers," the primitive Councils: with some reference, though scanty, to the letters or rescripts of the Roman pontiffs. There were also among them some constitutions or ordinances that were specially made in Rome itself about England; and a few constitutions made in England by Roman legates *a latere*. There is also extant among them, under the name of Excerptions,†

* Johnson, the translator of the English Canons, makes this division, but sets the point of time later.

† The Excerptiones that bear the name of Archbishop Egbert of York, of the eighth century. They were probably, in part at least, of later date.

a collection, which might be compared with the collections of the West, and perhaps referred to their class. It is partly drawn from some of them, since it quotes Eastern and African canons that they contain, and Roman, Gallican, Spanish, and Irish canons.

The second part or period may perhaps be considered to have begun with the reign of Henry the Second, and to have ended under Henry the Eighth: to have extended from Becket to Warham, and from the Constitutions of Clarendon to the Submission of the Clergy. Ecclesiastical law became in Europe, as it has been seen, a distinct science in this period. In England, within the same period, the separation of courts, begun for convenience at the Conquest, brought about in an important respect a similarity to the continent: and thenceforth the courts Christian, the courts of the bishops, were administered side by side with the secular courts, to the great saving, in those cruel days, of the lives and limbs of the subjects. It has been easy in modern times to represent the co-existence of two separate legal systems as a mere anomaly: to paint the immunities, which the spiritual courts secured to all who could avail themselves of them, as invidious privileges. But the ordinances and constitutions made by the spirituality in this later period still retained their former character of common sense, and were for the right ordering of the Church. If they were burdensome at all, it was more on the clergy than on the laity. The writs of prohibition, occasionally issued by the King's courts to the clerical courts, were a sufficient precaution against anything that might be undertaken against the secular laws.* It is true that there was a standing

* "The ecclesiastical legislation was watched very jealously by the Crown, and by those who administered the secular justice. It was part of the policy of the Conqueror that no general council of the bishops

contest between justices and ordinaries as to the limits of benefit of clergy. But no question of national moment was involved in deciding whether a clerical felon should be hanged by a judge or perpetually imprisoned by a bishop: whether a clerical bigamist had forfeited his benefit, and were to be tried in a temporal rather than a spiritual court. The papal decrees, it is true, were alleged in this period more frequently than before: canons were often made in accordance not only with "the holy fathers," but also with "the Roman pontiffs." But there was no new principle in this: it was but making reference to the latest authority. Nor was there anything dangerously or arrogantly contrary to the statutes of the realm in the long series of the canons and constitutions that were promulgated by the English primates, or even by the few Roman legates *a latere* of this period: by the proud Otto, the downright Boniface, the severe Peckham, or the resolute Arundel. But if any prelate went beyond his line, or ordered anything inexpedient, his ordinances were neglected in practice, and omitted from the codes that were made in this period by English canonists: * and in some not unimportant matters the secular laws were confirmed by ecclesiastical canons.† So long indeed as the Roman

should enact or forbid anything but what was agreeable to his own will, or had been first ordained by him. In the time of Henry I. the King's assent to certain statutes made in councils of the clergy is distinctly expressed. . . . But from this time onwards the method of restraint was confined to the issue of warnings and prohibitions addressed to the archbishops, and to rare occasions on which the Primate was obliged to recall an Act once passed. In all the numerous recorded instances in which the Crown interfered with the exercise of Church legislation, the royal power seems to have acted only in restraint of acts relating to temporal matters, and such as in actual exercise could be treated by way of prohibition."—Report of Eccles. Courts Commission, 1881, p. xviii.

* As when Lyndwood omits the more audacious constitutions of Archbishop Boniface. See Johnson's *Canons*, ii. 195-7.

† See, *e.g.* the English law about intestates confirmed by Ottobon's Constitutions. Johnson, ii. 237

jurisdiction was admitted in England, the Canon Law, the ever augmented codes of the pontiffs, were a source of law. But it did not by virtue of itself bind an English court. Particular provisions might be binding on a spiritual court: but if they were, it was so far as they had been expressly recognised by English councils or provincial constitutions: so far as they were evidence of Church usage, and were not contrary to statute law, they were received by civil courts also.* In this period the codification of the later English ecclesiastical laws was begun, about a century after the time of Gratian.

John of Acton, or Athon, a canon of Lincoln, who flourished about 1290, edited the constitutions of the two Roman legates, Otto and Ottobon, who appeared in England in the same age. He illustrated them with a most elaborate gloss or commentary, of which the great design was to show by parallels that they were in agreement with the Canon Law. He furnished them with summaries after the manner of the Canon Law: he divided them into titles, and took his titles from the Compilations or the Decretals, when he could. His work he designated by the recognised name of a Compilation.† William Lyndwood, official Principal of Canterbury, afterwards Bishop of St. Davids, fifty years later than Athon, in the reign of Henry the Sixth, pro-

* "The Canon law of Rome, though always regarded as of great authority in England, was not held to be binding on the courts."—Eccles. Commission Report, p. xviii.

† "Ego Johannes de Athon, canonicus Lincolniensis, inter utriusque Juris Doctores vix dignus occupare membranas, patriali tamen propagatione et Regionis origine stimulatus, attendens neminem nasci sibi soli, in seculorum diebus novissimis ex denario diurno missus in Dei vineam ut laborem, cui forte Dominus revelavit quæ provectionibus occultavit, ipsam vineam ab Egypto transferens, id est, Compilationem Constitutionum istarum illuminans ab angustia tenebrosa, vel saltem, in securi et ascia præcisus vepribus, et labruscis eam purgans et decorticans, *i.e.* legibus et rationibus hujus Compilationis, varios errores et spinosos, et opiniones obscuras resecans et declarans, majorum meorum evolam sententias." Prologus.

duced his celebrated work the *Provinciale*, in which were codified the constitutions of fourteen of the archbishops of Canterbury, from Langton to Chicheley. This great canonist followed closely the model of the *Compilations* and *Decretals*, accepting the arrangement in five books, and the titles invented by the foreign jurists: although the Cantuarian ordinances, so brief and scanty were they, lent themselves but indifferently to fill the prescribed divisions, and a title is at times represented by a sentence or two laboriously culled from the constitutions of an archbishop or two. One of the titles they altogether refused to occupy: and the statutes of archbishops determined nothing concerning the authority of the rescripts of popes.* The commentary with which Lyndwood enriched his text was a mine of learning: his book was received in York as well as Canterbury: and remained the standard code of England. But it may be remarked that all the laws and regulations of the earlier period of English antiquity were omitted in the process of codification.

Such was the state of Ecclesiastical law in England when the Reformation came on, and Cranmer began his canonical studies. It may be somewhat curious that, as the Roman Canon Law had no proper vigour in the kingdom, the loyal archbishop should have turned thereto for examples when, in the time of Henry the Eighth, he made his manuscript collections of things contrariant to the order of the realm. The only point that he proved was that the Canon Law asserted an authority that was no longer admitted: not that in any particular it was contrariant.† If Cranmer had turned to the

* There is no title *De Rescriptis* in Lyndwood.

† Cranmer's "Collection of Tenets from the Canon Law," was first printed by Burnet. *Coll.* iii. 27. The Parker editors give it with the references to the *Corpus*. *Rem.* p. 7 and 68. On the subject of his manuscript collections in general, which were very large, see *Jenkyus*,

constitutions of his own predecessors, to Athon and Lyndwood, instead of the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, and compared these with the earlier English ordinances: and if he had regarded the liberty of the subject as tenderly as he regarded the royal prerogative, he might have found, in the later mediæval period, the traces of foreign influence. The system of *ipso facto*, major, or general excommunications, interdicts, and suspensions, by which whole classes of offenders, lay and clerical, might find themselves under the severest censures of the Church without warning or fore-knowledge, had at least a terrible appearance. This system, which was developed only in the height of the papal domination, was checked, but not repressed by the constitutions of English primates. In previous times the censures of the Church had been pronounced only according to explicit regulations upon individual offenders.*

The monument of Cranmer, the last work of any English canonist that took form from the foregoing labours of jurists, and the treatise that still invites the reader, is the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*. It is not unworthy of study, though it is a palace that has never been inhabited, or a figure that has never breathed. The ill-fated code exists in a beautiful manuscript, which is thought to have been made by a clerk for the use of Archbishop Cranmer and his fellow-labourers, and contains notes and suggestions said to be in the hands of the Primate and of Peter Martyr. It also exhibits the corrections of Walter Haddon, the civilian and scholar of Cambridge, who, together with Cheke, is believed to have been employed to give to so great a performance the elegance of which it may not altogether

iv. 147. The adventures which befell them after his death are related in Nicholl's *Narratives of the Ref.* 221.

* Johnson, ii. 88 : Lyndwood, Lib. V. Tit. 17. It reflowered in 1604.

unduly boast. But this original is imperfect, lacking several parts which are found in the printed edition: and the loss of a second manuscript may be lamented, the source of all that is not contained in the other, which disappeared about the time when the treatise first issued from the press in the days of Elizabeth under the auspices of Fox.*

In structure the *Reformatio Legum* renewed the model of the *Compilationes*, of the *Decretals*, of the *Provinciale*: for it was divided into titles; and it repeated the titles of the earlier works, when it could. Fifty of these divisions contain the determinations of the authors on the various subjects of ecclesiastical cognisance.† But in the order or sequence of the

* Cardwell, in the preface to his own edition, says that Fox the Martyrologist, who first edited the *Reformatio* in 1571, may have borrowed the second MS. from Archbishop Parker, and have lost it. Fox certainly collated it with the extant MS. which is known as Cranmer's. Cardwell is probably right in questioning Strype's opinion that in editing it Fox was *employed* by Parker. As to the extant MS., Cardwell thinks that it was a fair copy, made by a clerk, of the writings or "book" compiled by the former commissioners under Henry the Eighth: and now further improved by the present commissioners. (As to that "book" see Burnet *Coll.* to Edw. VI., Bk. I. No. 61: and cf. Vol. II. 339 *huj. op.*) It may be so: but yet Fox in his Preface speaks of the labours of the former commissioners as distinct from these, and unlike them. His words are extremely important, as showing that commissioners were really appointed under Henry, a most obscure point: and perhaps that their work was remaining in his own day. He says that now, under Edward, "datum id negotii est viris, si non iisdem, quibus superius, at pari tamen numero, nec impari excellentia præditis, triginti videlicet duobus, quod idem ab Henrico prius octavo instituebatur." (p. xxv.) And again, "Laudandum profecto Regis (Henrici) propositum: nec illandandi fortasse eorum conatus, qui leges tum illas, licet his longe dissimiles, conscripserant." (p. xxiv.) The last words may however possibly refer to the old pre-reformation laws of the English Church.

† Many of our writers say that there are fifty-one titles. But the short compendium at the end "*De Regulis Juris*" is scarcely a title. There is indeed such a title at the end of the Gregorian *Decretals*: but at the end of the text it seems extra-titular. These *Regule* of Cranmer's came mostly from the Canon Law, as is shown by the marginal references both in the MS. and the printed edition. The Manuscript contains, it

titles, in the subjects treated, the reader may remark the changes of the ages: and the actual contents were drawn neither from the Canon Law nor from the English antiquity, though certainly the Scriptures and the primitive Councils were not neglected. The contents of the code came from the agitated formularies of the sixteenth century, or from the minds of Cranmer himself and of those that wrought with him. They speak of an age of strife: they bear the traces of a revolution. How much there is in this work about heresy, blasphemy, abuses, and crimes: * how much about doctrine: how

may be remarked, only forty-eight titles, not altogether following one another in the order of the printed book.

* It is now time to exhibit the structural similarity between the old *Compilationes*, the *Decretals*, the *Provinciale*, and the *Reformatio*. The *Gregorian Decretals*, from the second part of the *Corpus*, may be taken to represent the two former, most of the titles which that code contains being found in them.

<i>Greg. Decr.</i>	<i>Provinciale.</i>	<i>Reformatio.</i>
De Summa Trinitate et Fide Catholica (I.)	De Summa Trinitate et Fide Catholica (Lib. I.)	De Summa Trinitate et Fide Catholica
De Constitutionibus	De Constitutionibus	De Heresibus
De Rescriptis	De Consuetudine	De Judiciis contra Hereses
De Consuetudine	De Temporibus ordinandorum	De Blasphemiis
De Postulatione Prelatorum	De Scrutinio in Ordine faciendo	De Sacramentis
De Electione	De Sacra unctione	De Idolatria
De Translatione Episc.	De Sacramentis iterand.	De Concionatoribus
De Autoritate Pallii	De Filiis Presbyteror.	De Matrimonio
De Renuntiatione	De Clericis Peregrinis	De Gradib. in Matrim. prohibitis
De Supplenda Negligent. Prelator.	De Offic. Archidiaconi	De Adulter. et Divort.
De Temporib. Ordinand.	De Offic. Archipresb.	De Admittend. ad Benef.
De Scrutinio in Ordine faciendo	De Offic. Vicarii	De Renuntiatione
De Ordinat. Episcopi qui resignavit	De Offic. Judicis Ordinarii	De Permutatione Benefic.
De Ætate Præficiendor.	De Majoritat. et Obedientia	De Purgatione
De Sacra unctione	De Treuga et Pace	De Dilapidationibus
De Sacramentis iterand.	De Transactionibus	De Alienatione
De Filiis Presbyteror.	De Postulando	De Benefic. sine Alienat. conferendis
De Servis non ordinand.	De Procuratoribus	De Divinis Officiis
De Obligatis non ordinand.	De Judiciis (Lib. II.)	De Eccles. et Ministris
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much about legal processes : nothing about monks and nuns, but a great deal about preachers. How filled it is

<i>Greg. Decr.</i>	<i>Provinciale.</i>	<i>Reformatio.</i>
De Corpore Vitiatis ordinandis	De Foro Competenti	De Ecclesiis, Guardianis
De Digamis non ordinand.	De Feriis	De Academiis
De Clericis Peregrinis	De Sequestratione	De Decimis
De Offic. Archidiacon.	De Presumptionibus	De Visitationibus
De Offic. Archipresbyteri.	De Jurejurando	De Testamentis
De Offic. Primicerii	De Appellationibus	De Poenis Ecclesiasticis.
De Offic. Sacerdotum	De Vita Clericorum. (Lib. III.)	De Suspensione
De Offic. Custodis	De Cohabitatione Clericorum.	De Sequestratione
De Offic. Vicarii	De Clericis conjugatis.	De Deprivatione
De Offic. Judicis delegati	De non-residentibus	De Excommunicatione
De Offic. Legati	De Prebendis et Dignitatibus.	De Judiciis
De Offic. Jud. Ordinarii	De Institutionibus	De Criminibus
De Offic. Judicis	De Concessione Prebende.	De Judiciis
De Majoritate et Obedientia	De Reb. Eccles. non alienandis	De Jurisdictione
De Treuga et Pace	De locato et conducto	De Litis Contestatione
De Pactis	De Pignoribus	De Juramentis
De Transactionibus	De Donationibus	De Juramento Calumniæ
De Postulando	De Peculio Clericorum.	De Probationibus
De Procuratoribus	De Testamentis	De Possessione
De Syndico	De Sepulturis	De Fide
De vi metue factis	De Parochiis	De Crimine Falsi.
De Restitutione	De Decimis	De Testibus
De Alienatione	De Regularibus	De Consuetudine
De Arbitris	De Voto	De Prescriptionibus
De Judiciis (Lib. II.)	De Statu Regularium	De Percussione clericorum.
De Foro Competenti	De religiosis Domibus	De Presumptionibus
De Libelli Oblatione	De Jure Patronatus	De Diffamationibus
De Mutuis Petitionibus.	De Procurationibus	De Dilationibus
De Litis Contestatione	De Celebratis. Missarum	De Exceptionibus
De eadem	De Baptismo	De Sententia
De Juramento Calumniæ	De Custodia Eucharistiæ Christi et Olei sancti	De Appellationibus
De Dilationibus	De Reliquiis et Venerat. Sanctorum.	De Regulis Juris
De Feriis	De Eccles. ædificandis	
De Ordine Cognitionum	De Immunitate Ecclesiæ	
De plus-Petitionibus	De Secularibus negotiis	
De Possessione	De Sponsalibus (Lib. IV.)	
De Restitutione	De Desponsione Impuber.	
De Dolo et Contumacia	De clandestina Despons.	
De Possessione	De Accusationibus, Inquisitionibus, et Denuntiationibus (Lib. V.)	
De lite pendente	De Simonia	
De Sequestratione	Ne Prælati vices suas concedant	
De Confessis	De Magistris	
De Probationibus	De Hæreticis	
De Testibus	De Apostatis	

with definitions, as if things were vanishing away, and needed to be arrested and fixed for ever!

The *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* is put into the mouth of the King, as Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England. The King has not uttered five sentences before he threatens the goods and lives of his subjects who may meditate or do aught against the

<i>Greg. Decr.</i>	<i>Provinciale.</i>	<i>Reformatio.</i>
De Testibus cogendis	De iis qui filios occiderunt	
De Fide Instrumentor.	De Homicidiis	
De Presumptionibus	De Furtis	
De Jurejurando	De clerico Venatore	
De Exceptionibus	De eo qui furtive Ordines recipit	
De Prescriptionibus	De Excessibus Prælator.	
De Sententia	De Privilegiis	
De Appellationibus	De Purgatione Canonica	
De Clericis Peregrinantib.	De Pœnis	
De Confirmatione	De Pœnitentiis	
De Vita Clericor. (Lib. III.)	De Excommunicatione	
De Cohabitatione Clericor.	De Verbor. significatione	
De Clericis conjugatis (3)		
De non Residentibus (4)		
De Prebendis et Dignitatib. (5)		
De cleric. ægrotante (6)		
De Institutionibus (7), De Concessione Prebendæ (8), De Beneficiis sine diminutione conferend. (12), De Reb. Eccles. non alienandis (13), De Locato et Conducto (18), De Pignoribus (21), De Donationibus (24), De Peculio clericor. (25), De Testamentis (26), De Sepulturis (27), De Parochiis (29), De Decimis (30), De Regularibus (31), De Voto (34), De Statu Regularium (35), De Religiosis Domibus, De Jura Patronatus (38), De Procurationibus (39), De Consecratione (40), De Celebratione Missar. (41), De Baptismo (42), De Custodia Eucharistiæ, Chrismatis et alior. (44), De Relequiis et Venerat. (45), De Ecclesiis ædificand. (48), De Immunitate Ecclesiar. (49), Ne clerici vel Monaci secularia negot. suscipiant (50), De Sponsalibus (Lib. IV. 1), De Desponsatione impuber. (2), De Clandestina Desponsatione (3), De Consanguinitate et Affinitate (14), De Divortiiis (19), De Accusationibus, Inquisitionibus et Denuntiationibus (V. 1), De Simonia (3), Ne Prælati vices suas concedant (4), De Magistris (5), De Hereticis (7), De Apostatis (9), De iis qui filios occiderunt (10), De Homicidio (12), De Furtis (18), De Crimine Falsi (20), De Clerico Venatore (24), De eo qui furtive Ordinem suscepit (30), De Excessibus Prelator. (31), De Privilegiis (33), De Purgatione Canonica (34), De Pœnis (37), De Pœnitentiis (38), De Excommunicatione (39), De Verbor. significatione (40), De Regulis Juris (41).		

I have omitted the non-corresponding titles of the last books of the Gregorians for the sake of brevity.

Christian religion. It is incumbent on him therefore to declare what the Christian religion may be: and, like the Decretals, like the Provinciale, the work begins with a confession of faith. But those former codes embraced the Catholic Faith in the doctrine of the Trinity and the Sacraments: this contained the doctrine of the Trinity and an enumeration of the canonical books of Scripture as its first title. The terms in which it lays forth the former carry the mind back not to the majestic expressions of Innocent the Third, nor to the praiseworthy exposition of Archbishop Peckham, but to the days of Henry the Eighth, to the Augsburg Confession, or rather to those drafts of Articles that were made when the German orators visited England for the sake of a religious concord in the days of Henry. To that vain attempt it is that this new summary recurs, rather than to the last reactive formulary of Henry, the Necessary Doctrine and Erudition of a Christian Man, although the latter was at this time acknowledged by the realm.* In the interval how great a space in doctrine had been traversed by the Primate of all England! The Sacra-

* See Vol. II. p. 5 and note *huj. op.* It may be well to exhibit the correspondence between the Augsburg Confession and the draft Articles of 1538 on the one hand, and the *Reformatio* on the other. *Ref.* Tit. i. cap. 2. *De Natura Dei et Beata Trinitate quid sit credendum* (containing the words *unum esse vivum et verum Deum, æternum et incorporeum, impassibilem immensæ potentie sapientie et bonitatis, creatorem et conservatorem omnium rerum tum visibilium tum invisibilium*, which are in the present Articles): agreeing in substance with the draft Article I. (in Cranmer's *Rem.* p. 473), and with Art. I. of Augsburg—cap. 3. *De Christo et mysteriis nostræ redemptionis*: answering to nothing in the Draft: but nearly identical with Art. III. of Augsburg (but with some considered alterations: *e.g.* “*sese offerens hostiam*” for “*ut esset hostia*”: but the Augsburg reading was restored in the present third Art. of England, which corresponds to this)—cap. 4. *De Duabus Christi Naturis post resurrectionem*: answering somewhat to Art. III. of Augsburg and III. of Draft (but with differences significantly marking the intervening course of controversy: *e.g.* *Ita sedet ad dexteram Patris ut non ubique sit*).

ment seemed to receive but an humble treatment now. A titular division unknown in former codes, on Heresies, not on Heretics, followed the declaration of the Faith, and showed the nicety of Uniformity: where, amid the long array of false opinions, the notion of bare signs was denied certainly, but Transubstantiation was repudiated with expressions, which seemed beneath the solemnity of the subject and the dignity of the work.* In the subsequent title which was devoted to the Sacraments themselves, Cranmer showed that he knew very well the point at which the head of the march of innovation had arrived, when he allowed a reference, in the very definition of the Eucharist, to the posture of sitting at the table of the Lord.†

Purgation, the curious process by which from of old the ecclesiastical judicature had contrived, or had been permitted, to moderate the horrible rigours of the temporal courts, was retained, but with limitation. In the old times a man, whether lay or cleric, might purge himself of a crime, or charge laid against him, by his own oath and the oaths of others of equal station, who might be willing to become his compurgators. The process was manifestly liable to gross abuse: and the modern lawyers have expended eloquence in depicting

* The space traversed by Cranmer between the Draft Articles of 1538 and the *Reformatio Legum* may be judged. In the former he said, "De Eucharistia constanter credimus et docemus quod in Sacramento Corporis et Sanguinis Domini vere, substantialiter, et realiter adsunt Corpus et Sanguis Christi sub speciebus panis et vini, et quod sub iisdem speciebus vere et realiter exhibentur et distribuuntur illis qui Sacramentum accipiunt, sive bonis sive malis." In the latter he says, "In luto herent qui panis et vini substantiam in Eucharistia ponunt, sed vi consecrationis per ministrum appositæ Corpus et Sanguinem Christi verum et naturalem adjungi putant, et Eum symbolorum naturis permisceri, et subter eas subjici, usque adeo ut sive pii sive impii, qui ad Domini mensam se admovent, verum et naturale Corpus Christi et expressum ejus Sanguinem, una cum pane et vino sumant." Tit. ii. c. 19.

† "Eucharistia sacramentum est, in quo cibum ex pane sumunt, et potum ex vino, qui convivæ sedent in sacra Domini mensa." Tit. v. c. 4 (p. 31, Cardwell).

the awful scenes of perjury and subornation of perjury, which must have been witnessed at the mock trials in which the findings of the temporal courts were quashed, and the ordinary, the jury, the prisoner, the witnesses or compurgators all concurred in contracting the same guilt. But many a neck and many a back was saved by it: all free men could avail themselves of it: and the courts of the Church, like the churches themselves, were needful places of sanctuary in troublous ages. It was now for Cranmer to wax eloquent in refusing purgation in cases where convictions had been obtained in temporal courts. "It seems a great indignity," he caused the Supreme Head to declare, "for ecclesiastical persons, when they are condemned by our civil laws on a capital charge, to go to the ecclesiastical forum to be purged: it looks as if our authority were thereby rescinded. We are over all ranks and conditions in our kingdom: we govern all; how then are our judgments rescinded by ecclesiastics? The less is nulled by the greater: and our judgments cannot be invalidated by the ecclesiastical courts unless our authority be understood to be subordinate to ecclesiastical judges." * The incongruity was one of Cranmer's constitutional fictions, for what the prince allowed was not against his own authority: and the thing itself had necessity, or it would not have lasted, to speak only of England, from the days of King Wihtred.

After all the fierce outcries of the Reformation against ecclesiastical courts and judges, it appeared not to be in design to diminish the ecclesiastical cognisance, not even when to do it lay in the power of such a servant of the laity as the Primate. Ecclesiastical cognisance remained of the same width as in the ancient canons: witchcraft, matrimony, divorce, testaments, perjury: matters that might concern any person: not less

* p. 74, Cardwell's edition.

than presentation, deprivation, or any other matter that could concern the ministers of the Church alone. Nay, by the new crime of idolatry, that is, the worship of images, which was elaborately specified, the ecclesiastical forum was perhaps enlarged. The definitions of crimes, of matters, of processes, were elaborate and exact: they are indeed an admirable feature of the work. Judgments, or judicial processes, whether secular or ecclesiastical, were divided into ordinary and extraordinary, all flowing from the King, who was, for Cranmer repeated his favourite simile, the spring, the source, the head of jurisdiction.* Ordinary judgments were those in which all things were observed that were necessary for the lawful investigation of causes: extraordinary were distributed into several well-known kinds; and nearly all ecclesiastical causes, whether beneficiary, matrimonial, testamentary, or what, were said to be extraordinary. As to heresy, the processes that might be used received a particular treatment and were elaborately described: but however they might be applied, whether singly, successively, or mixed together, the final issue of the crime was as dangerous as ever it had been.† The

* “Rex tam in archiepiscopos, episcopos, clericos, et alios ministros, quam in laicos infra sua regna et dominia plenissimam jurisdictionem, tam civilem quam ecclesiasticam, habet et exercere potest, cum omnis jurisdictio et ecclesiastica et secularis ab eo tanquam ex uno et eodem fonte derivatur.” p. 200.

† To be a little more explicit about judicial processes. Extraordinary processes (nearly all ecclesiastical processes were such) were divided into summary, *de plano* et *sine strepitu*, and *sine forma et figura iudicii*. In the first of these, it may perhaps be remarked, would have been included the terrible process of attainder of treason; for summary judgments allowed of testimony brought against the absent. Of judgments *de plano*, the second sort, the recent case of Gardiner was, by the description, an example: for the libel of the action, and appellations containing nothing prejudicial had been admitted (p. 189, Cardwell). Informal judgment, which was the third, contained whatever belonged to a process naturally, as citation, prosecution, and defence: but was without the forms of positive law, such as indictment, adjournments, pleas in law, and the

heretic was to be conducted by the degrees of his obstinacy from penalty to penalty, from the censures and punishments of the Church to the final and fatal consequences of his delivery to the civil magistrate and the secular arm.* Throughout the whole of this code, in all cases, the censures of the Church, excommunication

like (p. 190). The distinction of notorious or not, again, divided all causes into two : and in causes that were not notorious the prescribed order was to be observed, unless it were by mutual consent or royal commission (p. 191) : and it was not for the judge to determine how he would proceed, whether extraordinarily or not ; but only as it was ordered expressly by the laws of the realm. As to heresy, the processes that might be used were particularly described, and were four in number : inquest, accusation, evangelical denunciation, and exception. “*Judicium de heresibus informatur quatuor rationibus, inquisitione, vel accusatione, vel evangelica denunciatione, vel exceptione*” (p. 23). Of these the first and third were summary : and of evangelical denunciation we have seen lately the case of Bonner. Accusation was a process in which the accuser bound himself to submit to the punishment that would have been inflicted on the accused upon conviction (p. 192). Exception was a plea put in by the accused. Of this we have an instance when Bonner put in a written objection against his denouncers Hooper and W. Latimer, that they were “notorious criminous persons and manifest heretics.” If this exception had been taken, the proceedings would have been diverted to going into it : but it was quashed, curiously enough, by Cranmer, who said that “if there were any such law, he thought it not a good or godly law, but a law of the Bishop of Rome.” To which Bonner answered with truth that it was the King’s law, “used in the realm.” Above, p. 135. Cranmer, in the *Reformatio*, devotes a whole title to the various kinds of exceptions.

* “*Consumptis omnibus aliis remediis, ad extremum ad civiles magistratus ablegetur puniendus.*” p. 25. Considerable question has arisen whether this mean that the obstinate heretic was to be burned alive. Burnet says no : that “all capital proceedings against heretics were laid down.” Collier and Lingard attach the contrary meaning to the words. Hallam hesitates : and points out that there were so many heresies defined as to give a first-rate chance of burning, if burning were meant, to a great number of persons. *Const. Hist.* i. 101. I think, however, that the careful enumeration of heresies was meant to lessen the danger. In the manuscript of the book there is a gloss after *puniendus* thus : “*vel ut in perpetuum pellatur exilium, vel ad aternas carceris deprimitur tenebras, aut alioqui pro magistratus prudenti consideratione plectendus, ut maxime illius conversioni expedire videbitur.*” This is cited by Hallam in favour of the milder meaning : but the gloss is believed to be in the handwriting of Fox. Cardwell, p. 330.

and the rest, were designed to have played as important a part as ever before.

Edification occupied a large share of this ideal system: and while some of the regulations proposed reflected only the day of necessity, others deserve the credit of a lasting design: and certainly, if all had been carried out, the internal economy, the activity and vigour of the Church of England would have been raised to a height which it has never reached. The theory of Uniformity is to be seen there in perfection, at the very moment when the actual pressure of it was beginning to break the unity of the Church: nor is it without pity to compare the imaginations of Cranmer, his careful plans and measurements, with the ruins which were dropping daily round his head. The licensed preachers were to be inspected annually at the least by the bishop of the diocese, to whom they were to exhibit their sermons. The chief religious duty of the Sabbath day was declared, with some novelty, to be getting knowledge of the Scriptures: and therefore those who were reluctant to hear sermons were to be smitten with ecclesiastical penalties.* The bishops and dignitaries were not to be remiss in preaching: nor was the pulpit to be denied to parish priests being fit. Archdeacons were to be diligent in examining the learning and conversation of those who were to be called to any holy office: and were to have certain triers or examiners, to be nominated by the bishop, associated with them. Indeed the bishop himself was to be the chief trier, if it could be so. The candidate was to be put upon his oath, and was to be examined on the Faith, the Rule of Faith, and the controversies of the time. He was to repudiate the various

* "Quoniam præcipuus Sabbatorum cultus in percipienda sacrarum Scripturarum scientia consistit." p. 38. The old conception of religion was worship, not knowledge.

heresies which Cranmer had enumerated in the work itself: and, as a summary of religion, the Catechism of the Prayer Book was the text book appointed for his examination. If he were admitted, he was to swear to maintain the received faith and discipline, to renounce the Pope, and to acknowledge the King to be, next to Christ, Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England. To his bishop he was to take an oath of reverence, fidelity, and obedience in all honest and godly commands. Canons and prebendaries, who explained that they had no cure of souls, were ordered nevertheless to preach and visit the sick and poor under the direction of the bishop and the dean.* If any of them would, they might have an indulgence of five years to study at the University on condition of writing an annual letter to the bishop and the chapter, to give account of their mode of life and progress in learning. The reason of this curious stipulation was the tender age of canons, who might be allowed to begin to be canons at twenty-one years: the more responsible and less lucrative office of parish priest, on the other hand, being fixed at twenty-five. Patrons were requested not to be so impudent as to put their bastards into livings, a mode of providing for them which was as common as it was indecent. There were many other regulations for the clergy.

The synodical action of the Church had been growing weaker in the course of the Reformation: but the chief

* "*Immunitatem quandam omnium munerum habere solebant qui beneficiis prius ecclesiasticis fruebantur, curarum (ut ipsi interpretati et etiam locuti sunt) expertibus. Nos autem perdidicimus ecclesiarum utilitatibus omnes inservire debere, quicumque vivunt Ecclesiæ proventibus. Igitur tum canonicis tum præbendariis, qui certa sibi non habent in ecclesiis dispartita munera, negotium hoc damus, ut ecclesias docendo, concionando, morbis vel rebus adversis depressos solando, reliquaque pietatis officia communicando sublevent, vel aliis quibuscunque viis legitimis et rectis quas episcopus et decanus Ecclesiæ præscripserint.*"

clerical author of the Reformation designed to restore it to unexampled vigour. The two principal kinds of synods or ecclesiastical assemblies that had been in England from of old were touched by Cranmer in his new ordinances: both the provincial synods, and those still more ancient senates in which the bishop and the presbyters of every diocese met in consultation. But the Archbishop's proposals here were very startling. He seemed to make the first last, and the last first. At least he would have altered the provincial synods or convocations in an incalculable manner; and the diocesan synods, which had long been extinct, he would have recalled from the grave of desuetude, and established, in the name of Uniformity, throughout the land. The former, the provincial synods, the convocations of the prelates and clergy, which had played so great a part in English history, he treated but curtly in a single chapter: a sweep of his pen destroyed their constitution, when he ordered them to consist of bishops alone, and to be summoned only when it might seem good to the metropolitan. "If any grave cause arise," said Cranmer, "which may not be decided without the consultation of many bishops, let the Archbishop call together his bishops to a provincial council." * But the clergy, whose

* p. 109. It may be argued however that the occasional convocations which Cranmer indicated, were not meant to take the place of the existing convocations which now by custom met only along with Parliament. If however Cranmer meant to return to the real tradition of convocations (by which they might be summoned at will by the Archbishop of the province), he nulled his intent by adding that they were never to be held without the royal assent. "Verum concilia hæc provincialia sine nostra voluntate ac jussu nunquam convocentur." That it really was Cranmer's design to have had prelatie convocations only, has not escaped the keen eye of Burnet, who says, "As far as can be judged from Cranmer's proceedings, he intended to put the government of the Church in another method, different from the common way by convocation: and to set up provincial synods of bishops, to be called as the Archbishop saw cause, he having first obtained the King's license for it. This appears

representatives were thus banished from these prelate conventions, were to be compensated by the diocesan synods, called also the episcopal synods, which he commanded to meet without fail yearly everywhere. Those now disused meetings of the bishop and the presbyterate of every diocese, the oldest and simplest form of ecclesiastical organisation, had flourished in England in early times, but under the prevalence of Popery they were fallen into neglect. Twice a year, in accordance with the canonical institutions of Christian antiquity, had it been ordered of old in an English Council that every bishop and his priests should meet together in synod : * the common form of proceeding, which was used in these early clerical gemotes, is believed to be still extant : † and from the incidental orders and regulations, that are found concerning them, they appear to have been an established custom long before the Conquest, and to have existed from the Conquest to the end of the thirteenth century. ‡ But in the succeeding age there are

by the eighteenth chapter of the Reformation of Ecclesiastical Laws prepared by him : in which it is plain that these provincial synods were to be composed only of the bishops of the province." Part iii. bk. iv. (Pocock's ed. iii. 374).

* In the Council of Cealchythe, A.D. 765, it was ordered "that there be two councils every year." Johnson's *Canons*, i. 267, or Wilkins, i. 145. This is understood by Wake of episcopal or diocesan synods. "How often every bishop was obliged to assemble his diocesan synods, the canons of the Church inform us : which generally ordered that these Councils should be held at least once a year, and obliged the clergy under the severest penalties to appear at them. In the ancient formulary for holding of these synods among us, the order is, that they should be convened twice in the year : and this seems to have been then the ancient measure of them." *State*, p. 24.

† Theodulf's *Capitula*, *ap.* Johnson, i. 437, or Wilkins, i. 265. Theodulf was a bishop of Orleans in the eighth century : at the end of the tenth century his Latin *Capitula*, or canons, were translated into English by Archbishop Ælfric, and are believed to have been generally used by English bishops in conducting their synods.

‡ Thus, in the tenth century we find it ordered that at the synod every year (not now twice a year) priests should come furnished with their

fewer references to them: they seem to have been dis-used before the Reformation, though, strange to say, they are recorded to have been held twice a year in the diocese of York in the middle of the fourteenth century.*

In the aspirations of Cranmer they were now to be revived universally. "Let every bishop," said the imaginative legislator, "hold his synod annually, to consult all his presbyters, parochs, vicars, and clerics concerning all that may require from time to time to be amended or ordained. The synod is the right means for quickening negligence, removing error, and maintaining charity between the bishop and the clergy. It brings the bishop to know and converse with his clergy, and the clergy to hear, and on occasion to interrogate the bishop. Let it be held with due solemnity: with litany, sermon, holy communion. Nor would we altogether exclude the laity."† There can be no doubt but that if this

books and vestments (to give proof of their ability for divine service, if required), with ink and parchment for taking down instructions, with clerks and orderly serving men, and with three days' provision: this last regulation indicating no doubt the length of the synods. Johnson, i. 413. In 1071 Lanfranc ordered "that every bishop celebrate a synod every year," Johnson, ii. 9: which seems to show that, though acknowledged to be right and proper, they were not held by all. In 1222 Langton ordered the constitutions of the Lateran Council to be read and explained yearly in the episcopal synods. *Ib.* ii. 121. In 1261 Archbishop Boniface ordered bishops in their synods to regulate the apparel of their clergy. *Ib.* p. 207. In 1281 Peckham ordered rural deans to be sworn every year at the bishop's synod. *Ib.* p. 290.

* Johnson, ii. 405.

† Aptissima profecto medicina synodus est ad castigandum negligentiam, et tollendos errores, qui subinde in ecclesiis per diabolum ut malos homines disseminantur: fietque per hujusmodi synodos conjunctio et charitas inter episcopum et clerum augeatur et servetur. Nam ille suos clericos propius cognoscet et alloquetur, atque illi vicissim coram eum audient et quando rei natura postulabit, interrogabunt. *Ref.* 109. Laymen in some capacity were not perhaps excluded from the diocesan synods in old times: and it may be according to example when Cranmer says that after the divine service in the church, "Episcopus ad locum aliquem interiorem cum toto clero migrabit, exclusis omnibus laicis, iis exceptis quos ipse manere jusserit." p. 110.

venerable and salutary institution had been revived and continued on the scale that Cranmer devised, the modern history of the Church of England would have been altogether different. But though there are records of a few diocesan synods, held in times subsequent to the Reformation by four or five zealous prelates, they were too few and rare to have any influence upon events. The cessation of Convocation was soon added to the disuse of diocesan synods : and it was in the silence of the Church that the greatest calamities of the Church took place. It was when the clergy were totally deprived of synodical action, of the means of communicating their opinions to one another and to their heads, that the great secessions of the seventeenth and of the eighteenth centuries deprived her of myriads of the best of her children. It was then that the colonial Churches, like the colonies themselves, found an unkind and foolish stepmother in the country of their birth.

This great design of reforming the laws of the Church went hand in hand with another scarcely less arduous undertaking, the composition of a new body of articles of religion, a permanent English Confession, which also occupied Cranmer. The two undertakings helped one another : and the same men, it cannot be doubted, were consulted about them both. I have given above the similarities of expression which exist, whenever the subject permits, between the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* and the abortive drafts of Articles of the latter end of Henry. Far more numerous are the similarities which exist between the *Reformatio* and the great formulary of the Forty-two Articles of religion, which saw the light in the last year of Edward.* Of that formulary we shall duly witness the appearance : in

* They are carefully exhibited by Archdeacon Hardwick, *Hist. of the Articles, Notes and Illustr.* (Bohn's edition).

the mean time it is to be observed that it was already in existence in some form : and had even been applied by the Archbishop as a touchstone of preachers. "He has some Articles of Religion," wrote the approving Hooper a year before this time, "to which all preachers and lecturers in divinity are required to subscribe, or else a license for teaching is not granted them."* Thus, even before their birth, before they were edited to the light, the Articles exercised their function : for this is the first mention of clerical subscription, the trouble of the succeeding age. In the year on which we are engaged, the Archbishop, with the sanction of the Council, sent the Articles in writing to some of the other prelates for examination : and the publication seems to have been expected at once.† But further delays intervened : and several curious adventures were still to befall the Articles of Edward in the course of preparation.

* Hooper to Bullinger, 27 Dec. 1549. *Orig. Lett.* p. 71. Two months later he repeats the same. "The Archbishop of Canterbury, who is the head of the King's Council, gives to all lecturers and preachers their license to read and preach : every one of them however must previously subscribe to certain articles, which if possible I will send you : one of which, respecting the Eucharist, is plainly the true one, and that which you maintain in Switzerland." Feb. 10, 1550. *Ib.* p. 76. It is Hardwick who has connected these chance references with the Edwardian Articles : and he remarks that but for them we should not know that the Articles had any existence before the next year, 1551 : which was what Strype supposed of them. It is curious to find Cranmer and Hooper in conjunction with the first mention of the Articles : the nurse of conformity, the father of nonconformity. We shall find it so again.

† "In the year 1551 the King and his Privy Council ordered the Archbishop to frame a Book of Articles of Religion for the preserving and maintaining of peace and unity of doctrine in this Church : that, being finished, they might be set forth by public authority. The Archbishop in obedience hereunto drew up a set of Articles, which were delivered unto certain other bishops, to be inspected and subscribed, I suppose, by them. Before them they lay until the year 1552. Then, May 2, a letter was sent from the Council to the Archbishop, to send the Articles that were delivered the last year (1551) to the bishops, and to signify whether the same were set forth by any public authority according to the Minutes." Strype's *Cranm.* bk. ii. ch. xxvii.

A renewed Visitation of Oxford took place in the beginning of October.* The visitors were Warwick as of old, Northampton as of old, Ridley, Cox, Petre, as of old : but to these men of experience was added the aptitude of Ponet, of Cecil, of Wotton, and of others, composing a set of delegates, whose furious doings almost quenched the trembling light of learning.† They ridiculed the degrees of the University, and discouraged the exercises. They broke open the treasury, and seized the money, plate, and jewels : many records relating to the privileges of the Academy were destroyed by them. What they may have done for discipline or improvement is not well known. Upon the Universities themselves, to such contempt were they fallen, was now commonly bestowed the appellation of stables of asses, and Babylonian resorts ; the schools were denominated chapels of the devil.‡ At this time both Oxford and Cambridge presented the same pitiable spectacle. The halls and colleges were deserted, save for a few of the late mendicant friars, who still lingered there after the destruction of their own monastic colleges. The stipends of letters were embezzled by the courtiers. Parents no longer sent their sons to such dens of destitution, where the prices of the necessities of life were higher than in any

* Strype, iii. 499.

† The names of the Visitors are in MSS Dom. Ed. VI. xiii. 63, as follows :

The Duke's Grace of Northumberland,	Sir Robert Bowes,
The Lord Marquis of Northampton,	Sir John Cheke,
The Bishop of Winchester,	George Owen,
The Bishop of London,	Sir Richard Reed,
Sir Willm. Petre,	Doctor Lyel,
Doctor Wotton,	Doctor Warner,
Sir John Mason,	Doctor Cox.

‡ Wood, *Hist. et Antiq.* i. 273. Eo jam processerat insana Delegatorum pietas, ut ipsæ Universitates Asinorum stabula, Meretricis Babylonice Lupinaria ; scholæ vero Demoniorum Delubra vulgo audirent.

other part of the country: and the old residents, who had formerly enjoyed literary competency, were forced to betake themselves to sordid employments.* At Oxford some of the public schools were sold to the town: washerwomen dried clothes in the schools of arts. The reforming faction of the place joined with the royal delegates or visitors in the contempt with which they treated the customary exercises: the terms of philosophy were considered vain or superstitious, because they were found in the writings of Romanensians: and the degrees of the University were contemned as Antichristian. The zeal of the Old Learning, on the other hand, increased the common destitution; for in bidding an eternal farewell to the Academy, they carried off whatever they could beyond the reach of sacrilege. The books, the shelves of the libraries, the chests, the closets, the archives, the offices, the depositories of money, the muniments, the deeds of patrons: all that pertained to the scholastic discipline, all that had been to the increment of learning and the glory of the gown, was ransacked, ravaged, pillaged, and destroyed. "In the barbarity of the age," says the historian of the University, "I stand amazed amid the paucity of the votaries, the emptiness of the records, and the ruin of the sanctuaries of learning."†

* Wood quotes a letter of this time by a fellow of St. John's, complaining of the enormous price of all things, and the misery of the starving students. Who, he asks, are the authors of this? "Sunt illi qui domum ad domum conjungunt: qui rapinas pauperum congerunt, qui fructum eorum rarissime comedunt. Sunt illi qui hodie passim in Anglia prædia monasteriorum gravissimis annuis redditibus anxerunt. Hinc omnium rerum exauctum pretium: hi homines expilant totam rempublicam. Villici et coloni universi laborant, pariunt, corradunt, ut isti sibi satisfaciant, &c. Hinc tot familiæ dissipatæ, tot domus collapsæ, tot communes mensæ aut jam nullæ, aut in angulos et latebras conclusæ. Hinc, quod omnium miserrimum, nobile illud decus et robur Angliæ, nomen, inquam, generosorum Anglorum fractum et collisum est." *Hist. et Ant.* i. 273.

† Quid ego circa temporis hujus barbariem, Determinantium paucitatem, domicilia Musis erepta, aut delapsa, penitus demorer?

The schools of Oxford and Cambridge were void and silent, but some of the intellectual combatants, who had once contended there, found for a moment, at the end of the year, a place of exercise in the private abodes of several of the favourites of the times : and before the critical intelligence of the Earl of Bedford, the Earl of Rutland, the Marquis of Northampton, and other high auditors, the most sacred and debated of questions was ushered, in the dress of the ancient language of the Church, into the houses of Sir William Cecil and Sir Richard Moryson. In one of these disputations on the Sacrament Cecil himself took part, along with Cheke, with Horn, the new Dean of Durham, with Whitehead, and Grindal on the one side, against Feckenham and Young on the other. In another, the same disputants were engaged, with Watson added to the side of Feckenham and Young. The scholastic terms, which had been banished from the schools, as we have seen, the year before, were not restored in these private exercitations : but otherwise freedom of speech was allowed, or rather encouraged ; Cecil pledging himself that every one might speak without damage or danger.* Feckenham, an

Sublata sunt studiorum nostrorum, maxime vero quæ a Sede Romana fuerant concessa, munimenta, convulsis Registorum haud paucis scriniis, cistisque, quotquot reliquæ erant, in quibus pecunia antiquitus deponi a rei literariæ Mæcenatibus solebat ad angustioris fortunæ togatos sublevandos, spoliatis omnino et exanimatis. Denique, ne omnia persequar, nil plane pretermissum est quod ad disciplinam scholasticam, rei literariæ decus et incrementa, nominisque togati gloriam, delenda aliquatenus pertineret.”—Wood, *Hist. et Ant.* i. 273.

* Strype’s *Cranm.* Bk. ii. ch. 26. The memorials of these curious disputations still exist in Corpus Christi Library, Cambridge. My friend Canon Creighton, who has kindly examined them for me, gives the following account of them :—

“The title is *Summa Collocutionis habitæ*, 29 Nov. A.D. 1551, in ædibus D. Cicelli secretarii regii de re sacramentaria.

“Presentes D. Russell

D. Hayles

D. Wroth

D. Ant. Coke

Mr. Frogmortin

Mr. Knolles

Mr. Harryngton

eminent man, who had belonged to Bonner's household, and had been sent to the Tower when Bonner was put

"Colloquutores. D. Cicellus, D. Checus, Mr. Horne, decanus Dunelmensis, Magister Whitehead, et Mr. Gryndale, Mr. Fecknam et Mr. Yonge.

"Questio : Quis esset verus et germanus sensus verborum cœnæ, Hoc est corpus quem verba sensu grammatico accepta præ se ferebant, an aliud quiddam.

"The question was approached—Were the words 'ostensiva,' or 'effectiva'? For this purpose many parallel texts were examined and discussed. The disputation in general is concerned with exegesis of the New Testament texts. The subject is not discussed theologically : there is no trace of scholastic terminology. Its tone struck me as singularly modern.

"Cecil opened the discussion by protesting that no man's words ought to be to him 'fraudi vel prejudicio.'

"The disputation was apparently prorogued : for the same MS. goes on (pp. 259—271) 'Tertio Decembris A.D. 1551 in ædibus D. Morisini.

"Colloquutores

D. Marchio Northampton

D. Comes Rutland

D. Russel, et prius nominati cum

Mag. Watson.

"It begins, 'D. Checus—An verba cœnæ secundum grammaticum sensum an potius tropico sensu intelligenda sint.' Watson is now Cheke's chief opponent. I copy a passage which seems to bear on the point (whether scholastic terms were allowed).

"D. Checus. Non agnosco, inquit, illud proprium in theologia, quæ vero eo nomine appellatur, ut verba solum secundum sensum grammaticum et proprium loquendi modum sumantur. Satis est si Deus id operatur quod Spiritus sanctus verbis sive tropice sive proprie acceptis significare voluit.

"D. Checus preposuit novam questionem : Utrum Christus in cœna sacramentum aliquod instituit, an non.'

"The argument rambles over the comparison of the Eucharist with Baptism, in which the soul is the thing really washed, and there is no particular virtue in the water, or any change therein.

"Watsonus hic multa cavillabatur de spiritali, sive mystica manducatione, quæ tamen esset propria et sine necessitate expatiendi (?)

"D. Cicellus voluit demonstrationem aliquam ab aliquo proponi sillogystice, quæ convinceret tropum ut Watsonus responderat. Propositum est igitur hoc argumentum :—

"Tropus est admittendus potius quam in Scripturis contrarietas inducatur : sed hæc verba cœnæ proprio intellectu inducunt contrarietatem in Scripturis : est igitur in illis admittendus tropus.

"Then the argument goes on about the interpretation of Scripture : where there is a tropical interpretation possible. It comes to no definite conclusion."

in the Marshalsea, was indeed brought or borrowed out of his prison by Sir Philip Hoby, that he might play before the company. To him was opposed in chief the learned Cheke; and the entertainment was so well liked, that it was repeated at the Earl of Bedford's house in the Savoy, and at the house of Cheke himself, but once of the White Friars, in London. Nay, it was prorogued into the country: and Pershore in Worcestershire, another late monastic domicile, echoed to the accents of the stout champion of the old religion, to whom was matched this time as staunch an opposite in Hooper, the bishop of the diocese. And Hooper, after that, renewed the combat with the same adversary in his own cathedral church.*

On a fatal afternoon, of the sixteenth of October, the Duke of Somerset was arrested. He had come to court at Westminster that day somewhat later than he was wont, and unattended, though some of his household arrived soon after. He took dinner with his nephew: and was apprehended at the end of the repast, perhaps in the presence of his nephew. Of his gentlemen, Sir

* *Strype*, iii. 535. Wood's *Ath.* under Feckenham, who says, but with dubiety, that it was Jewel who opposed Feckenham on the last occasion in Worcester. John Feckenham, it may be observed, was a good example of the beneficent working of the old educational system, which was now swept away. Born in extreme poverty, he was educated in the monastic school of the Benedictines of Evesham; and at eighteen was sent by the Abbot to Gloucester, now Worcester, College, Oxford. This seminary was founded for the Benedictines of St. Peter's monastery in Gloucester: but many other houses of that widespread order in various parts of England had buildings or apartments in it, for the accommodation of their own scions. In an apartment belonging to Evesham, young Feckenham was lodged, and pursued his studies, until in due time he was required by his Abbot to give place to some other young monks from Evesham. He returned to his abbey, where he remained to the dissolution, when he received the pension of a hundred florins a year. Herewith he went back to his old college. But this, when the see of Oxford was founded, was made into the bishop's palace. So he went to London, and entered Bonner's household.—*Wood and the Oxford Calendar.*

Thomas Palmer was taken on the terrace of the palace, where he was walking. Hammond was called into a chamber on pretence of making a match at shooting, and apprehended there. Newdigate and two of the Seymours were summoned by false messages from their master; and so taken. The same expedient was twice tried with Sir Ralph Vane: but he neglected the first message, and fled before receiving the second. "My lord is not stout," said Vane, "if I can get home, I care for none of them all." But he won no farther than Lambeth, where he was caught in a stable, hidden under the straw. The Earl of Arundel also was taken: and Lord Grey, returning from the country. On the following morning the Duchess of Somerset was arrested with her attendants Crane and his wife, and a train of gentlemen: Wingfield, Sir Michael Stanhope, Sir Miles Partridge, Sir John Thynne, Sir Thomas Holcroft, Bannister, Vaughan, and others. All were sent to the Tower, saving Palmer, Arundel, and Vane, who were kept at Westminster for convenient examination.*

This revolution of the palace had long been prepared by Warwick. The feigned reconciliations of the rivals had been alternate through the summer with renewed variance: but the skill and fortune of Warwick constantly prevailed. He alienated from the uncle the affections of his royal nephew: he increased the number of his own faction in the Council: his ablest adherents he fixed in posts of power, which he sometimes created for them. The lord treasurer, Paulet, a subtle but pertinacious man, held open to him the public purse. The Marquis of Northampton, who bore the title of Captain of the Band of Pensioners, placed at his disposal the foreign mercenaries, the men-at-arms, or gendarmery, that had served at Boulogne. The daring Herbert,

* Edward's Journal.

Northampton's brother-in-law, a man whose bold and boisterous nature had given him favour with King Henry, was made Lord President of a newly nominated Council of Wales, that was set up as a counterpoise to the Council of the North, in which Somerset's influence prevailed.* He was also made Master of the Horse, that he might be as considerable in the court as he was in the country. These three were wholly devoted to Warwick:† and to them must be added Sir John Gates, Lieutenant of the Band of Pensioners, who is said to have suggested to him the high design (which was the hidden motive of all his actions) of transferring the imperial crown of the realm from the family of the Tudors to that of the Dudleys. Only five days before the decisive blow was struck against Somerset, the Earl procured for himself and his friends a great creation of nobility: in which the incapable and insatiable Dorset became Duke of Suffolk, on the plea that his wife was Brandon's daughter: Paulet was made Marquis of Winchester: Herbert, Earl of Pembroke: while Warwick himself, seizing, by means of a grant, the forfeited estates of the Percys, and reviving the dormant title of Northumberland, which had been borne by six earls, into the loftier style of duke, confronted his rival with an equality of rank. Cecil and Cheke, Sidney and Neville, all of them officials and creatures, were gratified by receiving the order of knighthood: and at the same time Sir Robert Dudley, the third and favourite son of the new Duke of Northumberland, was sworn of the King's bedchamber, which was a place of the greatest trust and nearness to the person of the King. A few days after this, 14th October, Suffolk resigned, on the excuse of incapacity, the office

* *Strype*, iii. 463.

† "By these three all affairs of court were carried: plotted by Dudley, smoothed by the courtship of the Marquis, and executed by the bold hand of the now Lord President."—Heylin.

of Warden of the north; and Northumberland by succeeding him at once prepared to handsel his new territories, and cut off Somerset from his asylum of the northern counties.*

On the other hand Somerset exhibited, with equal ambition, a weakness and imprudence which left him the plaything of his antagonist. Allowing to Dudley the advantage of the council and the palace, he manifested his old inclination to throw himself upon the nation at large. He uttered rash speeches: he was said to have caused seditious bills to be scattered: he talked of calling on the London prentices, and raising the mob, in the last resort, by the cry of Liberty.† But his aims were selfish: the public care, like religious zeal, was with him little more than a pretext, of which he was stripped by superior astuteness as often as he put it on in the course of the miserable struggle. He endeavoured by private agents to secure the votes of several among the peers at the next Parliament in a scheme for reviving the Protectorate:‡ and by this he exposed himself to an inquiry, which however seems not to have been pressed very far. Entertaining the same ambition as his rival, he attempted to seize the crown in his line by suggesting to Edward a marriage with one of his daughters:§ and this scheme was defeated by the reso-

* Strype, iii. 498. He had taken the office of warden of the marches a year before: pacifying Sir Robert Bowes, the former warden (and Knox's friend), with a pension (Strype, iii. 359, 360), but had subsequently got this arrangement cancelled, preferring to be near the King.—*Ib.* p. 365.

† Edward's Journal.

‡ "Whalley was examined for persuading divers nobles of the realm to make the Duke of Somerset protector at the next Parliament, and stood to the denial; the Earl of Rutland affirming it manifestly."—*Ib.* 16th Feb.

§ This came out after his arrest. "The Lord Strange confessed how the Duke willed him to stir me to marry his third daughter, the lady Jane: and willed him to be his spy in all matters of my doings and sayings,

lution of the Council to betroth Edward to the Princess Elizabeth of France. The festive embassies that passed on this occasion filled the capital with gaiety, but scarcely concealed the jealous hatred of the factions. The party of Somerset, anxious both for the past and the future, attempted to cover themselves by an extraordinary expedient. They procured an instrument, in the King's name, by which the executors of the Will of Henry the Eighth and all the rest of the Council were made clear of danger in all that they had done hitherto, or might do hereafter, in the management of the King's affairs, especially concerning his marriage.* Hereupon Warwick threw out a fierce menace in a letter to Paget, who was the chief mover in this design; threatening, or appearing to threaten, to re-open the whole of the fabrications that had been practised from the outset with regard to the Will of Henry, and insinuating at the same time that he feared for the safety of Edward. "God preserve our master!" said he. "If he should fail, there be watchers enough that would bring it in question, and would burden you and others, who will not now understand the danger, to be deceivers of the whole body of the realm with an instrument forged to execute your malicious meanings."† Upon this the resolute Lord Grey, one of the duke's supporters, hastily departed for the north: and Somerset was about to follow him, when he thought good first to inquire of Herbert whether anything dangerous were intended. Herbert reassured him:

and to know when some of my Council spoke secretly with me: this he confessed of himself."—*Edward's Journ.* 26 Oct.

* Strype, *Repos. P.P.* (iv. 473).

† Strype, iii. 436. The letter is dated Jan. 22, 1550 (1). Lingard thinks that Warwick referred in it to the Will. He referred to the instrument of ratification which Paget and Rich were getting ready: but to the conscience of Paget, the chief forger as to the Will, his words would sound no doubt doubly ominous. The instrument seems not to have been signed by the King.

a second reconciliation followed : the eldest sons of the two rivals were united in a festive embassy to Paris to negotiate the royal marriage : and a festive embassy of Frenchmen in return afforded occasions for themselves to meet with flattering courtesies and demonstrations of friendship. But the irritable temper of Somerset was uneasy under the mask which his timidity forbade him to remove. He could not forbear the rashest language in private : he harboured, though without settled intention, the most nefarious designs. A band of armed men surrounded him on all occasions, save those on which he might have required defence. His talk was of raising the city, seizing the town, mustering troops under Vane and Grey, assassinating Warwick, Northampton, and his other enemies at a banquet. Some of his house, to whom he uttered these speeches, were spies in Warwick's interest : and at length the chief of them, Sir Thomas Palmer, went to the Earl, October 7, and made a secret deposition of the conspiracy which he alleged to have been concerted by his lord. Four days afterwards he repaired to him again, with further allegations : the alarm was given : and the court removed from Hampton Court to Westminster for the more easy investigation of the matter.* This was done with the entire approbation

* "7 Oct. Sir Thos. Palmer came to the Earl of Warwick, since that time Duke of Northumberland, to deliver him his chain, being a very fair one, for every link weighed an ounce, to be delivered to Jarnac, and so to receive as much. Whereupon in my lord's garden he declared a conspiracy : How at St. George's Day last my Lord of Somerset, who was then going to the north, if the Master of the Horse, Sir Wm. Herbert, had not assured him on his honour that he should have no hurt, went to raise the people, and the Lord Grey went before to know who were his friends. Afterwards a device was made to call the Earl of Warwick to a banquet, with the Marquess of Northampton and divers others, and to cut off their heads. Also if he found a bare company about them by the way to set upon them.

"11. He declared also that Mr. Vane had 2000 men in readiness : Sir Thomas Arundel had assured my lord that the Tower was safe : Mr.

of the King: for the nephew was alienated from his uncle, if he had ever esteemed him: a boy regards with curiosity rather than anxiety the struggles of men, instinctively and invariably admiring the stronger: and the recollection of his former sufferings and reckless treatment, when Somerset held his person and hurried him from place to place, may have helped to determine the mind of Edward. Nothing, certainly, could be more void of emotion than the interesting record which he has given of the tragedy of his mother's brother. The arrival of the court alarmed the Duke, who sent for Cecil, to tell him that he suspected some ill: to whom the cautious secretary despatched the message, that if he were not guilty he might be of good courage; but if he were, that he himself had nothing to say, but to lament him. The Duke replied by a letter of defiance: then presently he summoned Palmer, the informer, and interrogated him about the suspected communication with Warwick. Palmer simply denied it: and he let him go.* He spent the rest of the evening and the next morning in agitated consultations with those about him: and the picture of miserable indecision was completed, when, later in the same day, he went alone to Westminster to be arrested.†

Festive proceedings, the reception of the Scottish

Partridge should raise London, and take the Great Seal with the Apprentices of London: Seymour and Hammond should wait upon him; and all the horses of the Gendarms should be slain.

"13. Removing to Westminster, because it was thought this matter might be easilier and surelier despatched there."—Edward's Journal.

* "14 Oct. The Duke sent for the Secretary Cecil, to tell him he suspected some ill. Mr. Cecil answered that, if he were not guilty, he might be of good courage: if he were, he had nothing to say, but to lament him. Whereupon the Duke sent him a letter of defiance, and called Palmer, who after denial made of his declaration was let go.

† "16. This morning none was at Westminster of the Conspirators. The first was the Duke, who came later than he was wont of himself. After dinner he was apprehended, &c."—Edward's Journal.

Dowager Queen and her ladies, diverted (but it needed not) the attention of the King from the position of his uncle, of the people from the popular idol, for such the Duke still remained. But the Council hastened, on the very next day after the arrest, to notify the case to all the foreign courts: * they secured the country by sending to all the justices of peace a declaration of the detestable attempts of their several prisoners against the State: † and if any commotion arose in the town they adopted the curious expedient of sitting for a day in the Star Chamber, to quiet the minds of the people. ‡ At the same time the informer Palmer renewed and enlarged his depositions: and some others of the Duke's household, Crane, Hammond, Newdigate and Bren, also turned against their unhappy master. § Even the King's

* "17 Oct. There were letters sent to all Emperors, Kings, Ambassadors, Noblemen, and chief men, into countries, of the late conspiracy."—*Journ.*

† Council to Justices of Peace. Declaration of detestable attempts and committal of Somerset, Gray, Vane, and others.—*MSS. Dom. xiii. 57. (Cal. p. 36.)*

‡ "24 Oct. The Lords sat in the Star Chamber, and there declared the matters and accusations laid against the Duke, meaning to stay the minds of the people."—*Journ.*

§ "19 Oct. Sir Thos. Parker confessed that the Gendarms on the muster day should be assaulted by 2000 footmen of M. Vane's, and my Lord's hundred horse: besides his friends which stood by, and the idle people which took his part. If he were overthrown, he would run through London, and cry *Liberty, liberty*, to raise the Apprentices and rabble: if he could, he would go to the Isle of Wight or to Poole.

"26 Oct. Crane confessed the most part, even as Palmer did before, and more also: how that the place where the nobles should have been banqueted, and their heads stricken off, was the Lord Paget's house: and how the Earl of Arundel knew of the matter as well as he, by Stanhope who was a messenger between them: also some part, how he went to London to get friends once in August last, feigning himself sick. Hammond also confessed the watch he kept in his chamber at night. Bren also confessed much of this matter. The lord Strange confessed, &c. (*See former note, p. 391.*)

"8 Nov. The Earl of Arundel committed to the Tower, with Master Strodelly and St. Alban, his men: because Crane did more and more confess of him."—Edward's Journal.

confidant, Lord Strange, came forward of his own will : and deposed that Somerset had tampered with him. In consequence of what they said, Lord Arundel was removed to the Tower : and judicial proceedings were opened against Somerset.

That nothing of law might be omitted, an indictment was brought at Guildhall, 12 November, before a Commission of oyer and terminer, to furnish the matter on which the Duke was to be tried at Westminster before his peers. And now was made manifest the sagacity of the Council, in that they had provided against this very contingency on the occasion of the former fall of this very man : when they framed that double-edged statute that made all attempts against themselves either treason or felony. "If twelve persons or more attempt to kill or to imprison one of the King's Council, or to alter any law," so ran that protective edict, "it shall be high treason. If twelve persons summon an assembly by bell, trumpet, or outcry, it shall be felony without clergy. If forty do it, it shall be high treason. If two do it, or any other number under twelve, and to any subject, it shall be imprisonment."* With such an engine everything that the Duke had done fell either under treason or under the equally capital crime of felony. An indictment against him was prepared in three branches ; that he had treasonably and by overt act attempted to depose the King, to hold the royal person, and exercise the royal authority ; that he had with others, to the number of a hundred, plotted to seize and imprison Northumberland ; and had held assemblies unlawfully to accomplish his purpose : of the first and second, the third appears to be a repetition to bring them under the charge of felony.†

* 3 and 4 Edw. VI. ch. v. (*See above*, p. 157.)

† Coke, who has given this Indictment in his *Entries* (p. 482), observes that the first part was contrary to law, as no overt act of treason was alleged,

The Duke was brought, 1 December, to his trial at Westminster. The High Steward of England for the arraignment was Paulet, the new Marquis of Winchester : who sat under a cloth of state on a seat three degrees higher than the rest of the judges. A splendid, even a festive scene was presented by the platform on which were arranged the peers, twenty-six in number, who were assessors in the trial. Northumberland, Northampton, Pembroke, were among them : and though the prisoner saw his greatest enemies sitting in judgment upon him, he had no remedy : for by law the prince might summon any peers that he pleased, so that the number exceeded twelve, and the prisoner had not the right of challenging. A vast concourse thronged the hall, the palace-yard, and all the approaches, breathlessly anxious for the safety of the one statesman of the age who had offered to the people the delusive solace of hope. His demeanour was dignified, his comely presence increased the popular favour, and the warmth with which the case was pressed against him by the crown lawyers was noted with disgust. When the indictments had been read, the prosecutors laid against him Palmer's confession, or deposition. In answer the Duke spoke very bitterly of Palmer, and denied the charge of minding to raise the north.

and that therefore the Duke was justly found not guilty of treason by his peers. He also remarks that it was on the third part, or felonious part, that he was found guilty under the Act to which I have referred. Coke comments with some severity on the Indictment, in this part especially, as being "altogether insufficient, for it pursued not the words or manner of the branch of the Act" on which it was founded. The Act itself, he adds, was "a doubtful and dangerous statute," and was justly repealed by 1 Mary. *Instit.* part III. p. 12. See also Collier, ii. 313. The warrant for the Duke's execution said that he had been "severally indicted of felony for moving, stirring and procuring of divers persons for the felonious taking, imprisoning and killing of divers of the Privy Council, against the form of the statutes and laws of the realm."—Rymer, xv. 295. The warrant for executing Vane, Arundel and Stanhope says exactly the same of them. *Ib.*

"The worse Palmer is," replied the lawyers, "the more he served your purpose." As for the banquet, at which it was alleged that Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke were to have been assassinated, he swore that it was not so : and desired more witnesses. Crane's deposition was read : and he asked to be confronted with Crane. This was refused ; the judges having had Palmer, Crane, Hammond and Newdigate before them on the previous evening, to swear that their confessions were true, voluntary, and favourable to the accused, so far as their consciences would allow,* that which had satis-

* Edward's *Journ.* 30 Nov. I have followed the extremely clear narrative of Edward in the rest of the trial. He happens also to have written another account, in a letter to a gentleman of his chamber, named Fitzpatrick, which is substantially the same. I will transcribe this affectionate document out of Fuller (i. 409). "Little hath been done since you went, but the Duke of Somerset's arraignment for felonious treason, and the musters of the new erected Gendarmery. The Duke, the first of this month, was brought to Westminster Hall, where sat as Judge or High Steward, my Lord Treasurer ; twenty-six Lords of the Parliament went on his trial : indictments were read, which were several, some for traitorous felony. The lawyers read how Sir Thomas Palmer had confessed that the Duke was minded, and made him privy, to raise the North : after to call the Duke of Northumberland, the Marquis of Northampton, and the Earl of Pembroke to a feast, and so to have slain them. And to do this thing (as it was to be thought) had levied men, a hundred, at his house at London : which was scanned to be treason, because unlawful assemblies for such purposes was treason by an Act made the last Sessions. Also how the Duke of Somerset minded to slay the Horses of the Gendarmery, and to raise London. Crane confessed also the murdering of the Lords in a banquet. Sir Miles Partridge also confessed the raising of London : Hammond, his man, having a watch at Greenwich of twenty weaponed men to resist if he had been arrested : and this confessed both Partridge and Palmer. He answered, That when he levied men at his house, he meant no such thing, but only to defend himself. The rest very barely answered. After debating the matter from nine of the clock till three, the Lords went together, and there weighing that the matter seemed only to touch their lives, although afterwards more inconvenience might have followed, and that men might think they did it of malice, acquitted him of High Treason, and condemned him of Felony, which he seemed to have confessed. He hearing the judgment fell down on his knees and thanked them for his open trial. After he asked pardon of the Duke of Northumberland, the

fied them was to suffice him : and Somerset shared the hardship of many another attainted prisoner in that age. As to the charge of raising London by the cry of liberty, he said that he meant no harm to any, but only his own defence : that, as to attacking the gendarmery, it would have been a mad matter for a hundred horse to set on three hundred : but he seems to have said nothing about the two thousand infantry under Crane. For having men in his chamber, he answered that it was proof that he meant no harm if he did none having the power. As to Lord Strange's deposition, he swore that it was untrue : on which Lord Strange took oath that it was true. He excepted against the depositions of Newdigate, Hammond, and Alexander Seymour, on the ground that they were his servants.

The opposite counsel pressed warmly the admissions that the prisoner had made as to facts : and repeated the charge of evil motives, which he had denied. To have men at his house for an ill intent, such as to kill the Duke of Northumberland, was treason by the Act : it was treason to raise London : to have designed to resist his own arrest was felony : and felony to devise the death of lords. His answer was but weak : that though he had spoken of killing Northumberland and others, he had afterwards determined the contrary : that those who deposed that he spoke of raising London were not with him at the time. The Lords went together to consider their verdict, when Northumberland with affected magnanimity refused to agree that any compassing of his death should be treason. The duke was however found guilty of felony by all : and, though his trial was, as to form, a mockery, his own admissions seem to justify the finding.

Marquis, &c., whom he confessed he meant to destroy, although he swore vehemently to the contrary. Thus fare you well."—20 Dec. 1551. This will give the reader a clear view of the case.

When the sentence, which adjudged him to be hanged, had been pronounced, Somerset fell on his knees, asking pardon of Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke for his designs against them, thanking the lords for his fair and open trial, and making suit for his life, his wife, his children, servants, and debts. As he left the hall without the axe, the rumour spread that he was acquitted : and a shout arose that was heard at Charing Cross. He went back to the Tower, where he seems to have made a further confession of guilt.* His prayer for mercy was denied : but he was granted a long interval to prepare himself for death. Three days after the trial the King was entertained by Winchester, Northumberland, Northampton and Pembroke, with a splendid muster of men at arms : the festivities of Christmas soon arrived, and were held at Greenwich by the court with prolonged and unusual gaiety.†

* "The Duke told certain lords that were in the Tower that he had hired Bertivill to kill them : which thing Bertivill, examined on, confessed, and so did Hammond, that he knew of it."—*Edward's Journ.* 3 Dec. Soames has noted this : but as if it had been before the trial.

† On the question of the guilt or innocence of Somerset historians are divided. Fox, Strype, Burnet, lament in him the victim of the rage and malice of implacable enemies : but while the two former dwell on his sufferings, they omit the particular consideration of the charges against him : and it is only Burnet who has undertaken to show that they were fabrications. His arguments have been demolished by Collier : whom Lingard follows, and Soames. In more recent times the defence of the Duke has been renewed by Tytler (*Edward and Mary*, ii. 1-73) in an elaborate investigation. Mr. Froude, in his fifth volume, gives the whole case fairly enough : and concludes, as all must, that it was "truth and falsehood mingled together." 1. Of Somerset's guilt there can be no doubt, for he confessed it. 2. That Northumberland, with Palmer's help, fabricated charges and aggravated others, there would be as little doubt, if it was true that he at his own death confessed it. Renard, the Flemish ambassador, declared that he did so : that before going to the scaffold he desired an interview with Somerset's sons, and told them that he had procured their father's death "a tort et fausement" : and he adds that Palmer also before his death confessed that his deposition was false and fabricated by Northumberland.—Froude, v. 373. It is impossible however to admit so totally unsupported a story. No doubt there was a

It was remarked, not without surprise, that among the peers who were summoned to sit on Somerset, the Lord Chancellor was not numbered; and the trial had not been long concluded before the Broad Seal was resigned by Rich. The plea of sickness enabled the reputed betrayer of More to retire from public view with some dexterity; but not without a narrow escape from the danger of the day. He was said to be already in disfavour with the chiefs of the conquering faction, having refused to stamp the warrant of his seal on an important order, which had been signed by no more than a few of the Council:* and it may be placed to the credit of Rich, that one of the few acts of the age which at all savoured of public virtue, should have been the cause of his decline. His actual resignation is said to have been brought to pass by another accident. The condemned prisoner in the Tower attempted to make use of the Lord Chancellor as a mediator with his nephew the King. In reply the Lord Chancellor addressed a letter simply "to the Duke": which a raw servant carried not to Somerset to the Tower, but to the Charterhouse to the Duke of Norfolk. While the old long exiled courtier was reading with a smile the caustic missive that had been meant to reveal to other eyes the secret doings of the Council, Rich, alarmed by the quickness of his servant's return, asked questions which immediately discovered the dangerous blunder. After a sleepless night the Lord Chancellor hurried on his robes, betook his trembling feet to the palace, and falling on his knees before the King, implored permission to resign

wide feeling at the time that Somerset was treacherously dealt with. "Plots of an altogether strange and novel character are said to have been contrived against him by Warwick."—Jn. ab Ulm to Bullinger, Feb. 1552. *Orig. Lett.* p. 449. Grafton gives an account of the unusual festivities which diverted the people, p. 227.

* Strype, iii. 513.

the burden of office, and pass his remaining days in the calm of seclusion and the exercises of devotion. His request was granted, though not without some doubt and astonishment. The emblems of office were taken from him in a few days by a solemn embassy of nobles; and the legal hermit, recovering, it would seem, of his infirmities, lived to adorn and enjoy a private station for nearly two-thirds of the time allotted to a human generation.* He was succeeded by Goodrich,† the Bishop of Ely, an enemy of Somerset's, who in this age of silver re-opened the golden roll of ecclesiastical lord keepers, which was destined to contain another brief but curious series.

The boasted pacification of Ireland in the last years of Henry the Eighth still endured for a time after the accession of Edward. The same mild Deputy, Sant-leger, remained in office. The garrisons were reduced. The Irish nobles sent their sons to court.‡ The spoils of the monastic dissolution still rolled towards the exchequer, refreshing in their course the thirsty sands of toparchs and jobbers. But the fancied security came punctually to an end along with the arrears of the revenues of the dissolved religious houses.§ The gratitude and affection of the chiefs, who had submitted themselves, ceased: and the old anarchy displaying itself rendered necessary the recall of the pacific viceroy. His successor, Sir Edward Bellingham, who reached office in

* This story is in Fuller, p. 408. Burnet relates, but somewhat spoils it, by putting Norfolk in the Tower. Rich lived eighteen years longer.

† Strype, iii. 515.

‡ Ormond committed his son to the tuition of Somerset: the eldest son of Desmond was brought up in the company of King Edward, and attached to his person. Hamilton's *Cat. of State Papers of Ireland*, pp. 77, 78. March and Oct. 1547.

§ Account of arrears of the lands of the attainted Gerald, Earl of Kildare; and of the possessions of the religious houses dissolved, for several years, ending 1 Edw. VI.—*ib.*

the summer of the year 1548, a soldier of approved vigour, showed that he understood the ancient animosity of the races to be revived, and now to be embittered by religious opposition. The English Reformation, which Henry the Eighth had imposed, had exhausted the only means that it possessed of recommending itself to the Irish. Bellingham governed for two years with justice, without undue severity, but with the unflinching resolution of a man dependent on the sword: and he earned the respect both of friends and enemies. "He has opened the very gate of right reformation," exclaimed Butler, the Archbishop of Cashel: and the Archbishop of Tuam, Bodkin, exclaimed, "The fame of his proceedings is divulged throughout Ireland, to the great fear of misdoers and malefactors."* Bellingham's system was efficacious. He cut the passes by which the wild Irish, the kerne and gallowglass, made their incursions: he built castles: he governed, so far as he could, without the Irish Council, but he forced the Irish Council to furnish supplies for the King's service.† He played off the chieftains one against another. He allowed no outrage to go unpunished: but by spreading the conviction of his unshaken firmness, he was able many times to try words before blows, and could afford to temper justice with mercy. In the first year of his administration he induced the powerful chieftain Burke to promise a thousand men to cut all the passes beyond the Shannon. By the aid of Macdonnell he subdued the great rebel O'Connor, who boasted that he was the only chief who

* Butler to Somerset, Feb. Bodkin to Bellingham, July, 1548. Hamilton's *Cal. of Irish State Papers*.

† In August Bellingham rebuked the Council and the Mayor of Dublin for negligence and disobedience in not furnishing supplies for the King's service. "Better," said he, "that the harvest of the county of Dublin for this year were lost, than that the purpose of cutting of passes in Kildare should be forslowled."—*Ib.* p. 85.

had not come in under Henry the Eighth; * and gave him his life to induce O'More to submit.† In August an army of rebels entered the Pale at Carbery, and murdered men, women, and children. They were met by one of Bellingham's captains, Santloo, with thirty horsemen, and made to abandon their prey. They fled to their fastnesses, where "they thought never Englishmen would seek them": but were followed, and "more woodkerne were slain that day than the oldest man in Ireland ever saw."‡ The year was illustrated by the horrible murder of one Ferry, bailiff of Cork, who claiming some lands of the Barries, "was murdered by twenty-three foynes of an Irish knife, given him into the very heart."§ Bellingham never rested till the murderers were brought to justice.|| "There was never deputy in this realm," said an Irish official to the Duke of Somerset, "that went the right way as he doth, both for the setting forth of God's word and his honour, and to the wealth of the King's subjects."¶

As to the alteration of religion, however, the success of the Lord Deputy seems to have been less decisive. The "Book of Reformation," the first English Order of Communion, was received by the Hibernican bishops: and diligence was reported to have been used in it.** But only one of them appears to have ventured to urge it upon the people by his own exhortations: and Staples

* Cormac O'Connor, the son of this chieftain, afterwards went to Paris, intriguing against England, saying that "his father was the great worker of rebellion in Ireland, and had never submitted to Henry VIII., though he had one house within a stone's cast of the English Pale, and another within twenty miles of it."—Mason to Council, April, 1551. Turnbull's *For. Cal.* p. 92.

† Hamilton's *Irish Cal.* p. 85.

‡ Bellingham to Council, 1 Aug. 1548. *Ib.* p. 87.

§ Hamilton's *Irish Cal.* p. 86.

|| Brazier to Somerset, Nov. 1548. *Ib.* p. 91.

¶ *Ib.*

** Palatine to Bellingham, 13 Nov. *Ib.* p. 93.

of Meath, though a resolute man, raised such a storm by the single sermon that he preached for the reformed religion, that he feared for his life. The people saluted him with the dangerous cry of heretic: the gentlefolk refused to have their children confirmed by one whom they held to have denied the Sacrament of the Altar: the judges declared that he had spoken against learning: his own clergy warned him of the universal hatred that he had excited.* In truth there was nothing now to be got by the alteration of religion, and it was as much disliked by the English as by the Irish: a revulsion of feeling, or repentance after pillage, now pervaded all ranks. If Staples trembled, and all the other Hibernican prelates held their peace, it was in vain for Bellingham to exhort the head of the Old Learning, Dowdal, the Primate of all Ireland, who had succeeded Cromer in Armagh, to set forward the Reformation, though the resolute Deputy selected the highest dignitary for a strong admonition, that he should "set forth the plain, simple, and naked truth:" bluntly telling him that "the

* See Staples' letter, Hamilton's *Cal.* p. 94: or, better, Froude, v. 419. Santleger afterwards said, about 1551, that there had been but one sermon preached in Ireland for three years. I may observe that Mr. Froude, on the whole, gives a good account of the Irish transactions of this reign, though with some peculiarities, such as might be expected. For instance, because bishops are ecclesiastics, and Bellingham was a layman, he gives the following turn to the rarity of preaching at this time in Ireland: that the bishops were frantically eager to preach up the alteration of religion, but that the deputy was wise, having that wisdom which can belong to laymen only; and that he wisely discountenanced all preaching, after the one experiment of Staples. For him "it was enough if the literal injunctions of the home government were obeyed, without consigning the pulpits to voluble rhetoricians, who turned their congregations into swarms of exasperated hornets." On the contrary, it was Bellingham who wanted the bishops to preach, and they who hung back. Cusack the chancellor, another layman, also wanted more preaching. "Hard it is," he wrote to the Duke of Northumberland, "that men should know their duties to God and the King, when they shall have no teaching or preaching throughout the year." So Leland quotes him.

way to do the same was to know it: which with a mild and humble spirit wished, sought, and prayed for, would most certainly be given," and bidding him repair to Dublin "for better consultation for the setting forth of the truth, and obedience among the King's loving subjects."* The time was not yet come for the real attempt to enforce the alteration of religion. It awaited the publication of the full English Prayer Book, and the rule of another Lord Deputy. As for Archbishop Browne, who might have been expected to have excelled in zeal his ancient rival Staples, he lay at this moment under the cloud of certain accusations of neglect of duty, alienation of leases, and indecent preaching, which were preferred against him by another member of the infamous Irish Council.†

* Bellingham to Dowdal; Hamilton's *Irish Cal.* p. 96.

† These accusing questions have not been printed before: they are entitled "Interrogatories probably by Chancellor Allen against George Browne, Archb. of Dublin, for neglect of duty in the government of his church, his alienations and leases in reversion, his 'undecent' sermon in Sept. 1548, and letters received from Irishmen." They are thought to be of November 1548, and are as follows:

"Whether my lord protector's Grace, and most honourable Council of England did write unto George Archb. of Dublin before Christmas last that he should not alienate any part or parcel of his bishopric before he had advertised their honours what he had done before that: nevertheless the said Archb. made alienations and leases in reversion and otherwise of the most of his bishopric to his children, Robert Bathe and other, in January following, and dated them in June before that.

"Whether the said Archb. at several times before Master Sentleger was last sent for, said he had sufficient matters of treason and other abuses to lay to the said Sentleger's charge, if he upon the King's Majesty's commandment upon his alliegance to declare in his book all the said Sentleger's abuses, signify them.

"Whether the said Archb. at any time did set out or cause to be set out the King's Majesty's (that now is) Injunctions or Homilies. Whether he preached at any time from November last till September, 1548, which day he long before admonished to the people: and whether he procured or sent to justice Luttrell, parson Luttrell, the Vicar of Drogheda, or any other, to be at that undecent sermon: wherein he willed the audience to do all their former ceremonies, affirming that like as Luther condemned the Bishop of Rome's traditions and ceremonies, so doth this Scot that

At the beginning of his second year Bellingham told the Irish Council that it would be a good turn for the King if they were all hanged. Peculation certainly was rife: magnates got land of the Irish conveyed to them before the King could get it: placemen like Agard and Brabazon flourished, while the garrisons were ill supplied and unpaid. But the Irish Council could depend on the fellow-feeling of the Council of England, and confidently accuse their accuser. "He is the best man of war that ever was in Ireland," wrote Chancellor Allen to Paget, "but Jupiter and Venus have not been so bountiful to him as Mars and Saturn. His conduct

last preached here condemn the Mass and other our ceremonies: therefore whatsoever he is that either maintain, succour, or credit this Scot in his preaching, is not the King's true subject.

"Whether the said Archb. since 1547 hath received any letters from the Earl of Desmond or Irishmen: how many they were, or what effect: and what answer be made to them.

"Whether the said preacher, preaching in Kilmainham before the Lord Deputy, the Council and the said bishop, setting forth the Gospel, the prince's authority and condemning the abuses of the Bishop of Rome's Masses and ceremonies, upon that his and the Dean of Christchurch request to the said lord Deputy to license the said preacher to preach among them in Christchurch, which he did inveighing against the former abuses as he began, and the said bishop and dean suffered the same. Whether any complaint to the King's deputy, but openly in the former appointed sermon irreverently inveighed against the said preacher and his maintainers, alleging in one point that he spoke against good works, which in all his sermons he shewed vehemently the contrary."—*Irish Pap.* Edw. VI. v. II. No. 53: cf. Hamilton's *Cal.* p. 94.

I may add that, according to Bale, Archbishop Browne was all along a dissembling Papist. The notorious bishop of Ossory gives him the character of an avaricious hypocrite, hints that he was a drunkard and a profligate: calls him a gluttonous epicure and a swine, and declares that his charges against Santleger were a device that he might get the title of Primate of all Ireland, which he did. "As for his learning," says Bale, "I know none that he hath so perfectly exercised as he hath the known practices of Sardanapalus: for his preachings twice in the year, of the Ploughman in winter, by *Exit qui seminat*, and of the Shepherd in summer, by *Ego sum pastor bonus*, are now so well known by rote of many gossips in Dublin, that afore he cometh into the pulpit they can tell his sermon."—*Vocation of Jn. Bale*, Harl. Miscell. vol. vi.

is overbearing in the extreme. He doeth all himself: and it were as well to have no Council. He saith at times that the King hath not so great an enemy in Ireland as the Council is." * The only friend that the Lord Deputy had among the officials of Dublin was Cowley the surveyor, who seconded and applauded his efforts, and declared that in a year and a half he had doubled the number of the King's possessions and subjects. By Cowley and some other commissioners the attempt to establish the alteration was renewed: an itinerary was undertaken in the middle of the year 1549, to put in execution ecclesiastical jurisdiction, to abolish idolatry, papistry, and the Mass: and with them they carried, or sought to carry, the Archbishop of Cashel, Burron (for Butler was now dead).† But the Reformation made no progress. The Irish clergy stood aloof from a movement the chief promoters of which were the swarming clerical adventurers come out of England, who thronged the streets of Dublin, and, to the disgust of the Lord Deputy, hung on to the exchequer, while the vacant preferments, for which they thirsted, were kept unfilled and pillaged by the Council.‡

Almost the last act of Bellingham, before sickness and death removed him from command, was to warn the English Council that Ireland was in a dangerous state,

* Allen to Paget, April 1549. *Irish Cal.* p. 103. Cf. Froude, p. 418.

† Cowley to Bellingham, 23 June. *Irish Cal.* p. 105. Cowley, an honest man, had exposed the doings of such men as Agard and Brabazon twelve years before, in Henry's time. As they were still there, his words are worth recalling. "They have taken up all the fruitful farms of this land without reserve; and suffer no gentleman to have any farm, so much as a poor tette to keep his purse for his money, or yet a little park to keep his horses in for rent. Such havoc and scrambling as they make was never seen, to the utter pillaging and beggaring of the land, too lamentable to express."—Letter to Norfolk, Ellis, *Orig. Lett.* ii. 2, p. 98.

‡ "You know what pastors are here, who come out of England, and how they be upon the King's charges, which may from time to time be alleviated by giving them promotions."—Bellingham to Issam, *Irish Cal.* p. 97.

and that trouble might be expected from foreign intervention. Scarcely was he departed when his warning proved true.* A combination of the chieftains, which had been in secret existence for a year, burst into open rebellion.† A fleet of pirates of all nations, twenty sail strong, ravaged the coast.‡ Disguised emissaries passed from the French court and returned.§ The Primate, Dowdal, advised the Irish Council that a French army, with a powerful fleet, lay in Scotland, watching the opportunity of landing in Ireland. "They have with them," added Dowdal, "a bishop, by name Waucop, by birth a Scot, blind of his eyesight, whom the Pope has provided to the Hibernian Primacy and the See of Armagh: he, though blind, is a shrewd spy, and a great brewer of war."|| Dowdal, the successor of Cromer, was perhaps even a more consistent representative of the Old Learning in Ireland; opposed, so far as it might be, to the papal claims, and unimbued with the spirit of the modern Irish Roman Church. From his predecessor he differed in this, that in his person the royal nomination and the papal provision concurred not: a rival had been designated for his see by the Pope on his predecessor's death: and this circumstance marked the more clearly his position in contemning an usurpation and yet

* "The affairs of Ireland are like to be very great and dangerous through foreign aid and animation."—Bellingham to Somerset, 21 Ap. 1549; *Irish Cal.* p. 102.

† "I asked the Earl (of Desmond) what should be the cause of so great a combination of the wild Irish, and how long since the same had commenced. Whereunto he said the same conspiracy was concluded amongst them above a year past, only in the dread of the late deputy, which with his rough handling of them put them in such despair as they all conspired to join against him. To some others of council, which I heard not, he added the matter of religion," &c.—Allen to his Brother, 2 Feb. 1550. *Irish Cal.* p. 106: quoted also by Froude, v. 421 q. v.

‡ Council to Hoby, April, 1549. Turnbull's *For. Cal.* p. 31.

§ Mason to the Council, June, 1550. Turnbull's *For. Cal.* pp. 48, 49.

|| Dowdal to the Irish Council, 22 May, 1550; *Irish Cal.* p. 106.

remaining a Catholic of the old school, steadfastly opposed to innovations which he deemed to be subversive of the faith of Christendom. He was a man of learning and dignity, admired and trusted by his clergy: but unfortunately destitute of the resolute courage of a leader: and it was Dowdal's want of persistency at a great crisis which wrecked the Irish Church. On the other hand, in providing for Armagh the Holy See was but carrying on the course which it had pursued from the beginning of the Reformation, as it regarded Ireland: * and the blind Waucop was accompanied by another archbishop and bishop designated in the same manner to some other recently vacated sees, probably to Cashel, and, it may be, to Ossory or Kildare.† Nor, it ought to be particularly noticed, were the two modes of appointing found as yet to be incompatible with each other in Ireland: since even in this year, in the month of May, an incumbent, by name Arthur Maginnis, was provided by the Pope to the bishopric of Dromore, and confirmed in it by letters patent of the King.‡ Waucop himself, the titular pretender of Armagh, must have been a remarkable man. The deprivation of sight, under which he was born,§ had not quenched the ardour with which he applied himself to studies and affairs: the degree of doctor of theology in the faculty of Paris testified his proficiency: his energy had been proved in a legation to the Germans, with which the Pope had intrusted him. The Council of Trent, in its first period, had listened to the voice of Venantius, || as his name was

* See Vol. II. p. 192 *huj. op.*

† Turnbull's *For. Cal.* p. 82.

‡ Macgeoghegan's *Hist. of Ireland.*

§ According to some, he was not blind, but very short-sighted: Pocock's *Burnet*, ii. 343.

|| Hence he figures in Herbert's *Life of Edw. VI.* p. 257, under the name of Robert Venant.

turned in Latin: through his persuasion the Jesuits undertook a mission into Ireland, as early as the year after the institution of their Order. He had borne the title of Armagh for eight or nine years since the last vacancy in 1542: and had formerly attempted to vindicate his claim to the see by a perilous visit. He now came again, bearing the palm which the Pope had carried on Palm Sunday, and many papal faculties. He effected the passage from Scotland into Ireland without the assistance of the French army. But the strength which had supported a life so strangely adventurous failed him at the decisive moment: and before he reached the shore Venantius died.*

It was in the year 1550 that the first English Prayer Book, the complete Liturgic Reformation, reached Ireland, and that the real struggle took place to impose upon one kingdom the religious alterations that had been adopted in another. But it is to be observed that the circumstances were so little favourable to the triumph of English Uniformity, that it might be wondered that the resistance of Ireland was not more vigorous. The new Lord Deputy had little inclination for the work. Santleger, for after a period of confusion Santleger succeeded Bellingham, came back protesting that he would

* "A certain Scottish friar, blind of both his eyes, named Archbishop of Armachan, accompanied with another archbishop and bishop of Ireland, both Irishmen, is prepared to go into Ireland after Easter, the Bishop of Rome having given him divers kinds of faculties, as pardons, dispensations, and the like. He has got the Palm which the Bishop of Rome carried on Palm Sunday, and has caused it to be dressed solemnly, to be taken with him into Ireland, there to make a relic of the same."—Vannes to the Council, April, 1551: Turnbull's *For. Cal.* p. 82. In the following month, Mason wrote home that the blind bishop was "thoroughly well despatched for Ireland," which he conjectured to mean "some cursing, or giving the said realm *in prædam*."—*Ib.* 108: and again: "The blind Scot is departed with his despatch to Ireland: would to God my Lord Deputy might by some means give him some honest welcome into the country."—*Ib.* 128. But Waucop died at Paris in the house of the Jesuits, before he reached Ireland: at least so I believe.

rather be sent to Spain than face the task before him. He reversed the policy of his predecessor. His instructions were, to reduce Leinster, to set up a mint, to impose the reformed service on the churches.* He discouraged the soldiers: his coining operations merely added to the miserable disorders that reduced both England and Ireland to destitution: and, as to religion, whilst he published proclamations for uniformity, his own example sanctioned diversity. His first step, if he had been in earnest, would have been to convoke the Irish Parliament, and pass an Act for the uniformity of religion: or, if he desired to have walked very closely in the footsteps of Henry the Eighth, to cause the Irish Parliament to extend the English Act for Uniformity to their own country. Then might the new Service have been enforced by the same pains and penalties as in the sister kingdom. But instead of a parliament, the Lord Deputy summoned an ecclesiastical assembly, in which the rival croziers of Armagh and Dublin, of the Primate of all Ireland and the Primate of Ireland, encountered one another in his presence. The instructions indeed that he had received, appeared to relate to the clergy only: for he was ordered to command "all archbishops, bishops, deans, archdeacons, and parish priests, throughout the kingdom to have the liturgy and public prayers performed in the English language, according to the new Book: † and he took advantage of this phraseology

* As to religion, it may be observed that these Instructions, of July 1550, were not illiberal, if they had been carried out: for they allowed the service to be temporally in the Irish tongue. The Lord Deputy was ordered to "set forth the divine service according to the King's ordinances and proceedings, in the English tongue in all places where the inhabitants, or a convenient number of them, understand the English tongue, and where the inhabitants understand not the English tongue, to cause the English to be translated truly into the Irish tongue until such time as the people may be brought to understand the English."—*MSS. State Pap. Irish*, Edw. VI. Vol. II. p. 57 (*Cal.* p. 108).

† The King's letter to Santleger on this was a good specimen of

to make a movement which, if it had been well followed, might have entirely altered the fate of the Hibernican Church. To the clergy he unfolded the proclamation which he was about to publish, which in itself expressed nothing that was absolutely insurmountable, merely declaring that the prayers of the Church had been translated into the English language by the royal will, with the grave approbation of the clergy of England consulting for the welfare of Ireland. "Then," exclaimed Dowdal fiercely, "any illiterate layman will have power to say Mass." He might have said with greater force that it was but turning the services of one tongue not understood of

hypocrisy. "Whereas our gracious Father, King Henry VIII. of happy memory, taking into consideration the bondage and heavy yoke that his true and faithful subjects suffered under the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome, as also the ignorance the commonalty were in; how several fabulous stories and lying wonders misled our subjects in both our realms of England and Ireland, grasping thereby the means thereof into their hands, also dispensing with the sins of our nations by their Indulgences and Pardons for gain, purposely to cherish all evil vices, as robberies, rebellions, thefts, whoredoms, blasphemy, idolatry, &c. : He, our gracious Father, King Henry, of happy memory, hereupon dissolved all Pories, Monasteries, Abbeys, and other pretended religious houses, as being but nurseries for vice or luxury more than for sacred learning : He therefore, that it might more plainly appear to the world that those Orders had kept the light of the Gospel from his people, thought it most fit and convenient, for the preservation of their souls and bodies, that the Holy Scriptures should be translated, printed, and placed in all Parish Churches within his Dominions, for his faithful Subjects to increase their knowledge of God, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ. We therefore, for the general Benefit of our well-beloved Subjects' understandings, wherever assembled or met together in the said several Parish Churches, either to pray or to hear Prayers read, that they may the better join therein in Unity, Heart, and Voice, have caused the Liturgy and Prayers of the Church to be translated into our Mother Tongue of this Realm of England, according to the Assembly of Divines lately met within the same for that purpose. We therefore will and command, as also authorise you, Sir Ant. St. Leger, Kt., and our Viceroy of that our Kingdom of Ireland, to give special Notice to all our Clergy, as well Archbishops, Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, as others our Secular Parish Priests within that our said Kingdom of Ireland, to perfect, execute, and obey this our Royal Will and Pleasure accordingly. Given in our Manor of Greenwich Feb. 6, in the Fifth year of our Reign."—*Harl. Misc.* v. 563.

the people into another: for the English language could hardly maintain itself within the Pale, though enjoined by penal statutes to be used: and to the rest of Ireland it was the speech of the Saxon. It is little to be wondered that, when the churches began to sound nothing but English, the people ceased to frequent them, and preferred the ministrations of the Roman missionaries, Jesuit or other, who had hitherto met with little success. Santleger replied to Dowdal that there were indeed too many illiterate priests, as ignorant of the language that they used as the congregations which listened to it: and that the new order was for the edification of both. Dowdal sternly bade him beware of the curse of the Church: and since the question had been put solely on an ecclesiastical footing, he cannot be accused of insolence in applying the menace of spiritual censures. He then left the meeting, followed by nearly all his suffragans. This was a memorable event, marking the last struggle of the ancient independent Church of Ireland. But, since the legislative power of the temporalty was asleep, the Lord Deputy indifferent, and Dowdal's party by far the major part of the assembly, it may well be wondered why the resistance of the Irish clergy was so weak before they accepted the uniform livery of England. Instead of making an indignant retreat, why fought not Dowdal and his brethren a victorious battle in the Assembly, insisting on the rights and liberties of the Hibernican Church to regulate her own worship and reform her own convocations? How different would then have been the history of the Church of Ireland: how much more venerable, how much more intelligible, even if the struggle had failed at last: and how different the history of the nation, soon to be left as if without a Church, since her Church took the guise of the stranger; and destined full soon to cast herself into the open arms of

Rome with a passionate affection that she had never felt before !

When Dowdal and his followers left the assembly, there but remained, who favoured the English alterations, Browne of Dublin, Staples of Meath, Lancaster of Kildare, Travers of Leighlin, and Coyn of Limerick. Archbishop Browne now assumed his natural place as champion of the revolution. To him Santleger handed the King's Order : which he received standing, and said, "This Order, good brethren, is from our gracious King, and from the rest of our brethren, the Fathers and Clergy of England, who have consulted therein, and compared the Holy Scriptures with what they have done : unto whom I submit, as Jesus did to Cæsar, in all things just and lawful, without inquiring why or wherefore, acknowledging him to be my true and lawful king." In these words the ancient independent Church of Ireland died. The indignant primate meantime had withdrawn into the Abbey of St. Mary, in the suburbs of Dublin, where he refused all intercourse with the Conformists, until the Lord Deputy attempted to bring him to terms by a proposal, which might still have preserved dignity, and perhaps more than dignity, that he should appoint a place of conference, where the great necessities of order and discipline might be adjusted by the clergy, so to prevent further intervention from the throne. Dowdal declined the proposition, and refused to leave his retreat : but so great was the wish of Santleger to come to an agreement, that he caused the conforming bishops to wait upon their metropolitan, and the great hall of the abbey echoed to a disputation that was held between him and Staples on the Mass.* This wretched substitute for the deliberations of a synod, which Santleger had designed, had no effect on the course of events. On the Easter

* Leland.

Sunday following, the English service was used for the first time in the Cathedral Church of Dublin, and Archbishop Browne preached upon the words of the Psalmist, "Open mine eyes, that I may behold the wondrous things of thy law." The Deputy attended the service, and, as if to mark his disgust, "there, after the old sort, offered to the altar of stone, to the great comfort of the many like papists, and the discouragement of the professors of the Gospel." When the Archbishop expostulated, "Go to, go to," said Santleger, "your matters of religion will spoil all": and therewith he gave him to read a little book, which he found "so poisoned as he had never seen, to maintain the Mass with Transubstantiation, and other naughtiness."*

Shortly after this, Sir James Crofts was appointed to succeed Santleger as Deputy. He found the country for the most part uninhabited in the South: private war prevalent everywhere: the poor overrun, spoiled, slaughtered by the noblemen at will: marriage unknown.† Hundreds of people died in the fields through famine in County Tyrone: which was so devastated by feuds between the earl and his sons that there were not ten ploughs left in it.‡ The debased money was refused: trade was at an end: and the Deputy warned the Government of England that if a remedy were not provided, the town of Dublin and the whole English army would be destroyed for want of victuals.§ The remedy which the Home Government recommended was uniformity of

* Browne to Warwick, 6 Aug. 1551. *Irish Cal.* p. 115: quoted by Froude, v. 425.

† Wood to Cecil, cf. Froude, v. 428.

‡ Cusacke to Warwick, *Irish Cal.* p. 117.

§ Near the end of the reign the Lord Deputy wrote another grave warning to the English Council. "The baseness of the coin causeth universal dearth, increaseth idleness, decayeth nobility, and bringeth magistrates into hatred and contempt of the people."—Jan. 1552. *Irish Cal.* p. 122.

religion, the execution of the laws, the further pillage of the churches, the dismissal of such soldiers as could not be paid. Instead of believing the representations of their own officials as to the desperate state of the country, they looked on it, even as Henry the Eighth had looked on it, as a mine of wealth, to be worked to the last vein for their own enrichment. But even the English Government recognised their right to meet their own difficulties, when at last in one particular they attempted to meet them, out of their own resources. They ordered three thousand pounds of bullion to be shipped from the Tower, and melted into the recalled Irish coin, to make it so much the more genuine.* It was left for posterity, after three more centuries of Irish misery, to meet public necessity by private ruination, and in the teeth of the pledges of the State to sacrifice one class of the community after another to the ignorant rage of all.

In the middle of the year Dowdal fled from his see, avowing that he would not be bishop where the holy Mass was forbidden: whereupon the primatial dignity of all Ireland was claimed by Browne and transferred by royal patent to Dublin.† About the same time Archbishop Browne delivered a sermon in Christ Church, in which he depicted the difficulties of the Reformation. His discourse, which has been preserved, gives one of the earliest descriptions of the working of that memorable society to which he attributed no small part of his griefs. There were no Jesuits in Ireland at this time: but their mission of ten years before, though apparently

* See Froude.

† "The Archbishop of Armagh claims the title of Primate of the whole realm by the Bishop of Rome's bulls: I claim the same by the King's grant." Browne to Warwick, 6 Aug. 1551: *Irish Cal.* p. 118. It was an old dispute: Armagh was Primate of all Ireland, Dublin was Primate of Ireland, up to this time: and each was allowed to have his crozier upright in the presence or the province of the other.

unsuccessful, must have made an impression which was still felt, when Browne denounced them in remarkable and almost predictive language.*

In 1541, the year after the institution of his Order, St. Ignatius, the founder of the Jesuits, designated Ireland for a mission: and, from the band, selected two of his original companions, John Codur and Alphonso Salmeron, to invade the dominion of Henry the Eighth. The time was not propitious, since, little more than a year before, the defeat of Bellahoe had broken the power of the papal champion O'Neal:† but to O'Neal the breve of Paul the Third recommended the bold adventurers, and the title of nuntius marked the importance that was attributed to their enterprise.‡ In a few months

* "There are a new fraternity of late sprung up, who call themselves Jesuits, which will deceive many, who are much after the Scribes and Pharisees' manner amongst the Jews: they shall strive to abolish the truth, and shall come very near to do it. For these sorts will turn themselves into several forms: with the heathen an heathenist, with the atheists an atheist, with the Jews a Jew, with the Reformers a Reformer, purposely to know your intentions, your minds, your hearts, and your inclinations: and thereby to bring you at last to be like the fool that said in his heart, There is no God. They shall spread over the whole world, shall be admitted into the counsels of princes, and they never the wiser: charming of them, making you princes reveal their hearts and the secrets therein, and yet they not perceive it: which will happen from falling from the law of God, by neglect of fulfilling the law of God, and by winking at their sins: yet in the end God, to justify His law, shall suddenly cut off this society, even by the hands of those who have most succoured them and made use of them: so that at the end they shall become odious to all nations. They shall be worse than Jews, having no resting-place upon earth, and then shall a Jew have more favour than a Jesuit." *Harleian Miscell.* Vol. V. p. 567. I believe that this effusion has been printed in France under the title of a *Prophétie*. It is curious: but much of it seems like a perverted version of St. Ignatius' instructions to his missionaries. See below.

† See Vol. II. p. 193 *huj. oper.*

‡ The following account of the first Jesuit mission into Ireland is compiled from the valuable volume entitled *Ibernia Ignatiana*, printed by the Societas Typographica Dublinensis. The author is the Reverend Edmond Hogan, S.J., who has drawn from materials that seem unknown to the historians of the Order that are generally read. For my

the appointment of Codur was cancelled by his death, and his place was taken by Paschase Brouet, another of the founder's first associates. Brouet was a Picard of gentle nature: the disposition of Salmeron was more impetuous or irascible: whom his remains prove to have been an able commentator on the Scriptures. A third comrade, Francis Zapota, a novice, joined himself to them: and, being a person of means, who had been a notary apostolic, he bore the expenses of the journey. The instructions which they received from the founder were, to be sparing of words, but ready to hear: to shun all haste: to become all things to all men, showing briskness with the energetic and gravity with the slow: in the case of two irascible men meeting, to be schooled to patience: as St. Basil taught, to be gentle with men for their salvation, winning them first, and when they were won, rebuking: to be calm with agitated minds, cheerful with dejected ones: to remember that all they said not only in public but in private might be repeated: to forestall rather than put off duties, fulfilling to-day what they had promised for to-morrow: not to touch money, but bestow anything that they might receive on the poor or otherwise, so as to be able to say on oath that they had not got a farthing by their office: Paschase to speak with the great.

knowledge of this volume and for other information I am indebted to my gifted friend the Reverend Gerard Hopkins, S.J. The breve of Pope Paul III. is dated April 24, 1541: and addressed, "*Dilecto Filio nobili viro Camossio Yneyllo (i. e. Con Bacach O'Neal), qui 40 annos in Ultonia Princeps regnavit, vitamque integram et irreprehensam egit.*" It acknowledges letters received from him through his son Raymond, and goes on to say, "*Istam insulam nunc a moderno rege ad tantam impietatem deduci, tanta crudelitate vastari, honoremque Dei Omnipotentis tanta illius sævitia ac feritate conculcari, quo debuimus dolore intelleximus: at contra eum tuis literis et dicti Raymundi sermone edocebamur te simul honoris Dei et Romanæ Ecclesiæ et Catholicæ Religionis Propugnatorem existere,*" &c. He then introduces John and Alphonso to him and to all persons ecclesiastical and civil as "*nostros et Apostolicæ Sedis nuntios.*" Codur died August 29.

The three left Rome in September, and made their way with much difficulty both through France and into Scotland. A letter from the King of Scots recommended them to the Irish nobles: but it was suspected that information respecting them was conveyed to the King of England from the Scottish court. The brother of the Bishop of the Isles sailed with them from Scotland to Ireland, whither they arrived at the beginning of Lent in 1542. They found everything far worse than they expected: the people savages, Christianity as if extinct, no parish priests, no bishops free to do their duty.* The nobles and toparchs, with one wavering exception, they discovered to be bound by heavy obligations to the English cause, and pledged to deliver to the Viceroy any messenger of Rome: neither daring to speak to them, nor to give them a safe-conduct to depart. They were compelled therefore to work in secret, passing from one hiding-place to another, performing the offices of religion, instructing the people what to avoid and what to accept, administering the Sacraments, hearing confessions, granting indulgences, dispensing vows, in accordance with the powers committed to them, absolving or punishing in many cases certain sins which were held to be reserved to the judgment of the Holy See. The view of active religion produced its effect: the zeal and austerity of the missionaries was observed: their poverty, and the charity with which they bestowed in pious works whatever they received from repentance or gratitude, awoke respect. But they had not been in the island more than thirty-four days when a price was set upon their heads by an English proclamation.

* Omnia plena trepidationis et periculi, longe opinione pejora, non rei Catholicæ modo verum etiam in ipsius civilis vitæ prudentia atque ratione. Genus illic hominum incultum ac rude, et quod deterius est, Pastorum vigiliis plane destitutum: nulla erat apud eos Parochorum, nulla Episcoporum libera procuratio.

Spies were numerous, traitors were to be dreaded, the concourse of the pious would have been as dangerous as the diligence of the malicious, delay to be spent in inactivity would have been as fruitless as unsafe: and, obeying the instructions which they had received at Rome for such a case, they left Ireland and returned to Scotland. A cold reception there caused them to depart speedily for France, whither they were accompanied still by the brother of the Bishop of the Isles. From Dieppe they walked on foot to Paris, where they left the novice Zapota to pursue his studies: and they themselves, the humble and ragged nuncios of the Apostolic See, turned their steps toward Rome. At Lyons, where the war was raging between France and Spain, they were taken for spies and flung into a dungeon: but were rescued by some cardinals who were there, and furnished with the means of continuing their journey.* Such was the end of the first Irish mission of the Society of Jesus: which though unsuccessful, was not without fruit. The founder, St. Ignatius, was so satisfied with the conduct of Brouet the leader, as to say that no other of his followers had ever done business of the sort so well. It was when he heard of the return of the mission that Robert Waucop,

* Paget wrote home the following account of this, to King Henry VIII. "There have been lately in your Majesty's land of Ireland two freeres, Spaniards, sent thither from the Bishop of Rome, to practise with O'Neal and O'Donnel against your Majesty. They passed through Scotland with letters of commendation from the King of Scots, of whom also they had instructions to O'Neal, and promises of aid. And with them was sent for that purpose the Bishop of Isle's brother: which bishop lieth at Icolmkill between Scotland and Ireland. The said two Spaniards, and the said bishop's brother be arrived within these two days here in this town, being in their return out of Ireland, where, as they say, they have done no good, because the Scottish king kept not his promise. And this confession have these two freeres made to the lieutenant of this town: for here they were arrested for spies: and the Scot said his brother hath sent him to Rome; but wherefore he knoweth not until he come there: and then he thinketh to receive from his brother instructions." From Lyons, 31 July, 1542. State Pap. H. VIII. Vol. IX.

"the blind Scot," who had just been provided by the Pope to the vacancy of Armagh, exclaimed, "I see then that I profit little unless the people hear the voice of their shepherd," and set forth on his first journey into Ireland. Though his sojourn there was brief and perilous, he probably deepened the impression which the Jesuits had left: and this digression upon a curious piece of history, is interposed between his first attempt to enter on his see and the time, ten years later, when, as it has been seen, he expired in making his second.

The bishops who had followed Dowdal when he retired from the assembly at Dublin, followed him not when he left his see and sought a foreign asylum. They either conformed or returned to the negligence and ignorance which had brought the Church so low, and which at times incurred the reproaches even of the English viceroys.* But Armagh and Ossory were vacant: and the head of the English patriarchate, on whom it devolved to fill them, felt the importance of choosing men of confirmed loyalty, of zeal, of firm and intelligent fidelity to the doctrines of the Reformation. Cranmer turned to his list of licensed preachers, and his favourite prebendaries of Canterbury: from whom he selected several for the offer of the Irish preferments. To his surprise they one after another refused: and it was in vain to represent to them the urgent need, the glory of the vocation, the opportunity of exertion, the facility

* See Croft's Lett. to Cecil, 15 Mar. 1552. "I am, besides my other cares, burdened with the setting forth of religion, which to my skill I cause to be amended in every place whither I travel: and nevertheless through the negligence of the bishops and other spiritual ministers it is so barely looked unto as the old ceremonies yet remain in many places. The bishops, as I find, be negligent, and few learned, and none of any good zeal, as it seemeth. Wherefore, if it should please you to move the Council that for such bishopries as be here void, some learned men might be sent over to take charge, and so to preach and set forth the King's proceedings," &c. State Pap. Irish, Vol. IV. No. 28, MSS. Rec. Off. *Col.* p. 124.

with which the Irish language might be acquired, and the likelihood of the enlargement of the field of usefulness. They had rather be hanged, they replied, than go to Ireland. They so much preferred, said they, to serve the cause in England.* It remained to turn to another seminary: and from the household of Ponet of Winchester to fill Armagh with Goodacre, and to fortify the Reformation by sending to Ossory the famous polemic, John Bale. The strange person, who thus entered on a dismal warfare, cannot be refused the praise of vigour, fecundity and versatility as a writer; nor is the place of Bale inconsiderable in literature, for the author of the *Centuries* was the founder of English biography. His learning, in comparison of his brother prelates in Ireland, was stupendous:† his sour temper and resolute spirit were not less likely to impress them. He owed his promotion to an analogy between Moses and the Duke of Northumberland, which he made in the dedication of a book: and he came at the beginning of 1553 to a see which had been vacant and pillaged for two years. He has left a pathetic narrative, to which we shall return, of the sufferings that he endured in following his vocation: and he seems to have pursued with success the vocation of proving to the ignorant and wretched people of Ireland that the reformation of religion, which was presented to them, was an English imposition recommended by pillage, and inadequately supported by authority.‡

* Strype gives a full account of all this in his *Life of Cranmer*, bk. ii. ch. xxviii. Of the names he mentions, as selected by Cranmer, three, Whitehead, Turner, Roose or Rose, are in the list of licensed preachers in Vol. II. p. 485 *huj. op.*

† Such is the powerful word that Leland applies.

‡ Vocation of John Bale. See ch. xxi. of this volume.

CHAPTER XX.

A.D. 1552.

THE several congregations of foreigners, which were established in London under the general superintendence of Laski, were in these years often unquiet through internal dissensions, and were the occasion of trouble to the Church of England. Concerning one of them, that of the Germans or Walloons, the minister Micronius, and Uttenhovius an elder, have recorded some curious particulars in their letters. "I began," says Micronius, "to preach in this church in September, 1550: and soon the church would not hold the congregation of Germans. We proceeded to establish a regular form of government, appointing four elders to assist the minister, not indeed in the ministry of the word, but in preserving doctrine and morals: and four others to have charge of the poor. They were ordained after the apostolic ordinance, with public prayer and imposition of hands. Our multitude increases, so that at this rate we shall attack Flanders itself with fiery darts, and exturbate Antichrist from our native country. How excellent, pious, learned is Laski, none can tell. But the bishops vex us much. They have procured from the Council that we may not have the free use of the Sacraments, but must be fettered by those intolerable English ceremonies. The administration of the Lord's Supper is

wanting to us, although we have the royal license. Laski cannot prevail with the bishops that we may enjoy the liberty that has been granted to us, so malevolent are our adversaries." From this it appears that the Bishop of London, Ridley, and perhaps even Ponet of Winchester, were reluctant to allow the liberty, which the Council had granted to the strangers, to be extended to the Sacraments: doubting the validity of their ministration, or not willing that the poverty of their rite should be exhibited in the English capital. It is not surprising therefore that the churchwardens of the parishes, where these outlandish settlers chiefly lived, St. Katharine's and Southwark, felt it their duty to call upon them to resort to their parish churches, and threatened some of them with imprisonment, unless they came. Against this molestation Laski applied himself to Goodrich the Lord Chancellor, and to Secretary Cecil, and obtained an order of Council to restrain it.* "We have also to contend," continued Micronius, "with sectaries, Epicureans, pseudo-evangelicals. The old errors about infant baptism, the Incarnation, the authority of the magistrate, the lawfulness of oaths, community of goods, and the like, are all here: and new ones spring daily. We strive to fortify our church against heresies. We have a collation of the Scriptures in German, in which the sermons of the preceding week are discussed: and we have two Latin lectures besides, the one by Laski, the other by Delvin: and these are followed by collations of the Scriptures."†

Of the Italian congregation, which was likewise under Laski's superintendence, and so was the French, the troubles were of another kind. The Italians enjoyed the advantage of the ministry of Michael Angelo Florio,

* Strype's *Cranm.* bk. ii. ch. xxii., and Append. No. li.: also Strype, iii. 376.

† See his Letters to Bullinger, and those of Uttenhovius, in *Orig. Lett.*

a scholar and an eloquent preacher, who shared the countenance of Archbishop Cranmer and Secretary Cecil, by whose means he held an annuity of twenty pounds.* But Florio having unhappily fallen into an offence which caused scandal, the indignant representatives of the Council threatened him with banishment. In reply the Italian wrote a very penitent letter, reminding Cecil of human frailty, and of the recovery of good men who had fallen: that the blow would be great to the Gospel if he should be compelled to give it up, as he might be if he were punished by banishment, since his enemies abroad would either kill him or make him recant.† He was continued in his ministry, and restored to favour: but difficulties soon rose again about him. His sermons took a severe tone against the Pope: but in signifying his zeal he forgot to consider that his congregation, composed of all the Italian nations, Genoese, Florentines, Venetians, others, contained many Pontificians. Many of the hired soldiers, or *gens d'armes*, employed by the English Council, may have been attracted to a place of worship where they might hear at least the sound of their own language, and may have hoped for the rites and doctrines to which they were attached in their secret hearts. The vigorous declamations of Florio disgusted a great number: they withdrew themselves: the contribution for the maintenance of the preacher fell very low: and, when he upbraided them, he was disregarded. On this he gave information to the Council of a fact that may have been less surprising to them than he deemed, that many of the Italians in London heard Mass daily, for which, if they had been Englishmen, they would have been

* Strype, iii. 377.

† Strype's *Cranm.* Append. liii.

severely punished: and he requested, that, as they had been made denisen by the benevolence of the Government, they might be punished like Englishmen. Jehu of Israel, said he, rooted out the house of Ahab, and slew all the prophets of Baal: and Jehu was anointed for the work by a true prophet. He sent a list of the names of his chief enemies.* If, as it seems probable, those Italians who resorted to the forbidden rite in London were the hired soldiers who fought in the service of the Council against the enemies of the Reformation, the Council would scarcely be unaware of this. If it were so, it sets their scruples about the Lady Mary's Mass in a curious light. However it may have been through the representation of Florio that a regulation was made that no foreigner should be admitted to the rights of an English citizen, who had not made a declaration of his faith to the ministers of the foreign churches.†

The Flemish community, which Somerset had planted in Glastonbury, felt painfully the fall of their patron. The compact into which he had entered with them was not observed: their money became exhausted: their wool for spinning was nearly run out; and, with no means of purchasing more, to procure the necessaries of life they were compelled to pawn the stuffs that they had woven. A hard or knavish manager deprived them of the park that had been allotted them to pasture: the

* Strype's *Cranm.* Append. lii.

† "No foreigner is now eligible to the rights of an English citizen without having previously made a confession of his faith to the ministers of the foreign churches." Micronius to Bullinger, Feb. 1553. *Orig. Lett.* p. 581. I have ventured to connect this regulation with the unedifying troubles of Michael Angelo Florio, and the information sent to the Council about the Mass. His case would thus be brought into the year 1552 or thereabout. His letters in Strype are without date. Micronius however, I must add, speaks as if the regulation was caused by the wild sectarian opinions among the foreigners, nothing about the Mass. The causes may have coexisted.

ill will of the country people around continued to be manifested. Their anxious superintendent Pullanus sent his deacons, came himself, with letters and petitions to Cecil and the lords: and by dint of importunity at length obtained some relief of their desperate condition. They were cleared of debt, their park was restored, their houses were repaired, and a stated, if scanty, provision of money was made to them. Thus they made shift to live, but could not prosper: the realm, which encouraged not their industry, received nothing of the advantages that had been extravagantly promised from their skill: and, as I have said before, the termination of the reign gave the signal of the final dispersion of the unfortunate factory.*

The tragedy of Somerset came to an end on the twenty-second of January. In the succinct language of his nephew, "the Duke of Somerset had his head cut off upon Tower Hill between eight and nine o'clock in the morning."† On the scaffold his demeanour was dignified. He exhorted the people to fidelity and obedience, and protested his innocence of offending against the King, congratulating himself on the part that he had taken in purifying religion, and declaring that he was willing to die in obedience to the laws. A sudden panic among the people, rising out of the rapid approach of some of the armed bands from the Hamlets, who feared themselves too late upon the scene, interrupted

* Strype has given a minute account of the misfortunes of the Glastonbury strangers, and has printed some of the letters of Pullanus. *Cramm.* bk. ii. ch. xxiii. and Append. Others of the letters are preserved in the Domestic Papers of Edw. VI. in the Record Office: see *Cal.* pp. 37 and 38: where are also Somerset's Contract with them (of which Strype gives the substance), and the various Orders taken for them. It may also be observed that Bishop Barlow of Bath and Wells was their friend, and was charged by the Council to take care of them, which Strype omits: and, which Strype denies, that money was furnished to them for buying wool to weave.

† Edward's Journal.

his speech with the rumour of a rescue. Of a pardon the cry was spread, when this had subsided, and the thundering gallop of a single horseman was heard on the other side of the crowd. But Sir Anthony Brown, the Master of the Horse, came but for the execution of his office: the Duke knew too well the power and determination of his enemies to expect either deliverance or mercy. He calmed the people with his voice: himself gave the signal for the stroke: and ended with fortitude a life which it is impossible to regard with admiration. The spectators shuddered at the sound of the blow: and many of them pressed forward to dip their handkerchiefs in the blood.* Soon afterwards four of the friends of the Duke, Stanhope, Sir Thomas Arundel, Vane, and Partridge, were tried, convicted of sharing his designs, followed him to death; the two first named by the axe, by the cord the other two. All denied their guilt: of Vane the protestations were loud and bitter, both when he was tried and when he was hanged.† On the other hand the informer Palmer was admitted to the intimate confidence of Northumberland, and sent in high command to the north.‡

* The death of Somerset is painted by two eye-witnesses, Stow the annalist, and "a certain noble personage" whose pathetic narrative is given by Fox. The latter historian is censured by Collier for comparing the tumultuary panic that occurred with the scene at the apprehension of the Most Sacred of sufferers: but the blame of the profanity rests rather with Fox's author. Grafton also has a full narrative of the execution. Somerset's true epitaph was written by the sententious Peter Vannes, the envoy at Venice, who, after congratulating the Council with warmth on their dexterity and success, adds the reflection, "And this is the end of an ambitious heart and insatiable mind." Lett. from Venice, 13 Nov. *For. Cal.* p. 192.

† "Sir Ralph Vane was condemned of Felony in Treason, answering like a ruffian." *Edward's Journ.* 27 Mar. Other particulars about him and the rest are given in the same unique record, and in the historians. All these persons, though variously executed, were, like Somerset, "quit of treason, but cast of felony to be hanged." Machyn's *Diary*, p. 15.

‡ This creature had called Somerset "the founder of his beginning, and furtherer hitherto in all his causes" in 1547. *For. Cal.* p. 308.

The scaffold was still thirsting for blood when, on the day after Somerset's execution, the first Parliament of Edward, which had been continued through the reign, met for its last session. Originally convoked by the late Protector, it still contained among the Commons many who were somewhat attached to his interests, or who thought his end craftily procured. An opposition between the Commons and the Court was manifest in several of the debates and decisions : but on the other hand the frequent presence of Northumberland overawed the Lords ; where he was closely supported by his faction, the more independent members and the surviving fragment of the Old Learning frequently marking their indifference or disapprobation by their absence. The measures of the session, which affected the Church, were numerous, and some of them curious. Some of them took no effect, others bore the germ of the policy of future generations, some were supplementary, others contradictory of what had been ordained before by the same assembly. But the most notable feature in them is the design, which they manifest, of setting in motion the spiritual jurisdiction, the censures of the Church, sometimes with, but sometimes without the mixture of the temporal jurisdiction. It seems as if it had been desired to furnish the realm with a set of parliamentary statutes which in language should resemble the canons and constitutions of a clerical assembly : to supply the silence of Convocation by the episcopal and lay legislature : to re-animate the dormant organism of the State Ecclesiastical by the breath of the Civil State. This design, which certainly is discernible, may have arisen out of the recently attempted reformation of the ecclesiastical laws : and it was probably due to the bent and fostered by the zeal of Cranmer and Ridley, who were assiduous in their attendance in the House of Lords. It was one of the

logical experiments, or alternatives, to be tried in the course of the revolution : that, if the spiritual jurisdiction were not to be exercised by the spiritual estate, it might be exercised by the lay estates : but it scarcely lasted a moment. It was too ideal. However the last ecclesiastical legislation, as it turned out to be, of an unhappy but memorable reign deserves investigation.

No sooner were the Lords in their places than a bill was laid before them which confessed the ungovernable nature of religious revolutions. It was the first measure that was proposed against simple recusants. It lamented that "great numbers of people in divers parts of the kingdom wilfully and damnably abstained from coming to their parish churches," authorising therefore the bishops and other ordinaries to inflict on such defaulters the censures of the Church. The recusants who were thus consigned to the cognisance of the spiritual jurisdiction, were, it is probable, for the more part of the Old Learning, who disliked the English service : but it seems impossible not to suppose that there were many who were moved by opinions resembling those of the modern Separatists : and the silent growth of secession, in resistance to Uniformity, is seen to demand the intervention of Parliament after the lapse of the three years that had passed since the First Act for Uniformity.* The design of the bill, which bore the simple title, "For the appointment of an Order to come to Divine Service," was to enforce the First Prayer Book of Edward upon all recusants whatever : whereas none but clerical nonconformists and laymen who maintained any such, or who actively depraved the English service, had been rendered

* It may be worth notice that the strong expression "wilfully and damnably," was afterwards altered into "schismatically" in the Act of Charles II., where this clause is partly repeated. This may have been thought an exact equivalent.

liable to punishment by the First Act for Uniformity.* The bill declared the First Prayer Book to be agreeable to the Word of God and the Primitive Church, to be comfortable to Christian men, and profitable to the estates of the realm: † and then with commendable moderation left the offence of recusancy to spiritual censure. If it had remained there, the history of the Church of England in the following ages would have been different. Unhappily, when the provision was repeated in the next Act for Uniformity, in the beginning of the reign of the last of the Tudors, the temporal penalty was added of the heavy fine of twelve pence for every neglect of Sunday or holiday. ‡

* See above on the First Act for Uniformity, p. 3.

† "A very godly order has been set forth by the authority of Parliament for Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, to be used in the Mother tongue, within the Church of England; agreeable to the Word of God and the Primitive Church, very comfortable to all good people desiring to live in Christian conversation, and most profitable to the estates of the realm," &c. 5 and 6 Edw. VI. c. i.

‡ In 1 Eliz. The remarks of Collier on the bill that we are considering, are worthy of attention. How, he asks, could the legislature make a grant of spiritual jurisdiction? They gave power to archbishops, bishops, and the other ecclesiastical officers to punish offenders by the censures of the Church: but could not the bishops have discharged their offices without leave of the civil powers? Could not the power of the keys, given to the Church, be exercised without a warrant from the State? This must be left, as he leaves it, "to the reader's collection." I may however say that the bill might be regarded as merely declaratory: or, at least, that spiritual jurisdiction (as I have said before) was virtually suspended by the Reformation, and restored in fragments at the convenience of the temporal power: and that this was more a piece of restitution than a primary institution. What is certain is that this enactment and its sequel under Elizabeth is a most melancholy instance of trying to do the right thing in the wrong way. Recusancy deserved spiritual censures. If the matter had been laid before Convocation, and Convocation had ordered spiritual censures to be used, and Parliament had never had anything to do with the matter, the proper remedy would have been applied, the proper remedy would never have been exceeded; and, whether it were successful or not, the Church would have done her duty and been blameless. No doubt Cranmer and Ridley were the authors of the Church bills of this session, with their long theological preambles.

Now when this bill about the First Prayer Book had passed the Lords, while it was still sticking in the Commons, where it seems only to have been read once, another bill was brought into the higher assembly, which bore reference to those alterations, lately made in so obscure a manner, by which the English Service was about to be republished in the form which is known as the Second Prayer Book of Edward. From the language used in this bill it is evident that the alterations which it was to authorise were regarded merely as a revision of the First Book, to explain it where curiosity had led to doubt, or to reduce it to a more perfect form for devotion : * nor would it have been consistent to have repeated expressly the penal clauses of the Act which established the First Book on behalf of a second book by which the first was taken away. The authors of this bill declared that the First Book had been revised by the King's command and the authority of Parliament : they annexed the revision to the bill, adding thereto the English Ordinal, which had been also revised : and in order to authorise these revisions, they repeated the penal clauses of the First Act for Uniformity. Thus was fulfilled to

* "And because there hath arisen in the use and exercise of the foresaid common service in the Church heretofore set forth, divers doubts for the fashion and manner of the ministration of the same, rather by the curiosity of the minister and mistakers than for any other worthy cause ; therefore, as well for the more plain and manifest explanation hereof, as for the more perfection of the said Order of common service, in some places where it is necessary to make the same Prayers and fashion of service more earnest and fit to stir Christian people to the true honouring of Almighty God : the King's most excellent Majesty, with the assent of the Lords and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, hath caused the foresaid Order of common service, entitled The Book of Common Prayer, to be faithfully and godly perused, explained, and made fully perfect : and by the foresaid authority hath annexed and joined it, so explained and perfected, to this present Estatute : adding also a form and manner of making and consecrating Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, to be of like force, authority, and value as the same like foresaid Book," &c. 5 and 6 Ed. VI. c. 1.

the letter the threat or prophecy of Peter Martyr, that, if the Convocation would not revise the First Prayer Book, the King would do it, and get the sanction of the next session of Parliament.* But the addition, which the bill made to the enforcement of Uniformity and the scope of the First Act, was the most momentous thing that it contained. It was ordered explicitly that to be present at any other form of service should expose any person to be tried by the justices, and sentenced on conviction to various but monstrous terms of imprisonment; for the first time to the chastisement of six months, to a double period of incarceration for the second, to perpetual imprisonment for the third offence. Thus to the lay subject, for the act of open dissent, was extended, in increased severity, the same kind of penalty that had hitherto been confined to the imperfect minister or the active traducer of the English service: and, as the bill about coming to divine service (which was considered above) consigned recusants to the spiritual jurisdiction, so, by this bill, the temporal jurisdiction alone was to have cognisance of dissidents.† Two offences were created to be remedied: to the one the right correction was wrongly applied, to the other was applied the abuse of power. The House of Commons joined the two bills together, and composed in this curious manner the Second Act for Uniformity of the reign of Edward. When it went back to the Lords, a few of the Old Learning who had voted against the First Act three years before, appeared to record their sentence against its formidable successor: the Earl of Derby, the Bishops of Carlisle and Norwich, and Lord Windsor: to whom was now added Lord Stourton. An extraordinary interval of time was allowed before the operation of the

* See above, near the end of chapter xvii. (p. 248).

† Nothing was said about the justices calling in the advice of the bishops, as in the First Act for Uniformity. Cf. above, p. 4. But perhaps, as the First Act was revived in the Second, this provision was implied.

statute: nor was it until the beginning of November and the Feast of All Saints that the Second English Prayer Book and Ordinal were to be everywhere received.*

A bill of treasons, reviving one of the abominable

* It may be worth while to exhibit from the Journals the progress of the curiously composite Second Act for Uniformity through the Houses.

Lords' Journals.

Commons' Journals.

23 Jan. Prima vice lecta est Billa for the appointing an order to come to divine service.

26 Jan. Tertia vice lecta est Billa for the appointing an order to come to divine service: quæ communi consensu omnium Procerum conclusa est, et tradita Ric. Rede et Jn. Codsalve, Militib. per eos ad domum Communem deferenda.

26 Jan. Lecta 1. The Bill for coming to divine service.

9 Mar. Prima vice lecta est Billa for an Uniformity in Religion.

30 Mar. Prima vice lecta est Billa for the due coming to Common Prayer, and other services of God, in churches, upon Sundays and holidays.

31 Mar. Secunda vice lecta est Billa for the due coming, &c.

6 Ap. Tertia vice lecta est Billa for the Uniformity of service and Administration of the Sacraments throughout the realm: quæ conclusa est, dissentientibus Com. Derby, Ep. Carliol. et Norvicen. et Ds. Stourton et Windsor.

Eodem die missa est in Domum Communem una Billa for the Uniformity of Service and Administration of Sacraments to be had throughout the Realm: and therewithal a Book of the said service, drawn out by certain persons appointed by the King's Majesty for that purpose.

14 Ap. Billa for Uniformity, &c., allata a Domo Communi.

6 Ap. The Bill and Book touching divine service and Administration of the Sacraments sent from the Lords.

7 Ap. Lecta semel the Bill for divine service, &c.

13 Ap. Lecta 3, the Bill for confirmation of the Common Prayer: and sent up to the Lords.

14 Ap. Lecta 4, the Bill for confirmation of Common Prayer.

statutes of Henry, which passed the Lords, was long debated and at last rejected by the Commons: where a new bill was framed, which passed, by which no man might be attainted of treason without two witnesses brought face to face with him: and none might be questioned for anything said or written more than three months previously. The reference made by this to the proceedings against Somerset and his followers was marked and open. Nevertheless the Commons revived Henry's invention of verbal treason in this Act, thereby undoing the work of their own first session at the beginning of the reign: for they made it felony or treason, according to the repetition of the offence, to call the King heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper: and to set the same in writing they made treason.* An Act for holidays and fasting days exhibited an hortatory preamble, declaring that days were not allowed to be kept through any virtue in them, but to correct negligence by having appointed times in which men should cease from labour and be wholly concerned in their religious duties: that no day was holy to any saint, but to God, in remembrance of the saint. The days to be kept were those now in the calendar: and the feast of St. George was taken from general observance, though it might be kept by the Knights of the Garter:† and it was provided

* C. 11. The Journals indicate much discussion of this bill: what it was when it came from the Lords, one cannot tell: it is severe enough as it stands. It looks as if the Commons, after all, adopted the principle of the Lords' measure, verbal treason: and then added a second part of their own, about two witnesses, &c., as a reflection on the Northumberland faction in the Peers. The entry about it in the Lords' Journals is that, 13 April, a bill was sent up from the Commons "newly made by them, and therewithal the Old Book which passed from the Lords." On the subject cf. Vol. II. p. 454 *huj. op.*

† There was a design on foot for making a change in the Order of St. George. The name of the patron was to have been struck out, and it was only to be called the Order of the Garter. The festival was to have been held at Whitsuntide, not on St. George's Day. The design of the whole alteration was the dissolution of the Free Chapel of St. George in Windsor,

that labourers and fishermen might work on holidays in harvest, or at other needful time. The censures of the Church were the only penalty assigned against offenders, in agreement with the new Act for Uniformity, as it regarded recusants.*

A temporary Act for the relief of the poor, which was to be in force only to the end of the next session, introduced under an ecclesiastical dress a new and extraordinary kind of legislation which, however, afterwards put on a secular appearance. It gave to the parson, the churchwardens, and other officers of every parish the power of forcibly electing two or more collectors of money for the poor: to the collectors forcibly elected it gave the power of demanding money according to means from every parishioner: on the bishop it conferred the office of punishing by spiritual censure the collectors, if they failed to exhibit their

and the embezzlement of the lands by the courtiers. It miscarried through the King's death. Heylin, Burnet, Collier.

* The preamble of this Act (c. iii.) is worth quoting, as it seems incredible that it can have been sanctioned by one of the predecessors of such an assembly as the legislative body of England is now become. This Tudor Parliament was, it would seem from this language, endeavouring to frame canons for the Church: and however unconstitutional the attempt was, yet at any rate the Parliament then consisted of churchmen. Listen to this. "Forasmuch as at all times men be not so mindful to laud and praise God, so ready to resort and hear God's holy word, and to come to the Holy Communion and other laudable rites which are to be observed in every Christian congregation, as their bounden duty doth require: Therefore, to call men to remembrance of their duty, and to help their infirmity, it hath been wholesomely provided, That there should be some certain times and days appointed, wherein the Christians should cease from all other kind of labours, and should apply themselves only and wholly unto the aforesaid holy works pertaining unto true Religion, that is, to hear, to learn, and to remember Almighty God's great benefits, His manifold mercies, His inestimable goodness, so plenteously poured on all His creatures, and that of His infinite and unspeakable goodness, without any man's desert: And in remembrance hereof to render unto Him most high and hearty thanks, with Prayers and Supplications for the relief of all daily necessities: And because these be the chief and principal works wherein man is commanded to worship God, and do properly pertain unto the first Table, therefore," &c.

accounts.* This was the first institution of overseers, and the first form of a poor rate: a kind of compulsory alms that was rendered necessary by the revolution of the rich against the poor. The remedy of spiritual censures was again prescribed in an Act against brawls and fighting in churches or churchyards; and the degrees of censure were particularly defined. A wrangle of words the ordinary might punish with suspension *ab ingressu ecclesiæ* in the case of a layman, in the case of a priest with suspension from the ministration of his office: excommunication might be the sentence of a blow: but a drawn weapon and a wound required a mixture of jurisdiction: the ferocious culprit was to be excommunicated by the ordinary, and tried by the justice, and to lose an ear on conviction: but if he had not an ear to lose (the provision speaks for the barbarity of the times) a red-hot iron branding the cheek with the first letter of the word fighter might be adhibited instead of the shears.† This urgent measure was accompanied, it may be observed, by a royal proclamation prohibiting frays and fightings in cathedral churches, and the bringing into them of mules and horses: such was the profanity of the Reformation.‡ But if the spiritual jurisdiction were to be exercised in all these various ways, the bishops had not yet forgotten the scandalous abuse of the statute of *Præmunire* in the late reign, and the vast forfeiture incurred by the clergy for a pretended transgression: by them a bill was introduced for the security of the clergy from the statute, if they did anything in their courts against the King's prerogative through ignorance: that they might incur danger only if they still proceeded after a writ of prohibition had

* 5 and 6 Edw. VI. c. 2. This Act was succeeded by the great measure of 14 Eliz. 2, in 1572: in which nearly everything was for justices, bailiffs, and other secular officers.

† c. iii.

‡ 20 Feb. Strype, iii. 524.

been issued to stop them. They carried their reasonable safeguard through the Lords : but the Commons passed it not.* A curious heresy bill was read in the Upper House, which seemed to bear the impression of the mind of Ridley : it was for preserving the King's subjects from the infection of the false opinions of the strangers resident in the kingdom. After one reading, this dangerous device was entrusted to a well-balanced committee of Thirlby, Coverdale, Ridley, Hooper : from which happily it never emerged.†

The ill-fated project for revising the Ecclesiastical Laws by a commission of Thirty-two, which the patient reader has pursued from the beginning of the Reformation, occupied once more the attention of the legislature : and on the day before the dissolution a statute was passed for continuing the commission three years longer. A month before this the Thirty-two were actually nominated : or the previous nomination of them was renewed.‡

* Burnet.

† *Prima vice lecta est billa*, For the Preservation of the King's Majesty's Subjects from such Heresies as may happen by strangers dwelling among them : *quæ commissa est* Episcopis London. Norwicen. Gloucestren. et Exon. *Lords' Journ.* 4 Ap.

‡ "Commission was granted out to thirty-two persons, to examine, correct, and set forth the Ecclesiastical Laws. The persons' names were these.

The Bishops.

Canterbury, Ely, London, Winchester, Exeter, Bath, Gloucester, Rochester.

The Divines.

Taylor of Lincoln : Taylor of Hadleigh : Mr. Cox, Almoner : Sir Jn. Cheke : Sir Ant. Cook : Peter Martyr : Joannes Alasco : Parker of Cambridge.

Civilians.

Mr. Secretary Petre : Mr. Secretary Cecil : Mr. Traheron : *Mr. Red :* *Mr. Coke :* May, Dean of Paul's : Skinner.

Lawyers.

Justice Bromley, Justice Hales, Gosnald, Goodrick, Stamford, Carel, Lucas, *Gawdy.* *Edward's Journ.* Feb. 10.

The Letter of the Council for this renewed commission was of Feb. 2. "A Letter to the Ld. Chanc. to make out a commission to the Archb. and

But the work which was the only outcome of the project, the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, must have been composed before this time: and whatever more may have been meditated by Cranmer and his fellows, it was swallowed in the swiftly gathering storm that swept them from their place.

A declaratory statute protested against the opinion of those who held the marriage of priests to be but a permitted evil, like usury: and affirmed the legitimacy of the children of married priests. Against this no less than ten of the lay peers dissented. Another statute declared more fully the ability of the late religious persons and their descendants to hold land, and enjoy other civil rights. By another the same retrospective care and skill was displayed, which had thrown over the illegal dissolution of the greater monasteries in the reign of Henry the protection of the law. The bishopric of Westminster, which we have seen to have been dissolved

other bishops, learned men, civilians, and lawyers of the realm for the establishment of the ecclesiastical laws according to the Act of Parlt. made the last session." *Council Bk.* Comp. Strype's *Cranm.* bk. ii. ch. xxvi. The reader will observe that this is nearly the same list as the former list given by Strype: see last chapter, p. 351. The names in italics are not in Strype: Latimer, Sir T. Smith, Lyel, Brock, who are in Strype, are not here. By the irony of fate, the Thirty-two in their last appearance lack one of their number, and are but Thirty-one. Sir T. Smith the civilian seems the omitted name, for whatever reason. Of the divines the elimination of Latimer, who was so often disrespected in this reign, from this latter list may be remarked. That the commission was nominated, or renominated at this time, is confirmed by one of Peter Martyr's epistles to Bullinger. "The King has appointed two and thirty persons to frame ecclesiastical laws for this realm: namely, eight bishops, eight divines, eight civil and eight common lawyers: the most of whom are equally distinguished by profound erudition and solid piety: and we also, I mean Hooper, a Lasco, and myself are enrolled among them." Lambeth, March 9, 1552. *O. L.* p. 503. Peter had come to London about this at the beginning of Parliament. His remarks about the Church of England having been governed by "pontifical decrees and decretals, which prevailed in the ecclesiastical court under the tacit authority of the Pope," though there were other church laws, are worth looking at.

and united to London nearly two years before, was declared to be dissolved and united to London. Thirlby had lost so much by fraudulent exchanges with the courtiers, that there was not enough left to maintain a bishop. Of the residue some portion was turned to the reparation of the cathedral church of London after the ravages of Somerset, Ridley, and the rest of the destroyers of monuments and altars: and the popular imagination merrily or bitterly observed, in this transaction, one of the Apostles stripped and made bare to supply the wants of another.* The capitular body of Westminster was continued in exempt jurisdiction by this Act. A bill against simony, the reservation of pensions and of benefices, the granting of advowsons in the lifetime of incumbents, was passed, but by accident or design never received the royal assent. On the other hand the royal assent and signature was set beforehand to a bill, which the court carried through the Lords and sent to the Commons to destroy the entail of Somerset's estate, that it might be forfeited. This unusual thing, and the malice of the proposition, roused the Commons, and it was with the utmost difficulty that the bill was forced through their House: and when it was followed by another for voiding a contract of marriage between Somerset's son and Oxford's daughter, this was lost by one.

Another of Northumberland's designs was baffled: for by the deprivation of the imprisoned Tunstall he intended to ravage the splendid patrimony of Durham, to effect the partition of an impoverished see, and to acquire to himself the title of count palatine. A bill for the deprivation of the bishop was hurried through the Lords on the four last days of March. It encountered the honourable opposition of Cranmer, who voted, and is

* The popular saying of "robbing Peter to pay Paul" arose out of this transaction. Collier.

said to have spoken against it, and who was supported by Lord Stourton. To deprive a bishop by bill was, I suppose, unprecedented: to have sent a bill to the Commons to degrade a peer might have been against privilege: and this bill seems not to have been demitted by the peers. But if not, in the Commons the attack on Tunstall was opened again by a bill for his attainder of misprision of treason. Again it was defeated, the Lower House refusing to entertain any such measure unless the bishop and his accusers were brought face to face before them.* They thus indicated at once their opinion of the late proceedings against Somerset and of the value of the allegations against Tunstall. Warned by this, the Duke of Northumberland dropped the matter in Parliament, though he ceased not to persecute the bishop. He kept him in prison to the end of the reign: he deprived him after all: but his deprivation was procured, as will be seen, by the more ordinary process of a commission.

The rest of the acts of this senile Parliament shall not delay the reader. It mustered now in the House of Commons less than a hundred and forty members. It dealt in its last days with the dregs of the revolution which it had aided to accomplish: and the progress of

* On the 28th March a bill was brought into the Lords "for the deprivation of the Bishop of Durham." Next day it was read for the second time. It was committed to be engrossed on the day after, before it was read for the third time. On the 31st was read for the third time the bill "for the deprivation of the Bishop of Durham for certain heinous offences by him committed, quæ communi omnium Procerum assensu conclusa est, dissentientibus Archiep. Cantuar. et D. Stourton." Four days after this, in the Commons there was read for the first time "The Bill against the Bishop of Durham for misprision of treason:" and the House ordered, "That the King's Privy Council in this House may make request to the Lords that the Bishop of Durham and his accessories may be here in proper persons." *Journals*. The matter went no further. It is difficult, as Burnet observes, to understand why Crammer and Stourton were unsupported in this case. The court pressure must have been enormous. It was not creditable to the bench that there were fourteen bishops present, including Tunstall's neighbours of York and Carlisle.

avarice and the decrease of the means of feeding it were both illustrated somewhat humbly by laws against the buying and selling of offices, against regrating and forestalling, about the decay of houses, for the right stuffing of feather-beds, and to forbid the exportation of old shoes and slippers. It offended Northumberland, and Northumberland dissolved it on the fifteenth of April.

The sway of Dudley continued to be severe against the adherents of his late rival. Under the plea of zeal for the public service, inquiries were instituted into the defalcations of the revenue, the state of the fiscal courts, and the other disorders. They were pursued with vigour throughout the summer : but it was the friends of Somerset who felt, and who perhaps deserved, the worst severity. Paget, the ablest of them, whom we have seen so punctilious in the maintenance of his dignity at the trial of Gardiner, was degraded from the Order of the Garter, of which the ensigns were ignominiously stripped from his person, on the ground that he was no gentleman of blood by either side. His irregularities of office were exposed, for he had sold away lands and great timber woods to the robbery of the King ; he was put in the Star Chamber, and there made to confess his offences both by word of mouth and in writing : a fine of six thousand pounds was laid upon him, and he was succeeded in the Duchy of Lancaster by Sir John Gates, the Paget of Northumberland.* Beaumont, who was Master of the Rolls, was deposed from office, and otherwise punished, on account of various peculiarities which could not be con-

* "What at length becometh of our practising Paget? He is committed to ward, his garter with shame pulled from his leg, his robe from his back, his coat armour pulled down, spurned out of Windsor church, trod underfoot : and he himself with great favour obtaineth that he might redeem the rest of his corporal pains with open confession in the Star Chamber at the bar on his knees, of the bribery, extortion, dissimulation, robbing of the King, ambition, and such-like virtues, whereby he became noble." Ponet's *Short Treatise of Politic Power*.

cealed, such as buying land with the King's money, and lending the King's money for his own profit.* The more ingenious Whalley, the Receiver of Yorkshire, owned with reluctance that he had not only lent the King's money for gain and lucre, but had bought the King's own land with the King's own money : that he had paid one year's revenue with the arrears of the last : that he had borrowed large sums at the time when money was cried down, and cleared hundreds of pounds by getting the allowance for the difference of value. The consideration of these things moved him to surrender his office and submit to a fine : he was joined in his humiliation by Sir John Baker, the Chancellor of Augmentations ; while Sir John Williams, who had been irregular in the payment of pensions, was sent to the Fleet. At the same time, in the tranquil confidence of success and power, the greater part of the mercenary forces, which had been of such signal service to the revolution, were dismissed : and the bulwarks, or places of strength, which they had manned in several parts of the country, were dismantled. To restore contentment and plenty, the Council marched to the Guildhall ; and in the presence of a thousand people rebuked the Corporation of London for the high prices of commodities, threatening to confiscate their liberties, and replace them by a body of their own commissioners. But prices kept up in spite of menaces that courted the mob : the public service remained a sink of corruption, though a few evil-doers were removed : and, as if to mark that it was not honesty that caused severity, the Duke of Northumberland, while he was exacting close reckonings from Somerset's friends, cancelled his

* Beaumont's bill or indictment, to which he fully confessed, contained, as the Council said, "so many foul matters as have seldom appeared in any one man." Council to Northumberland, June 1552. Lodge, i. 170.

own debts to the Crown, and loaded himself and his family with public spoil.*

The attention of the King, the keen eye which he inherited from his father, began to be a part of things; and had to be taken into account by the rulers of the revolution. Edward was now fifteen years old: his extraordinary precocity appeared to increase, as his health declined: and it was never so great as at this very time, when, as he briefly noted in his Journal, he "fell sick of the measles and small-pox." † It was not altogether in vain that Latimer, Lever, Hooper, or Bradford had laid before him the evils of the times; and in a discourse on the reformation of abuses, composed at this period, he showed that he had cast on them an uncommonly intelligent and methodical, though not unprejudiced, observation. He remarked that it was not only necessary to set forth public prayers, but continually to allure the people to hear them: he approved of the restoration of the ecclesiastical discipline, provided it were to be administered by fit men: but, so truly frank he was, he went on to describe his own bishops as unfit either because of papistry, ignorance, age, infamy, or all combined. As to the temporalty, he considered that no person ought to have more than the proportion of the country could bear: none too much or too little: and he seems to have been in favour of positive laws both to prevent the inordinate accumulation of wealth and the existence of beggary. He observed that the true gentlemen, "I mean not," said he, "these farming gentlemen, nor clerking knights," had not increased in wealth through the revolution. They had not raised their

* These catastrophes may be sufficiently pursued in the King's Journal, or in Strype, iv. 44. As for Northumberland's debts, which were more than £2000, see Strype, iv. 227.

† 2 April.

rents, though prices were risen enormously, though farmers, labourers, artificers, mariners, had enhanced their commodities, using at the same time fraud, deceit, and rascality in their wares and work. "The artificers work falsely: the clothiers use deceit in cloth: the clockmakers in clocks: the joiner in his working of timber: and so all other almost: to the intent that men may come oftener to them for mending their things: and so to have more gain. The merchants go not far for foreign commodities, but loiter at home, send out small hoys with two or three mariners, exchange money, buy and sell victuals, steal bullion, corn, wood, and such things out of the realm. The farmers take land at low rent, and let it to poor men for triple rent: and sell their produce at unreasonable prices. The merchants, farmers, graziers, become landed men, and call themselves gentlemen, though they be churls. A man ought to have but one craft to live by: but these hellhounds have four or five. What shall I say of the fore-stallers, of those that buy and sell offices of trust, that impropriate benefices, that destroy timber? As for idle persons, there were never more than now. Private dissension and the disagreement in matters of religion has been no little cause of these evils: but the principal cause is disobedience, and contempt of the laws." He drew up a set of sagacious remedies, the most of which he lived not to attempt to apply: but he established a stricter order in the proceedings of the Privy Council, arranging for every day of the week the kind of business to be done, minding to have memorials of their debates and resolutions laid before himself. And he formed some of the Council into commissions for several good purposes: as, to inquire into the execution of the penal laws and the numerous royal proclamations, and into the state of the Courts, especially the new erected Courts,

such as Augmentations, First-fruits and Tenths, Wards, and Requests.*

It was about this time that the celebrated Italian philosopher and mathematician Cardan visited England, saw Edward, and bore witness to his astonishing endowments. "I saw him, the miraculous boy, at the age of fifteen years. He knew seven languages, including Latin and French, both of which he spoke fluently, Italian, Spanish, and a considerable amount of Greek. He inquired into my philosophy : and most penetrating were his questions concerning the book that I dedicated to him, and my great discovery of the cause of comets. Oh, he led me among the stars. He was as sweet as learned. Alas for his early grave ! He favoured the arts before he was old enough to know them : before he was old enough to use them he knew them. Alas, that he could only give a specimen, not an example, of virtue."†

Edward meant well, but he could not escape the influence of the men around him, nor the pressure of his own indigence : and many of the measures that were now taken to relieve the Treasury were but the old expedients of the revolution. To his courtiers the former part of his reign presented a golden age, when monastic and chantry lands were exchanged for little and bought for less, when commissioners wandered over the country, entering churches and making inventories of their goods, and the fury of the people had not risen against them.

* Burnet gives the Remains of King Edward in his Collection. As a proof of the disorders of the public service, it may be mentioned that no records of inventories of the Court of Wards were kept from the thirty-fourth year of Henry VIII. to the sixth of Edward, the year at which we are arrived. The Court of Requests, which was instituted by Henry's father, was not held between the thirty-seventh year of Henry and the sixth of Edward. *Eighth Record Report*, App. ii. Its place was supplied for a short time by Somerset's famous Court of Requests, held in his house.

† Burnet (*Coll.*) gives Cardan's laudations. Heylin translates them :
p. 130.

The storm of the great risings had swept that vision from their view : but now one feeble muttering only told of the former commotions,* and in the security of peace it seemed as if the second year of Edward might be renewed in the sixth.

Several of the measures that were taken under these new excited hopes, whether at the instance of the King or of Northumberland and his friends, were of grave consequence to the Church. The most lamentable of them was the determination of the Council to search "all the shires of England" for the remaining Church goods:† in accordance with which an entirely illegal inquisition was set on foot to rescue for the Treasury from the pillage of private men whatever might be spared by the simplicity to which the divine service was now reduced.‡ A Visitation was planned, which seems to have been a continuation of the Visitation so boldly attempted, so imperfectly executed, in the second year of the reign.§ A body of the gentry of every shire, city, bishopric, and town was named for taking surveys and inventories of the goods, plate, jewels, bells, and other ornaments belonging to all the churches and chapels

* There was a slight rising in Buckinghamshire at the beginning of this year. Strype, iv. 1.

† Mar. 3. "This day it was decreed that, forasmuch as the King's M. hath need presently of a mass of money, therefore commissions should be addressed into all the shires of England, to take into the King's hands such Church plate as remaineth, to be employed into his Highness' use." *Council Book*.

‡ 21 April. "It was agreed that commissions should go out for to take certificate of the superfluous Church plate to mine use, and to see how it hath been embezzled." *Edward's Journal*. It seems to have been designed to make these inquiries very far reaching. "Certain (things) were thought to be sought out by several commissions : viz. Whether I were justly answered of the plate, lead, iron, &c. that belonged to Abbeyes. Whether I were justly answered the profit of alum, copper, fustians, &c., which were appointed to be sold : and of such land as the King my father sold : and such-like articles. *Journ.* 3 Nov.

§ Vol. II. p. 480 *huj. op.*

within the realm. The Commissioners were directed to compare the goods still remaining with the former inventories: and they were empowered to commit to prison all persons who might resist their demands. To receive the certificates or inventories, to collect the goods certified, another commission was issued to eight London officials, including several members of the Council, and the Master of the Rolls: whose business moreover it was, if any place had been neglected, to see to it. Sometimes a second set of collectors appear to have visited the same place. These commissioners were allowed at discretion to leave one or two chalices, and a cloth or two, and a surplice or two behind them: and, with astonishing hypocrisy, such miserable residues were spoken of as if they had been gifts then first bestowed "to the intent that churches and chapels might be furnished of convenient and comely things meet for the administration of the Holy Communion:" and for "the honest and comely furniture of coverings for the Communion table, and surplice or surplices for the minister or ministers." They might also distribute to the poor of the parish the remainder of the linen ornaments.*

* In the Seventh Record Report there is printed: 1. The Commission for Northampton, which was also previously printed by Fuller, p. 417. At the end of this occur the Latin words, "*Fiunt consimiles Commissiones directæ personis subscriptis in Comitatibus, Civitatibus, Episcopatibus, et Villis subscriptis.*"—2. Then follow the names of Commissioners for seventy-eight regions or places. The bishop of the see is usually among them.—3. Then follows a Commission to eight persons, Cotton, Gates, Sir Robt. Bowes, Master of the Rolls, Mason, Sir Wm. Mildmay, Lucas, and Thomas Mildmay, to receive certificates, and deliver goods to Sir Edmond Peckham, and the Master of the Jewel House: and to report to the Council any place to which a Commission had not been sent.—4. There is a second Commission to Northampton, not to the same persons, lamenting embezzlement, ordering them to view the goods remaining, and compare them with the former inventories.—5. A "Catalogue of the Inventories or Indentures of Delivery of the goods and ornaments," with brief descriptions of the originals: which originals still remain in the Record Office.

Their instructions were carried out with lamentable exactitude. The loyal inquisitors penetrated into every church and chapel: examined every vestry: opened every chest: and, where they spared not at times to expose the peculations of their neighbours, they enumerated for the more destructive rapacity of their employers the furniture which they deemed no longer needful for the service of the sanctuary. From the inventories, which they returned, an incalculable mass of rare and precious furniture was carried to destruction. Chalices, crosses and candlesticks: vestments, copes and surplices: tunics, towels and banners: censers and holy-water pots: with pixes paxes: font-cloths with altar-cloths: bells: sanctus bells, sacring bells, lynch bells: cruets and chrismatories: all rolled together to the mint, to the King's jeweller in the Tower, to the King's wardrobe. The cruel purification lasted the year: it occupied indeed the residue of the reign; although some attempt may be traced to have brought it to an end about the time when the new and conveniently naked service book came into use in November.* The previous demolition of altars, and removal of the tables into other parts of the churches, which is said to have taken place, had prepared the way by rendering the rich furniture and utensils unserviceable: and the Visitors obeyed their instructions in leaving but the smallest number of the things that were judged to be still necessary. Their footsteps, though of effacement, not of ruin, are still visible all over England to the discerning: of their actual proceedings a few records may be gathered together, which seem to be all that have been preserved, as conspicuous examples of their doings throughout the realm.

At Westminster, recently dissolved as a see, and

* Strype, iv. 15.

horribly pillaged, but still retaining the splendid ornaments of countless royal pomps, coronations, funerals, and other solemnities, the Chief Justice Cholmondeley and Bowes the Master of the Rolls, held session, May 9 : called the Dean and others of the House, and took of them an inventory of their goods. Three days afterwards they sent two men to take the goods : which were delivered to them by the sexton. Out of the whole they left two chalices, a silver pot, three hearse-covers, twelve cushions, one carpet for the Table, eight stall-cloths, three pulpit-cloths, nine carpets, and two table-cloths.*

In the various cathedral churches there may have been some difference of severity according to the complexion of the bishops, who were usually on the commissions. Cranmer, who served for Kent and Canterbury, was observed to be slow and reluctant : indeed he seems to have ventured on some sort of remonstrance against the proceedings.† Hooper at Worcester was more vigorous : and swept his unfortunate garner so thoroughly that he deemed it necessary to exculpate him-

* Heylin, 133.

† "This being a somewhat odious work, he was not very forward to enter on it, especially because he thought whatever he and the other Commissioners should recover, would be but swallowed up by Northumberland and his friends, and the King be little the better. But because he did not make more haste, he was charged by his enemies at Court as a neglecter of the King's business. Which cost him a letter in excuse of himself to the said Duke : signifying that he omitted this business awhile, till the gentlemen and justices of peace of Kent, who were then mostly in London, were come home."—Strype's *Cranm.* Bk. II. ch. 33 : *Remains*, 440. But Cranmer did more than passively seek delay. "I have heard," said Ridley afterwards of the Archbishop and himself, "that Cranmer and another, whom I will not name, were both in high displeasure, the one for shewing his conscience secretly, but plainly and fully in the Duke of Somerset's cause : and both of late, but especially Cranmer, for repugning, as they might, against the late spoil of the church goods, taken away only by commandment of the higher powers, without any law or order of justice, and without any request of consent of those to whom they did belong."—*Piteous Lament.* 59. Park. Soc.

self to Secretary Cecil.* In London, where it seems to have been arranged that the Visitation should come last of all, Ridley was obedient, if reluctant. In April, in the year 1553, all the churchwardens of the city were summoned to the Guildhall, to bring certificates of their church goods to him and the other Commissioners.† At the beginning of the next month a tremendous sweep was made: plate, and apparel, even the coin of the poor-boxes, everything that could be, was taken away from the churches, insomuch that in most of them some of the usual services were stopped for want of the means of devotion.‡ The storm fell on the long harassed fortress of St. Paul's itself, May 2: when the Commissioners, the Chief Justice, the Mayor, went thither, and sacked it of plate, copes, and vestments.§ In the remote parts of the country, the churches, which were generally found to have been well furnished by the former piety, were left in a destitution from which many of them have not

* "I suppose ye had heard that there should be a great spoil made of the church here: for what can be so well done that men of light conscience cannot make by suggestion to appear evil? Doubtless the things done be no more than the express words of the King's Majesty's Injunctions commanded to be done. And I daresay there is not for a church to preach God's word in, and to minister the holy sacraments, more godly within this realm. But, Mr. Secretary, I see much mischief in men's heads by many tokens."—Hooper to Cecil, Oct. *Later Writings*. Park. Soc. p. xx.

† "On April 17, all the churchwardens of London were ordered to go to Guildhall, where the Commissioners, the bishop, the mayor, and the chief justice sat; and bring a true certificate of all the church goods, jewels, and money, and bells and all copes and ornaments that belong to the church."—Machyn, 34: Strype, iv. 69.

‡ "In the beginning of May was taken, out of all the churches of London and about, all the plate and coin that was in their boxes in every church, for the king's grace: and vestments and copes, which drew a great substance beside the coin: and also this year was very few churches in London that had any procession in the Rogation days in London this year for lack of devotion."—*Grey Friars' Chron.* p. 77.

§ "25 day of May sat in Paul's the commissioners with the lord chief justice, with the lord mayor, and so had away all the plate, copes, vestments, which drew into a great goods for the behalf of the king's grace."

... *ib.*

recovered to this day. As the spoil of the provinces came up to London, there was such store of linen alone, notwithstanding the permission given to bestow it on the poor of the parishes, that Ridley begged some of it for the newly founded hospitals.* And yet it is said that private fraudulence, quickened into desperate exertion, won the race against the King's Commission. Parlours appeared hung with altar-cloths: tables and beds were covered with copes: fair large cushions reposed in windows and chairs: and many a chalice entered the taproom or the pantry as a parcel gilt goblet.† In this we may justly rejoice: since private robbery was no more illegal than this infamous public abuse of power. The loss which the arts and crafts ‡

* Strype, iv. 15. It seems as if this were applicable to the London churches also: and it seems to have been sanctioned by the Duke of Northumberland, who wrote to the Secretaries of State that he had been moved by sundry honest men to be a suitor to the King that the linen of the London churches, as surplices and altar-cloths, should be given to the poor. *Cal. of Cecil MSS.* 103. There were other cases also in which the spoil was better applied than to the boot of the spoilers: as at Stamford where the plate and jewels went to purchase some decayed tenements, of some of the late dissolved guilds, and to endow a schoolmaster. *Ib.* p. 119.

† Heylin, 123.

‡ The inventories of Church goods returned by these Commissioners still remain, as I have said, in the Record Office. That for Hertfordshire has been published by Mr. Cussans, that for Berks by Mr. Money. The Inventory and Instructions for Cumberland are shortly to be edited for the Archæological Society of that country by my friend the Rev. Henry Whitehead, Vicar of Newlands, who has kindly lent me his manuscript copies for my present purpose. I. On examining these several authorities, I am surprised to find how many ornaments remained in the churches after twenty years of intermittent ravage, after so many attacks on particular usages. In the first church that I open upon in Berks there were found two candlesticks of brass weighing sixty pounds, and two small ones of six pounds; a brazen holy water pot, an iron curtain, two corporases, a pix of latten, a canopy with a covering of Naples fustian; all being articles (I think) forbidden by some law or proclamation or another. So everywhere. II. The abundance of the things that had hitherto been unforbidden or remained so. In the same church there were four bells of near a ton weight, a sanctus bell weighing half a

sustained in the destruction of so many exquisite vessels and fabrics of gold and silver, of cloth of gold and tissue of silver, of brass and iron, of stitched work, of

hundred, and a handbell : four vestments of satin, one of white damask, and one of black fustian : three surplices, &c. III. The Inventories are made out somewhat differently in different counties. The most systematic was of Herts : where the Commissioners not only made an exact return of what they found, but prefixed thereto an account of "Things done by men dead," of "Goods sold by common consent of the parishes," and of "Goods embezzled," and recovered by themselves. To take an example in each of these : Sir Henry Parker of Pelham, Herts, pulled down the chapel of Alswike, sold the bells, lead, timber, and stone, and kept the chalices and other goods : the inhabitants of St. Albans sold ornaments to the amount of sixteen pounds, and said they had employed it towards paying a sum of four hundred pounds to the King to redeem the church : Thomas Southwell got from Hatfield church two chalices of silver and two vestments. Only two or three cases of goods sold by churchwardens are reported in Berkshire : in Cumberland no such observations occur. In the latter county the Inventory, which is imperfect, is much shorter than the others, and gives not the weight of articles such as bells, &c. : but still the churches were fairly furnished.

I may add that in some parishes the Commissioners seem to have been frustrated, with all their diligence. For instance, a curious document has come under my notice relating to the parish of Crossthwaite near Keswick in Cumberland, in which in Elizabeth's reign, in 1571, a Commission was ordered to see that the churchwardens and "the eighteen men" of the parish "forthwith sold and put away all such popish reliques and monuments of superstition and idolatry as remained of the parish or church goods" : and these were, "two pipes of silver, one silver pax, one cross of cloth of gold which was set on a vestment, one copper cross, two chalices of silver, two corporas bases, three hand-bells, the iron whereon the Paschal stood, one pair of censures, one ship, one head of a pair censures, twenty-nine brazen or laton candlesticks, two brazen candlesticks of six quarters long, one Holy Water tankard of brass, the canopies which hanged and that which was carried over the Sacrament, two brazen or laton Chrismatories, the veil cloth, the sepulchre cloths, and painted cloths with pictures of Peter and Paul and of the Trinity." Besides these, "the four vestments, three tunics, five chestables, and all other vestments," were to be cut up, and "the albs and amysies sold," to make coverings and cloths for the communion-table, &c.—*Copy of three solemn Decrees, printed at Keswick. 1854.* It is to be regretted that so fair an opportunity has been lost of publishing the Inventories for the dioceses, each for each, as has been offered by the series of Diocesan Histories recently undertaken. I have only seen two of those Histories that make any reference to these Inventories of church goods, and only one that makes much use of them, and that not the fullest use : I mean that for Salisbury.

Naples fustian and Arras tapestry and Bruges satin,—a loss which was disregarded or unfelt by the vigour of that new barbarism,—may be lamented, and cannot be supplied, by culture.

The lineaments of the former period, of the second year of the reign, may be discerned again in another series of transactions, the renewed sale of the chantry lands to pay the King's debts.* Four or five Commissions for this purpose were issued during the summer: and the Crown parted apace with the residue of the monasteries and chantries, and with the rectories and the advowsons of churches which had been taken formerly in exchange.† The new bargains were as unprofitable as the old ones had been: but it was needful to meet the hour. Two partners in this ecclesiastical traffic, for fourteen hundred pounds of ready money, acquired parsonages and appurtenances of the yearly value of eighty-five pounds. For twelve hundred pounds in cash two other partners got three parsonages and two advowsons. A woman bought for two hundred and seventy pounds the great tithes of Wyke and of Pershore. By a London alderman, for four hundred pounds, were secured rectories and appurtenances, advowsons and free dispositions, of the annual amount of seventeen guineas. One of Cecil's

* The extracts which Strype has given from "King Edward's Book of Sales," are of his second year. *Reposit.* ZZZ (iv. 402). Cf. Vol. II. 502 *huj. op.*

† "10 April. Commission was given to Sir John Gates, Sir Robert Bowes, the Chancellor of the Augmentations, Sir Walt. Mildmay, Sir Richard Wotton, to sell some part of the Chantry lands, and of the Houses, for the payment of my debts, which was 251,000*l.* sterling at the least." King's *Journ.* Several other Commissions followed.—Strype, iv. 17. These various measures followed closely a minute by Cecil, that exists, "For the device to pay the debt at November," including such items as,—"By sale of chantries, 12,000*l.*: sale of tenths and other quilllets: to buy up land at reasonable prices: to continue the Commission for sale of chantries: to proceed for the collection of Church plate." Oct. 1552. *Cal. of Cecil MSS.* 99.

relations clubbed with another adventurer, and for two thousand pounds received an annual return of ninety-four.* These were excellent bargains, sure to grow better with time: in the last days of the revolution the patronage of the Crown, which had been enhanced so enormously for the moment, was diminished incalculably; and private patronage, private ownership, proportionately increased. It need not be said that the King remained as necessitous as ever: and his dealings with the foreign money-lenders as discreditable.

And yet, amid the rivalry of confiscation and speculation, some restitution of the mighty spoil of antiquity, the dedication of some parsimonious fragments to the public use, has given to Edward's reign the fame of piety. One of the earliest and not the least valuable of the historians of the English Reformation has remarked indeed with bitterness and wit that by the donation of one hospital, which he never built, and the suppression of another, which he never endowed, King Edward has the credit of three hospitals in London, which he founded without any charges to himself.† But the benefits that

* Strype, iv. p. 16, gives these examples. There must have been scores more. I may add here the *monastic* and *hospital* grants for this year, which I have worked out of Tanner.

6 Edward VI.

Armthwaite, nunn. Cumberland, Wm. Gryme.

Axmouth, Devon. Walter Erle.

Stanford, Aust. Friars, Lanc. Lord Clinton.

Keynsham, Aust. Can. Somers. Thos. Bridges (large).

Dieulacres, Cist. Staff. Sir Ralph Bagnall (large).

Tutbury Bened. Staff. site to Sir Wm. Cavendish.

Wolverhampton College and seven prebends: Duke of Northumberland.

Yarmouth, Aust. friars: Jn. Eyre, "that great dealer in that kind of houses." *Tanner*.

Halingfleet, Aust. Can. Suff. Wm. Jermingham, patron.

Hanepol, Cist. nunn. Yorks. Edw. Ashby.

Kingston on Hull, Carth. Edw. Lord Clinton.

† Heylin, p. 129. For a considerable dilapidation of the pretty legends of Edwardian piety in these foundations, see Mr. Nicholl's *Introd.*

have flowed from the foundation of Bridewell, of St. Bartholomew's and Christ's Hospital, and of the Hospital of St. Thomas, have been so vast, those benefactions shine so brightly in the darkness of an age of pillage, that we may resent too close an epigram. Bridewell, a palace founded by Henry the Eighth, was given by his dying son (for here I may anticipate a year) to the assembled Corporation of the city to be a relieving-house for the poor, who might through thriftlessness need correction and forced labour.* It is true that the Savoy Hospital, a rich establishment which had marvellously escaped hitherto, was suppressed to endow Bridewell: but then the King is said to have told the brethren of the Savoy that the poor whom they relieved were idle,† whereas the poor in Bridewell were not idle. Little St. Bartholomew's and the Grey Friars' in Newgate, the last gift of Henry the Eighth to London, had been devoted to the service of God and man by the performance of a Mass and the oration of a bishop.‡ But it was late in the reign of Edward before the parish church and hospital of St. Bartholomew and the new erection of Christ's Hospital, made out of the old friary, were ready for the reception of distressed poverty and fatherless infancy. It would have been later but for the intercession of

to the *Grey Friars' Chronicle*. He says of Christ's Hospital, "both the house and the means of its support came from Edward's predecessor, or were raised by the citizens themselves. We do not trace anything bestowed upon it in Edward's letters patent beyond the name by which it should be known."

* Styrpe gives the Indenture, iv. 112.

† The King sent for the master and four chaplains of the Savoy Hospital near the Strand, and so wrought on them by assuring them that the hundred poor whom they helped were vagabonds of both sexes, who sunned themselves in the fields all day, and at night came to the Hospital to sleep, that they surrendered their house and all their estates, of the annual income of five hundred pounds. This miracle of persuasion was on 10th June, 1553. Tanner.

‡ Vol. II. p. 410 *huj. oper.*

Ridley, who in preaching before the King represented the misery of the homeless poor, lying in heaps along the streets of the reformed city: by whom the King was moved to cite the mayor and aldermen before him and give them letters, or breves; on which they called the citizens to their parish churches, and in pursuance it would seem of a recent Act of Parliament,* went among them, exhorting them to give of their ability to finish the hospitals: whereon a general collection was made, and entered in books in every ward: the expenses were defrayed, and the works completed.† St. Thomas's Hospital in Southwark was granted by the King, or bought by the citizens,‡ in his fourth year: in his sixth the decayed buildings were put in repair; and the sick and maimed were taken into the abode which has been enlarged into the noble mansions of mercy that now adorn the Thames.

Nor less than in hospitals, in schools the name of Edward the Sixth is famous for the great foundations that he planted in the nation: in the number of them he exceeded any of his predecessors. Bury St. Edmond, Spilsby, Chelmsford, Sedburgh, Louth in Lincolnshire, and in Nottinghamshire East Redford, belong to the

* See above, p. 437.

† Grafton gives the fullest account of this: He says that they divided the poor into the three degrees, of impotency, casualty, and thriftlessness: of whom the fatherless child, the aged, blind or lame, and the incurably diseased, the leper, the dropsical, composed the first: the wounded soldier, the decayed householder, the sick person, made up the second: and the third consisted of "the rioter that consumeth all, the vagabond that will abide in no place, the idle person" of one sex or the other. For the relief of the first class they provided Christ's Hospital: for the second St. Thomas in Southwark and St. Bartholomew's in Smithfield: Bridewell for the correction of the third. It is curious to notice the prevalence of the disease of leprosy down to so late a date. Grafton says, "they provided for the lazar to keep him out of the city from clapping of dishes and ringing of bells, to the great trouble of the citizens, and also to the dangerous infection of many: that they also should be relieved at home at their houses with several pensions." ii. 531.

‡ Tanner says granted, Heylin says bought.

former part of his reign. But in his sixth year, from the time of Northumberland's predominance, his benefits were doubled: and his last sixteen months were distinguished by the foundation of at least as many free schools.* The first and greatest of these was Birmingham: where, January 2, in the year 1552, on the site of the small dissolved Guild of the Holy Cross, which stood amid cornfields, out of the revenues (it must be confessed) of the dispersed brotherhood, was instituted the great seminary of the Midlands, which within living memory has been re-edified and adorned by the architectural genius of Barry.† The neighbouring schools of Stourbridge, Nuneaton, and Stratford-on-Avon rose about the same time. It may be worth while to notice that it was where the Duke of Northumberland had acquired estates that these remissions to the public need were made: and Morpeth in Northumberland may be added to the list. Shrewsbury, Macclesfield, Bath, Bedford, Berkhamsted, Guildford, Grantham, St. Albans, Tunbridge, Southampton, and Thorn and Giggleswick in Yorkshire, still leave imperfect the record of Edward's gifts to education. The benefits conferred by such endowments have been so great that we unwillingly reflect that after all they were but the barest parings that could be cut from the incalculable plunder of corporate property; that many of them were not the spontaneous grants of piety or

* Strype, iv. 50.

† I linger for a moment over the foundation of that noble school, the tercentenary commemoration of which, more than thirty years ago, was a great event. The Birmingham School was then under the Reverend Edwin Hamilton Gifford, since Archdeacon of London, to whom a former pupil ventures to offer the tribute of gratitude and admiration. From the address delivered by the Head Master on that occasion I extract the following sentences:—"The reign of Edward VI. was distinguished by the establishment of thirty Royal Grammar Schools in as many months. . . . Within thirty years prior to the Reformation there were more Grammar Schools founded in England than had been founded for three hundred years before."

repentance, but concessions to the prayers of the inhabitants of impoverished towns and villages; that the expostulations of necessity were sometimes made in vain; and that some of the foundations with which the name of Edward is associated were but the restoration in one part of his reign of funds and buildings that had been too hastily embezzled or appropriated in another.*

In the summer the Bishop of Bath and Wells, the experienced Barlow, was doubly troubled, and made to

* An example may be given of each of these cases. 1. A school was erected at Stratford-on-Avon, endowed say with twenty or at most forty pounds a year. But in the same place an hospital was dissolved of the yearly value of £123 clear: the site of which the Duke of Northumberland got in the 4th year of Edward. *Tanner*.—2. A school was erected at Stourbridge in Worcestershire; but it was in continuation of the provision of the former piety, which was pathetically set forth to the King's Commissioners by the inhabitants. "Memorandum, it was presented before the King's Majesty's Commissioners that the stipendiary priest always used and yet doth keep a school in a market town called Stourbridge, being within the said parish, and a mile distant from the parish church, and stood charged to teach the poor children of the same parish freely. In which market town the said stipend priest did use to say Mass within a chapel there, and hath also used in times of necessity to aid and assist the curate there, the parish being very large and broad." *Certificates of Colleges, &c. temp. Edw. VI. No. 16 in Augmentation Office: printed in Cole's Scheme of Bishoprics*, p. 117.—3. A school was not erected at Evesham: and yet it was represented to the Commissioners that the abbots of the late monastery there "paid yearly the sum of ten pounds, and board and tabling freely in the late monastery, to one schoolmaster for the keeping of a free school in the said town of Evesham, until the surrender of the late monastery: since which time the King's Majesty's Receiver of his highness's revenues there for the time being hath paid yearly to the said schoolmaster ten pounds for the teaching of the said school until the feast of the Annunciation of our Lady last past: and the same town of Evesham is a great market town; and much resorted to." *Ib.* Evesham abbey school was celebrated in its day: but it was swept away at the Dissolution, and the place was left without a school until the reign of James I., and the year 1605. *May's Hist. of Evesham*. These are but specimens of the kind of record in the Augmentation Office.—4. The great school of Sedburgh in Yorkshire is reckoned among Edward's foundations. But it existed before, and had eight scholarships at Cambridge: it was "sold, decayed, and lost" in spite of all protestations, in the beginning of the reign: and would have been lost for ever, but through Lever's noble exposure of the case in his Sermon before the King in 1550. (p. 31. *Arber*.)

gratify the courtiers twice over. He had lately parted with many of his lands, houses, and manors to the Duke of Somerset, losing heavily in the way of exchange. Now, the Duke's estates being forfeited to the Crown, some of his former possessions were offered to him again in exchange for some of those that still remained to him: and again he suffered grievous loss.* About the same time Taylor, the dean, was made bishop of Lincoln, on the death of Holbeach: and Scory of Rochester was translated to Day's vacancy of Chichester, his former see being left void. Neither of these changes was unaccompanied by pillage.† The Bishop of Gloucester, Hooper, after some curious alteration of position or possession,‡ now made a gift to the King of all the lands and annuities of his see, in order to its dissolution. This sacrilegious act, which it is sad to put on record, was accompanied by his translation to Worcester, vacant by the deprivation of Heath, to which the jurisdiction of Gloucester was united.

Since his elevation to the episcopate, the father of

* Strype, iv. 13: who gives particulars.

† "In all the vacancies of sees there was a great deal of their best lands taken away from them: and the sees that had been profusely enriched were now brought to so low a condition that it was scarce possible for the bishops to subsist: and yet if what was so taken from them had been converted to good uses, to the bettering the condition of the poor clergy over England, it had been some mitigation of so heinous a robbery: but these lands were snatched up by every greedy courtier, who found this the easiest way to be satisfied in his pretensions: and the world had been so satisfied with the opinion of their extensive wealth, that it was thought they never could be made poor enough." Burnet. So Strype's *Cranm.* Bk. II. ch. xxvi.

‡ He was at first made bishop of Gloucester: then he had the see of Worcester *in commendam*, with the double title of Bishop of Gloucester and Worcester. The arguments for this were, vicinage, thinness of population, poverty. Now they "got into another method." The bishopric of Gloucester was suppressed, and converted into an exempted archdeaconry; and Hooper was to be called only bishop of Worcester. Burnet. At the same time he handed over to the Crown all the Gloucester estates.

Nonconformity had been watched with curiosity, misgiving, and returning confidence by his former admirers: who, in their epistles to their continental friends, could rarely bring themselves to give him his prelatie title, preserving still the plainer and dearer designation of Master Hooper. They observed with satisfaction his unchanged demeanour; his zeal and activity: nor was he undeserving of their praise. He hated papistry, as he called it: he scourged his clergy: he travelled his diocese, preaching incessantly: he borrowed from Laski, or from Zurich, the new or revived title of superintendent, and with this he decorated certain of his clergy, whom he set above the rest, despising, it would seem, the usitate dignities of rural deans and archdeacons.* In this last particular he was the beginner of Nonconformist organism, as in the vestimentary matter he had been of Nonconformist controversy: and there are other reasons besides for which we may linger over his doings about this time. In the course of a severe Visitation, in his first year, he administered to his clergy a body of fifty Articles of religion, together with countless Interrogations and Inquisitions: and to the parishioners he delivered as many Interrogations and Examinations concerning the life and conversation of the clergy. He brought to light a mass of ignorance which shows how little the ministry of the Church had improved in the course of the Reformation, how many unlettered grooms and hinds

* This may perhaps have been suggested to him by Becon. "It should help much to an uniformity of religion, and the salvation of Christian men's souls, if there were learned curates appointed in every parish; if so many cannot be found, then to place in every country certain learned and godly preachers, which may go from parish to parish, preaching to the people the good will and pleasure of God. And let the other priests be ministers under the superintendents or overseers, and in their absence read to the people the Scriptures and the Homilies, reverently minister the Sacraments, visit the sick, make collections for the poor, and virtuously bring up the youth of the town." *Jewel of Joy*, p. 122.

had been obtruded into sacred offices by unscrupulous patrons. Out of three hundred priests one hundred and sixty-eight were unable to repeat the Ten Commandments, of whom thirty-one could not tell where in the Scriptures to find them: forty could not say where the Lord's Prayer was written, and thirty-one of them knew not who was the author of it.* The Articles that Hooper used on this occasion, resembled so closely in parts the great formulary of the faith, with which, as we have seen, Cranmer was engaged, that they may be called a prevenient issue of some of the Forty-two Articles of Edward; they also vary so much from some of those of the Edwardian formulary on which they are founded, that they may be called a Puritan issue.† We

* *Later Writings*, Park. Soc. p. 150. Strype gives an interesting account of Hooper's proceedings, *Cranm.* Bk. II., ch. 18.

† The patient reader has followed the involved fortunes of the English Confession (or Confessions) from Henry's Articles for quietness, of 1536, down to the eve of the appearance of the Forty-two Articles at the end of the reign of Edward. We have seen that these were now being moulded into shape: and that Hooper had some part in them; at least he had read them. (p. 383.) He adopted them, so far as he liked, in his own Visitation Articles, anticipating their publication by two years: and this diocesan variant edition, so to call it, is of value as giving the mind of the father of Nonconformity, or at least the most eminent Puritan contemporary, on several important points. He follows the Forty-two closely in some places, but often conjoins articles, or takes parts of articles, and adds or alters, in an original manner. (Cf. Hardwick's Articles, App. iii.) Thus he accepts the definition that "the Church of God is the congregation of the faithful, wherein the word of God is truly preached, and the Sacraments justly administered according to the institution of Christ": subjoining, "and his doctrine taught unto us by his holy word": and then adding that "the Church of God is not by God's word taken for the multitude or company of men, as of bishops, priests, and such others: but that it is the company of all men hearing God's word and obeying unto the same: lest that any man should be seduced, believing himself bound unto any ordinary succession of bishops and priests, but only unto the Word of God, and the right use of his Sacraments." Again, the unlucky title of Supreme Head was as much disliked by the Puritans as by the Papists. Hooper's article here was much more like the present article about the royal authority than the corresponding article in the Forty-two: indeed it seems the original of the present article. He says,

have seen, moreover, that Hooper admired Cranmer for causing all licensed preachers to subscribe to the Articles long before they were published and authorised: Hooper also required his clergy to subscribe to his articles. He took the occasion of the Commission to inquire into church goods, in the summer of this year, to hold a second Visitation, using the same articles as before: again he required his clergy to subscribe: and this time he was resisted by two of the canons of Worcester, Joliffe and Johnson, with whom he held a public disputation, and whom he reported to the Council.* Experience convinced him of the uselessness of the test which he applied: but he only resolved to add one still more severe. "It is of no use to cause my clergy to subscribe privately," said he; "as soon as the King's Articles appear, I will make them confess them openly before their congregations."† Clerical subscription, the great misery,

"The King's Majesty is to be taken and known as the only and supreme magistrate and power of the Church of England and Ireland, of all manner of persons, of what estate, dignity or degree soever they be." The present article equally avoids Supreme Head, and runs (in Latin): "Regia Majestas in hoc Angliæ regno ac ceteris ejus dominiis, summam habet potestatem, ad quam omnium statuum hujus regni, sive Ecclesiastici sint sive civiles, in omnibus causis suprema gubernatio pertinet." Whereas in the Edwardian code it was bluntly declared, "Rex Angliæ est supremum caput iis terris, post Christum, ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ."

* *Later Writings*, p. 18, Park. Soc. As to the controversy with Joliffe and Johnson, in which Hooper was aided by the licensed preacher Harley, he wrote to Cecil, "I have sent the matter that these two canons Johnson and Joliffe mislike, in writing: whereby ye may understand what is said of both parts. The disputation Mr. Harley can make true relation of, and how unreverently and proudly Joliffe used both him and me." Joliffe himself published an account of the matter at Antwerp in 1564, with the title "*Responsio venerabilium sacerdotum Henrici Joliffe, et Roberti Johnson sub protestatione facta, ad illos articulos Jn. Hooperi, Episcopi Vigornie nomen gerentis, in quibus a Catholica fide dissentiebat.*" *Later Writings*, p. 19. Strype, iv. 2. Hardwick, in his *Hist. of the Articles*, gives an account of this book. Wood says that it was written by Johnson, and after his death published by Joliffe.—*Athenæ, Fasti*, p. 75.

† "For the love of God cause the Articles, which the King's Majesty

was not the invention, of the following generation. The Puritans who groaned under it, and so bitterly resisted when it was administered at the hands of bishops, forgot, or never knew, that it was invented, or next to invented, by the episcopal founder of Nonconformity. For the rest, Hooper's labours are to be admired, his diligence, his frequent intercourse with his clergy, his design of restoring diocesan synods. His Articles and Injunctions show a full acquaintance with the countless Injunctions, Proclamations, and Acts that had paved the way of Uniformity thus far. He was in fact as staunch a Uniformist now, as on one point he had been a Nonconformist: but his anti-papal energy prevented his former admirers from perceiving this. A Conformist he could scarcely be called: for in his fury for Uniformity he went constantly beyond the book, though always in one direction: and the ritual that he would have established throughout his diocese would have been queer enough.* But his point of view, however low his doctrine, was firmly clerical: to raise the clergy was his aim: as for the heretics, the Anabaptists, the communists, and the rest, he abhorred them as intensely as Cranmer, or Ridley, or Gardiner, or Tunstall.

The troubles of Farrar, Bishop of St. David's, which were sad and tragic, seem rather to exhibit the excesses spoke of when we took our oaths, to be set forth by his authority. I doubt not but they shall do much good: for I will cause every minister to confess them openly before their parishioners. For subscribing privately in the paper, I perceive, little availeth: for, notwithstanding that, they speak as much evil of good faith as before they subscribed." To Cecil: *Ib.*

* Take two instances. 1. He forbade the people to sit at the Epistle and stand at the Gospel. 2. He ordered every man and woman that came to the Communion to repeat aloud separately the Ten Commandments, the Creed, the General Confession, and the Lord's Prayer. If there were so many that they could not do this one after another, then the minister might read and all repeat them after him. *Later Writings*, p. 132.

of private malice, than to illustrate the general character of the age. A man said to have been of unsociable temper, owing his preferment to the Duke of Somerset, he fell when the support of his patron was withdrawn : but his fall had been prepared long before. He had come to a remote see, which was filled with the partisans of the Old Learning, bearing the character of an inveterate Gospeller. In the days of King Henry, when he was a canon of St. Mary's College in Oxford, he had done penance for heresy with Garrett and Delaber.* After his appointment to St. David's early in the present reign, he had anticipated and even exceeded the bareness of the Second Book of Edward by preaching a violent sermon at St. Paul's, when he appeared in the dress of a priest, not of a bishop.† On the other hand he had forfeited the confidence of his own party. In the year of the great risings, when the Archdeacon of Carmarthen, by name Constantine, had destroyed an altar and set up a table in the middle of the church, instead of the chancel, Farrar ordered the table to be placed where the altar had stood : and thus at a dangerous juncture prevented a rising of the Welsh, but procured to himself the revengeful hatred of his subordinate.‡ With the archdeacon were confederate two of the canons, Young and Merick, who afterwards became the one Archbishop of York, the other Bishop of Bangor. A long catalogue of offences, amounting to fifty or sixty articles, was prepared, and, after Somerset's execution, exhibited against the unfortunate prelate : his singularity of attire,

* Fox.

† "This year (1548) on St. Martin's Day began the sermon at the cross again, and there was the Bp. of St. David's, one Farrar ; but he did not preach in his habit of a bishop, but like a priest, and he spoke against all manner of things of the Church, and the sacrament of the altar, and vestments, copes, altars, and all other things." *Grey Friars' Chron.* p. 57.

‡ Strype, iii. 356.

his oddities of demeanour, were enumerated, the superstitious practices which he allowed, and his jurisdiction exercised in his own name to the derogation of the royal supremacy. A commission sat on him in March: on the finding of which he was tried for Præmunire in July at the Carnarvon assizes: the sentence of condemnation committed him to prison: whence he only issued to be burned alive in the following reign.*

The long meditated deprivation of Tunstall was effected in the latter part of the year: and that which Parliament had refused to do was carried out by a commission, which, as Cranmer declined to have any part in it, consisted of six or seven laymen, headed by the Chief Justice. It is probable that the same scenes were repeated at the trial of Tunstall that had occurred in the trials of Bonner, of Gardiner, of Heath, and Day. He was examined "of all manner of conventicles, conspiracies, contempts, and concealments, or other offences:" he was allowed no counsel to defend him: and the appeal which he made to the King was disregarded.†

* Heylin, Fox, Collier.

† Burnet says, "How Tunstall was deprived I cannot understand. It was for misprision of treason, and done by secular men, for Cranmer refused to meddle in it. I have seen the commission given by Queen Mary to some delegates to examine it: in which it is said that the sentence was given only by laymen: and that Tunstall, being kept prisoner long in the Tower, was brought to his trial, in which he had neither counsel assigned him, nor convenient time given him for clearing himself: and that, after divers protestations, they had, notwithstanding his appeal, deprived him of his bishopric." Harmer has given the Letter of Council, ordering the commission to be held, from the Council Book, September 21. It was addressed to the Lord Chief Justice, telling him that the commission was therewith sent to him, "for the limitation and determination of the Bishop of Durham's case:" eight other writings were enclosed for his colleagues. (*Specimen*, p. 119.) Machyn says the trial was on October 4 and 5, when "the good Bishop of Durham went unto Tower Hill, to the late monastery of White monks (the which place is given unto Sir Arthur Darcy, knight), and afore the Chief Justice of England, Cholmley, master Goodrike, and master Gosnold, and other, master Coke, and master Chydley" (p. 26). The bishop was deprived

The sentence of deprivation ended not his captivity. The venerable bishop remained in the Tower, where some provision was made for his necessities, and in the mean time a vigorous scrutiny was instituted into the revenues of his see. His successor was found in Ridley: who was actually translated to a see on which he never entered.

The Bishop of London, a little before this, had manifested his zeal for the Reformation in an interview on which he ventured with the Lady Mary. From his residence of Hadham, in Hertfordshire, at which he was sojourning, he repaired to her house at Hunsden, distant but two miles; and was graciously received when he said that he was come to pay his duty. The Lady conversed with him some time, telling him that she remembered him among her father's chaplains, reminding him of a sermon that he had preached at court. She dismissed him to dine with her household: but after dinner, being summoned again to her presence, he told her that he was come not only to pay his duty, but to offer himself to preach before her on the next Sunday, if she would please to hear him. Her countenance changed: she bade him make his own answer to such a proposition. "Madam," said he, "considering my office and calling, I

October 11, *King's Journal*, or October 13, Machyn. On October 31, the Council ordered Sir John Mason to pay some money for his necessities in the Tower, till further order should be taken; and Lord Wharton, the Warden of the north, to send up the accounts of the revenues of Durham for the time of Tunstall's incumbency. *Harmer*. As to Strype's story that the vacant see was offered to the dean, Horn, who would not take it over Tunstall's head (iv. 21): it may be true, or may have arisen out of the fact that some time before, in February, the care of the diocese was committed to Horn, as Strype elsewhere records. *Cranmer*, bk. ii. ch. xxxii. Harmer proves that Ridley was actually translated to Durham (*Spec.* p. 120); contradicting Burnet, who says that "the thing never took effect." It may be worth notice that on the last day of the King's life, 6 July, Ridley had occasion to sign an instrument, and signed it, *London' episcopus* (Strype, iv. 114), so that Burnet was not so far wrong.

am bound to make your Grace this offer." Mary replied that, if the answer must come from her, it was that the door of the parish church adjoining should be open to him, and he might preach if he would, but that neither she nor any of her house would hear him. The bishop hoped that she would not refuse God's word. "I cannot tell," answered she, "what ye call God's word: that is not God's word now that was God's word in my father's days." Ridley replied that God's word was at all times one: but was better understood and practised in some ages than in others. On this Mary broke out: "You durst not for your ears have avouched that for God's word in my father's days that now you do: and as for your books, I thank God I never read any of them: I never did, nor ever will do." She went on to protest that she was not bound to obey the laws now made, until her brother was of age, when she would obey them. "Are you one of the Council?" she asked. Ridley said that he was not. "You might be well enough," was the answer, "as the Council goeth now-a-days." She dismissed him with thanks for his gentleness in coming to see her: but for offering to preach before her she said that she thanked him never a whit. The bishop went back to the dining-room, where the household officers were: and was invited to drink. He drank, paused, looked sad, and said, "Surely I have done amiss." They asked him in what: and, with a vehemency which is said to have startled them so as to cause their hair to stand upright on their heads, "I have drunk," cried he, "in a house where God's word offered hath been refused, whereas, if I had remembered my duty, I ought to have departed immediately, and to have shaken off the dust of my shoes for a testimony against this house." *

The Primate of all England never recovered from the blow of Somerset's fall. He was not at one with Northumberland, whom he ventured to withstand in Parliament more than once in the early part of the year. Amid the darkness of the times his mind reverted to his former dream of a synod of the Protestant, the Reformed, and the Anglican Churches, to be held for the definition of doctrines and the accommodation of differences. Calling Hooper to his side, to be his guest at Lambeth while the parliamentary session lasted, he cast his eyes upon the wider scene, and suddenly broke the silence of years by letters simultaneously despatched to the continental leaders, Bullinger, Calvin, and Melanchthon. "Our adversaries the Arcopagites of Trent," said he, "are confirming their errors, and making their decrees concerning the worship of the Host. On our part ought not we to convoke a synod of the best and most learned men, to provide for purity of doctrine, and especially for an agreement on the Sacramentarian controversy? For, alas, that Sacrament of unity is but the cause of variety and dissension among us. The devil has made it an apple of discord. I wish for an agreement not only in the subject, but in the words and forms of expression. It is true that all controversies cannot be removed, because hostility to truth never accepts the judgment of the Church : * yet surely the members of the true Church may agree on the chief heads of Church doctrine. I have consulted the King's Majesty about this. He places his kingdom at your service, promising not only a place of security and quiet, but also his aid and assistance. I beseech you to devise means whereby this synod may be assembled, either here or elsewhere." At the same time he got Melanchthon appointed to

* "Quia pars inimica veritati non assentitur iudicio ecclesiæ." These important letters, all of March, 1552, are in *Remains*, or *Orig. Lett.* ii.

Bucer's vacant professorship at Cambridge: and the long frustrated visit of the illustrious Lutheran to this country seemed for the moment not unlikely to come to pass.*

As the summer advanced, Cranmer became more dissatisfied, and less inclined to take part in public affairs. He withdrew himself into his diocese, while the ambitious ruler of the Council carried the young King about with him in a progress, the last that Edward made. From the privacy of Croydon the Archbishop watched with anxiety the movements of the court: and remarked that within a while the daily stages of the royal journey were concealed, so that none knew exactly where to find the King. This might argue some ill design, or it might be made necessary by the uncertainty of Edward's health: but now every hour brought forth its portent to the gaze or the fancy of Cranmer. Amid his perturbation he received from Secretary Cecil an admonition, conveyed with some pertness, that the mind of his royal master was being filled with notions of the undue wealth of the bishops, their covetousness, their niggard hospitality: and that these accusations were particularly insinuated against himself. "I was better off," he replied bitterly, "as a scholar at Cambridge than I am now as an archbishop. I spend all that I have in housekeeping. I pay double for everything. You talk about riches being a temptation and a snare, and warn me against that danger. I am in more danger of stark beggary. You accuse bishops that they are rich and covetous. I say that they are all beggars; unless it be one, and he is not very rich." † Before he left Lambeth,

* Strype, iv. 76.

† Strype thinks he meant Holgate. (*Cran.* bk. ii. ch. xxix.) That former Gilbertine was not very creditable to the Reformation at this time. He was forbidden to come to Parliament until an investigation should have been made into his conduct towards another man's wife.

he was put on the Kentish Commission for church goods : but he did nothing for months, until the monitory Secretary wrote again, informing him of the murmurs of the court at his inaction. He replied that he had not brought his brother commissioners with him into Kent, that they were all in London : but it may be supposed that this excuse was taken away or over-ruled, and that Cranmer was compelled at last to preside over the final dissipation of his cups and hassocks. Another commission then reached him, along with some other worshipful persons of Kent, to inquire into certain heretical sects, which had sprung up of late in a dangerous manner. The inquiry embraced morals as well as religion : and appears to have been rendered necessary by the extravagance of the rising Davidians, Davists, Georgists, or Family of Love, which afterwards gave trouble in the reign of Elizabeth. A Dutch Anabaptist, by name David Georges or Jores, had visions which exalted him above his sect, and bade him gather adherents in his own behalf. A wandering life, not unattended with persecution and suffering, for in France he molested a procession and endured a whipping, was succeeded by an old age of tranquillity and wealth, which Jores passed under an assumed name in the Calvinistic city of Basle : but the imputation of heresy disturbed his grave, and his body was exhumed and publicly burned by the hangman of the Calvinistic senate. In the mean time the leadership of the new Family of Love had been assumed by Henry Nicolas, a Westphalian, who, as it often has happened, was of more vigorous mind than the founder. The tenets of the sect (if they deserve the name) were reduced to literary form by him : and in the *Glass of Righteousness* (he wrote more than one book of the

He was "more set on enriching himself than on anything else." Burnet, Pt. iii. Bk. iv.

title) the enthusiastic adherent of Jores described the four terrible castles of the Calvinists, the Papists, the Lutherans, and the Anabaptists, which were to be passed by the pilgrim who sought the abode of perfect Love. He came to England in the latter part of Edward's reign, and essayed to join himself to the Dutch or Walloon congregation in London, where he caused division, drawing away some of the followers of Micronius, along with some English Gospellers.* Such was the origin of one of the wildest of the Separatist sects. The commission of inquiry was however alleged to have been instigated by dissembling Papists, who sought to trouble the honest professors of the Gospel. The investigations were not searching, or the heretics were not obstinate: and the sagacity of the Archbishop was admired in the detection of a false deposition of incontinence which had been brought against one of them.†

The period of nine months, which fell between the passing and inuring of the Second Act for Uniformity,

* Fuller says that Nicolas "joined himself to the Dutch congregation in London, where he seduced a number of artificers and silly women, among whom two daughters of one Warwick, to whom he dedicated an epistle, were his principal perverts." He adds that many of the English nation were deceived by him: and that the Dutch ministers Micronius and Charineus confuted him to little purpose (*Under Elizabeth*, sec. 3, parag. 36). Micronius to Bullinger laments the increase of Arians, Marcionists, Libertines, Davists (not Danists, as unfortunately printed in *Orig. Lett.* p. 560) in a letter of 1550, at which we have looked already. Strype gives the account of the commission, which was also sent to Ridley for London, and perhaps to other bishops (iv. 19: and *Cranm.* bk. ii. ch. xxxiii.). Strype's original is the first edition of Fox. The contemporary Becon, Cranmer's chaplain, laments that "this our age is most miserably vexed with divers and sundry damnable sects, as Papists, Anabaptists, Arians, Davidians, Adamites, Libertines, Epicures, &c., which go about to defend their vain opinions with tooth and nail, and shame not to allege the Scriptures," &c. *Catechism*, p. 379: *Jewel of Joy*, p. 415. Mosheim gives some account of them. See also Blunt's *Dict. of Sects*, and Hardwick on the Articles.

† Strype iv. 19.

ended with October: and on the first day of the following month, the Feast of All Saints, the Second Prayer Book of Edward was used for the first time in the service of St. Paul's. How far it had power to penetrate the realm in the following eight months, the brief space during which it remained in sanction, can scarcely be calculated: but certainly it could not have been procured beforehand everywhere, and have been ready for use on the appointed day: for the final issue was extremely hasty, though the preparation was so long. In passing to the light the volume met with strange adventures. It was discussed by the Privy Council; it was mixed in some degree with the literary history of the Forty-two Articles of Religion, which were being framed at the time: the contest between the Conformists and the Nonconformists centred upon it, while it was still in embryo: and it received an important addition only three days before it was read in the congregation by the voice of Ridley. When it came forth at last, it proved to have become, so far as language went, the utmost concession that was ever made to the Nonconformists. It differed from the First Book of Edward more than the First Book differed from the Use of Salisbury. From the First Book it also differed in several points more than the Book of Elizabeth differed afterwards. But it must not be concluded from this that the Second Book of Edward marked the furthest point to which Nonconformity proceeded historically, in influencing the worship of the churches and the destiny of the nation: and that a return towards the former standard of Uniformity was marked by Elizabeth's recension, or took place in her reign. On the contrary, the future was big with Nonconformity. Puritanism was but beginning to develop its force, when the compromise embodied in the Second Prayer Book was devised: and the two great

parties in the Church of England were destined to struggle in the coming generations, as if it had never existed. The history of the Second Book is little more than literary, if it be considered apart from its Elizabethan edition. Where it differed from that, the feature of the age that it marked was not the furthest progress of a tendency, but the spirit of accommodation which moved for the moment the leaders of the opposite opinions, and which was greater then than it ever became again. Like the Articles, which were devised at the same time by the same men, the Second Prayer Book was designed to comprehend differences. But the opposing principles were so irreconcilable, whether to continue the institutes of the Catholic Church on the one side, or on the other to admit only the institutes of the New Testament, that the compromise was neglected almost before it was made: the monument of reconciliation, the Second Book, was altered and remodelled down to the day that it left the workshop.

The point which Nonconformity was now assailing was the attitude or gesture of kneeling to receive the Holy Communion. Hooper had been at this a year or two before, in his Lenten sermons. Laski the Pole, who insulted with impunity the rites of the Church of the country that harboured him, had been at it ever since he came. Knox, it was seen, had abused his license to preach by putting forth a rite of his own at Berwick, from which the custom of kneeling was excluded. The First Book of Edward had contained no direction on the subject, because none was then needed: but in the Second Book, now that the attack had reached that point, a rubric was inserted enjoining the communicant to kneel. Perhaps it would have been wiser and more dignified in the Conformist party of the revisers to have kept silence, and trusted to the force of decency, than to have given a direction which had, through the Act of

Parliament, the support of legal penalties. For the passage of the Book through the press was interrupted in a curious way. Grafton, the printer, was finishing the first impression: the sale, it is likely, had commenced, when he received, September 26, an Order of Council to stay the publication, and, if he had distributed any copies to his fellow-publishers, to forbid them to let them go forth until certain faults in them should have been amended.* At the same time the Council wrote to Cranmer, requesting him to oversee and correct the Book as printed already, and furthermore to consult with Ridley and Peter Martyr whether it might not be better to leave out the rubric about kneeling. Cranmer replied with dignity that he would peruse the Book and correct the press, and obey their wishes in consulting Ridley and Martyr as to the ordinance of kneeling: but that it had been well weighed at the making of the Book by a great many bishops and the best learned men within the realm. "Your lordships are wise," continued he, "but is it wisdom to alter without Parliament what has been concluded by Parliament, at the bidding of glorious and unquiet spirits, who would still find faults if the Book were altered every year? They say that kneeling is not commanded in Scripture: and what is not commanded in Scripture is unlawful. There is the root of the errors of the sects! If that be true, take away the whole Book of Service; and let us have no more trouble in setting forth an order in religion, or indeed in common policy. If kneeling be not expressly enjoined in Holy Scripture, neither is

* "A letter to Grafton the printer to stay in any wise from uttering any of the books of the new service, and if he have distributed any of them amongst his company, that then to give straight commandment to every of them not to put any of them abroad, until certain faults in them be corrected." *Council Book*; 26 Sept.

standing or sitting. Let them lie down on the ground, and eat their meat like Turks or Tartars.”* The Archbishop, it may be presumed, reluctantly applied himself to the Bishop of London and the Florentine theologian: and shortly afterwards received and obeyed a summons to attend the Council. Then, weary of the Court and of Northumberland, he retired to his house at Ford: where several messages and letters reached him from the lords.† The result of all these deliberations was to retain the direction to kneel, but to append to the Communion Service an explanation that might conciliate the dreaded Nonconformists. The celebrated Declaration about kneeling, called sometimes the Black Rubric, was composed, in which it was explained that, though the gesture of kneeling was retained, there was nothing of superstition involved in it. The order to insert this was issued October 27, only three days before the Book was due to the nation.‡ Some of the volumes were flown already beyond recovery from the office of Grafton: in those that remained he was compelled to paste the Declaration on a separate piece of paper: in those that he afterwards worked off he gave it a more congenial, though not an invariable position.§ The Declaration

* This admirable letter is not in the editions of Cranmer's works. It was first printed, I believe, by Mr. Perry in his valuable *Historical Considerations on the Declaration on Kneeling*, p. 77. Dr. Lorimer has reprinted it in his *Knox in England*, p. 103. It is of October 7. The original is in the Rec. Off. *Dom. Edw. VI.* Vol. XV.

† He went to Ford on Oct. 11. Strype's *Cranm.* bk. ii. ch. xxvii.

‡ “A letter to the Lord Chancellor to cause to be joined unto the Book of Common Prayer, lately set forth, a certain Declaration signed by the King's Majesty, and sent unto his lordship, touching the kneeling at the receiving of the Communion.” *Council Book*, 27 Oct.

§ The variations of the position of the Declaration in the surviving copies are remarked by the ritualists who have examined the Graftons of the Second Prayer Book. See, for example, the Parker edition, or Lathbury's *Hist. of the Prayer Bk.* Some copies are without the Declaration.

had no authority beyond the King's signature: it was a royal proclamation.*

What caused these perturbations? Who was it that the Archbishop withstood so stoutly in his letter: and whence proceeded this compromise of retaining the rubric for kneeling, but explaining that kneeling was no adoration of the Sacrament? John Knox went from Newcastle to London about the end of September, perhaps at the bidding of the Duke of Northumberland, and was required to preach before the King.† He

* The Declaration, as it was in the Second Book, ran thus. "Although no order can be so perfectly devised, but it may be of some, either for their ignorance and infirmity, or else of malice and obstinacy, misconstrued, depraved, and interpreted in a wrong part: And yet because brotherly charity willeth that as much as conveniently may be, offences should be taken away: therefore we willing to do the same, Whereas it is ordained in the Book of Common Prayer, in the administration of the Lord's Supper, that the communicants kneeling should receive the Holy Communion; which thing being well meant for a signification of the humble and grateful acknowledging of the benefits of Christ given unto the worthy receiver, and to avoid the profanation and disorder, which about the Holy Communion might else ensue: lest yet the same kneeling might be thought or taken otherwise, we do declare that it is not meant thereby that any adoration is done, or ought to be done, either unto the sacramental bread and wine there bodily received, or to any real and essential presence there being of Christ's natural flesh and blood. For as concerning the sacramental bread and wine, they remain still in their very natural substances, and therefore may not be adored, for that were Idolatry to be abhorred of all faithful Christians. And as concerning the natural body and blood of our Saviour Christ, they are in heaven and not here. For it is against the truth of Christ's true natural body to be in more places than in one at one time." This was altogether struck out in the next revision under Elizabeth: in the final revision it was restored, and still remains at the end of the Communion Order, in a more coherent shape, and with the important alteration of *real and essential* into *corporal*. The share that Peter Martyr had is easy to be seen: for he rejected these terms as scholastic: and the argument that Christ's Body is in heaven was often advanced by him: as in one of his Oxford disputations, given by Fox.

† This was probably only in accordance with the standing order that "whosoever had ecclesiastical benefices granted to them by the King, should preach before him in or out of Lent." Strype, iii. 334. Knox had not a benefice, but Northumberland was trying to put him into one out

discharged his office by launching a violent invective against the custom of kneeling at the Sacrament: without knowing, perhaps, that it was now become part of the law of the land. His sermon, which was greatly discussed among the bishops and the courtiers, was the cause that alarmed the Council, stopped the

of his way. It has however been thought that he preached before the King at this time because he was a royal chaplain. And there is a little evidence to show that Knox may have been made a royal chaplain about this time. In the last chapter it was seen that the number of royal chaplains was probably six at first, but that it was soon reduced to four (the number spoken of in several documents) by the withdrawal of Bradford and Eastwick. It is just possible that they were raised to six again now by the addition of Horn and Knox, whose names occur in conjunction with those of the four undoubted chaplains (Harley, Bill, Grindal, Perne) in two documents of this year. Horn and Knox were both very much in Northumberland's way in the north, and if making them chaplains would have taken them out of his way, he would have done it. But I see no real reason to think that Knox was made a royal chaplain at this time: and there is, as we have seen, no reason to think he was one before this time. The two documents in which he and Horn are found along with the four undoubted chaplains, are the Council Book note that the Forty-five Articles had been committed to them to examine (a matter about which we shall have enough presently), October 21: and the Draft of those Articles signed by them, which is in the Record Office. But there is another entry in the Council Book, Nov. 20, which says that it was "to certain of the King's Majesty's chaplains and *others*," that the Articles were committed. Why may not Knox have been one of the others? At any rate neither he nor Horn were paid in the same way as the four undoubted chaplains. Strype mentions an annuity by patent of forty pounds to the four undoubted, Grindal, Bill, Harley, and Perne, bearing date of March 13, apparently of this year: in which nothing is said of Knox or of Horn (iv. 524). This passage seems to have escaped Mr. Perry and Dr. Lorimer, who both maintain that Knox was a royal chaplain: the latter indeed earnestly contends for it. The matter is of the smallest importance. Whether chaplain or not, Knox disturbed the transit of the Prayer Book. There can be no doubt that it was he of whom Weston in the next reign used the well-known expression (preserved in Fox's account of Latimer's examination at Oxford): "A runagate Scot did take away the adoration or worshipping of Christ in the Sacrament, by whose procurement that heresy was put into the last Communion Book: so much prevailed that one man's authority at that time." It was formerly supposed that Weston alluded to Aless: but that is now given up.

press, and provoked the rebuke of Cranmer.* Soon afterwards the Scottish Nonconformist had the opportunity of interfering again : and his meddlesome scruples, as they began, so they fostered to the end the agitation which led to the declaration about kneeling. This second interference happened in the course of the preparation of another of the great formularies of the reign, which was in progress at this time : and the careful reader is invited to interweave with the adventures of the unpublished Prayer Book, the adventures of the unpublished draft of the Forty-two Articles, which befell, in part at least, through the same stickler about the same matter.†

The Articles for Uniformity, which were being prepared for the Church of England, reached in their first draft to the number of forty-five. When last we saw them, they had been sent by Cranmer to some of the

* Unfortunately the only contemporary mention of this sermon is in a letter of Uttenhovius, of October 12, who says, "Some disputes have arisen within these few days among the bishops, in consequence of a sermon of a pious preacher, chaplain to the Duke of Northumberland, preached by him before the King and Council, in which he inveighed with great freedom against kneeling at the Lord's Supper, which is still retained here by the English. This good man however, a Scotsman by nation, has so wrought upon the minds of many persons, that we may hope some good to the Church may at length arise from it, which I earnestly implore the Lord to grant." *Orig. Lett.* p. 591. The Parker translator, oddly enough, raises the question how Knox could be called Northumberland's chaplain : and some needless discussion has followed. The original is preacher, not chaplain : "Ex concione pii cujusdam viri, concionatoris ducis Northumbriæ." There is no doubt but that the preacher was Knox, though he is not named. It may be added that Mr. Perry has discovered in the Record Office a Memorandum in Cecil's writing of "matters to be brought before the Council," Oct. 20 : which runs thus : "Mr. Knocks—b. of Cat^b : the book in the B. of Durham." He connects this with the kneeling controversy (*Hist. Considerations*, p. 95). It may be so : but it is too vague to found anything on.

† I am glad to despatch in this place the ante-natal history of the Edwardian Articles, because the history of their actual publication, which awaits us in the next year, is so complicated, as to require all our patience for itself.

bishops to examine, and the Council had expected their speedy publication.* But Cranmer saw fit to examine them again: and from his hand they passed, in the middle of September, to Cheke and Cecil.† After a month they were committed by the Council to the King's ordinary chaplains, to whose office (as we have seen) it pertained to examine books for publication: and with them were associated the two men, whose names are so often conjoined about this time, Horn and Knox. This college of divines appear perhaps to have returned their opinion on the Articles in Latin: at any rate they ratified them by affixing their names to the draft.‡ But

* See last chapter, p. 383.

† "I have sent the book of articles for religion unto Mr. Cheke, set in a better order than it was, and the titles upon every matter, adding thereto that which lacked. I pray you consider well the articles with Mr. Cheke: and whether you think best to move the King's Majesty therein before my coming, I refer that unto your two wisdoms." Cranmer to Cecil from Croydon, Sept. 19. *Rem.* p. 439. Strype adds that Cheke and Cecil waited till the Archbishop came to Court again, and that he then presented the book of articles to the King with a request "for their publication and due observation": and that the King and Council hereupon delivered them to the chaplains. *Cranmer*, Bk. II. ch. xxvii. This seems to be founded upon Cranmer's own words in the letter above: and on the entry of Nov. 20 in the *Council Book* (see below), which contains the assertion that the articles had been "heretofore drawn and delivered to the King's Majesty" by Cranmer.

‡ On the duties and privileges of the King's ordinary chaplains as examiners of books, see last chapter, p. 327. The entry in the *Council Book* is as follows: "Oct. 21. A letter to Mr. Harley, Mr. Bill, Mr. Horne, Mr. Grindal, Mr. Perne, and Mr. Knox to consider certain articles exhibited to the King's Matie, to be subscribed to by all such as shall be admitted to be Preachers or ministers in any part of the Realm, and to make report of their opinions touching the same." On this observe, 1. That Strype has unfortunately misread the date, and puts it to Oct. 2, for which day there is no entry at all in the *Council Book*. *Cranmer*, Bk. II. ch. xxvii. He is followed by Mr. Perry, *Considerations*, p. 93. Hardwick suspected something wrong, and says, "On the 2nd (or 21st) of the following October a letter was addressed," &c. Dr. Lorimer, on the other hand, alters Oct. 21 unto Oct. 20, *Knox in Eng.* 108: being moved, apparently, by the pious desire to make a coincidence between the letters of Council and Cecil's memorandum about "Mr. Knocks and

though they signed, and Knox among the rest, yet Knox and another, or perhaps more than one other of them, saw fit to put in a separate protestation against one article, which stood thirty-eighth in the draft, concerning the new Book of Common Prayer and Orders. This article expressly declared the ceremonies enjoined in the new Book to be agreeable with the liberty of the Gospel, and to be received by all ministers with gladness and thanksgiving.* The ceremony of kneeling at the Sacrament was included among the rest: but the free and glad acknowledgment of that ceremony was not to be expected from one who had notoriously deprived it: and it was against that ceremony that Knox and his fellow shaped the remonstrance which they addressed to the Council. "Besides our judgment on the Articles," said they, "which we have committed to the Latin tongue, we offer you our confession on the thirty-eighth

the Bishop of Canterbury," which is dated Oct. 20: see above, p. 480. —2. That, if it be possible to argue on such data, the position of the names of Horn and Knox may indicate that each of them assessed two of the undoubted chaplains.—3. That it is from Knox's remonstrance (considered anon) that it seems that they returned their opinions in Latin. But I cannot find that their opinions exist: and perhaps he meant only that they signed the draft, which was in Latin. This original draft of the Articles, forty-five in number, is in the Record Office, *Dom. Edw. VI.* Vol. XV. No. 28. It has the signatures of the six divines, and is endorsed "Articles concerning an Uniformity in Religion." It is printed in Hardwick.

* This 38th Article of the draft of 45 Articles runs thus: "Liber qui nuperrime auctoritate Regis et Parliamenti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ traditus est, continens modum et formam orandi et Sacramenta administrandi in Ecclesia Anglicana, similiter et libellus ille eadem auctoritate editus de ordinatione ministrorum Ecclesiæ, quoad doctrinæ veritatem pii sunt, et quoad ceremoniarum rationem salutari Evangelii libertati, si ex sua natura ceremoniæ illæ estimantur, in nullo repugnant, sed probe congruunt, et eandem in complurimis imprimis promovent; atque ideo ab omnibus Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ membris, et maxime a ministris verbi, cum omni promptitudine animorum et gratiarum actione recipiendi, approbandi, et populo Dei sunt commendandi."

Article. Kneeling in the action of the Lord's Supper proceeds from the error of opinion. It offends the weak, it injures the Church, seeming to allow idolatry to triumph after so long contention. The Papists will say that your kneeling has neither more nor less foundation in God's word than the ceremonies that you have abolished; therefore the ceremonies that you have abolished ought to remain equally with your kneeling. So will they argue. And though some withstand us out of zeal, we suppose, for the truth, yet these, on considering how necessary it is that kneeling be avoided, will doubtless persuade you not to bring that thing under a law, whereof ye have no commandment nor example in Christ and his Apostles." * This bold appeal may be supposed to have frightened the Council again, and to have urged them finally to order, October 27, the Declaration of the meaning of the disputed ceremony to be inserted into the new Book.† Nor was the effect of this sudden attack confined to the Prayer Book. The draft of the Articles was sent back to Cranmer, in the following month, to be revised by him again: ‡ and

* To Dr. Lorimer belongs the credit of discovering this important and lengthy document, which the writers call a "confession." He found two copies of it in a volume of transcripts in the Morrice collection, in Dr. Williams' Library in Grafton Street. It has no title, and the original is lost: but of the authorship there can be no question. The date is given approximately by the Doctor, who has printed the document, and made good historical use of it.

† "A Letter to the Lord Chancellor to cause to be joined unto the Book of Common Prayer lately set forth a certain declaration signed by the King's Majesty, and sent unto his Lordship, touching the kneeling at the receiving of the Communion." *Council Book*, 27 Oct.

‡ "Nov. 20. A Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury with the Articles heretofore drawn and delivered by him to the King's Matie: which being since that time considered by certain of his Highness' Chaplains and others are in some part altered, and therefore returned to him to be considered, so as after the perfecting of them, order may be given for the putting the same in due execution." *Council Book*. Cran-

it seems impossible not to conclude that some of the alterations that reduced the original forty-five Articles into the forty-two that were published next year, and especially those that transformed the thirty-eighth Article of the one set into the thirty-fifth of the other, were occasioned by the remonstrance of Knox.* Cranmer rapidly considered and returned the draft: and great were his hopes that they might be immediately published and applied to the service of Uniformity by enforced subscription in every diocese: but further delay succeeded: nor need the history of the preparation of the Articles be followed here beyond the curious share that they had in

mer received the draft three days afterwards, Nov. 23: he did not keep it long, for he sent it back next day, with a schedule "declaring briefly his mind" upon it: and asking that "all bishops might have authority from the king to cause all their preachers, archdeacons, deans, prebendaries, parsons, vicars, curates, with all their clergy, to subscribe to the said Articles." If that might be gained, his hopes for Uniformity were high. "Such a concord and quietness in religion shall shortly follow thereof, as else is not to be looked for for many years. God shall thereby be glorified, his truth shall be advanced, and your lordships shall be rewarded of him as the setters forward of his true word and gospel." To Council, Nov. 24, Strype's *Cranm.*, App. lxiv.: or *Remains*.

* It is Dr. Lorimer who gives reasons for thinking that Knox's protestation caused the alterations particularly made in the 38th Article of the Draft of the Forty-five, when that Article appeared as the 35th of the Forty-two next year. The reader has seen the Latin of that draft Article: let him now compare it with the Latin of the 35th of the Forty-two, and he will see that the Doctor is right in saying, "All that had appeared in the first draft on the subject of the *ceremonies* of the Prayer Book was cancelled, and nothing remained save what referred to the *doctrine* of the Book, to which Knox has taken no exception." *Knox in Engl.* p. 126. The Article runs thus:—"Quoad doctrinæ veritatem pii sunt, et salutari doctrinæ Evangelii in nullo repugnant, sed congruunt, et eandem non parum promovent et illustrent; atque ideo ab omnibus Ecclesiæ," &c. The ceremonies, which figured so largely in that clause at first, were now indeed banished from it, and only appeared in the title of the article: "De Libro Precationum et ceremoniarum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ." By what still greater changes, even this amended article was turned into the 36th of the present Thirty-nine, in which there is nothing said of the Prayer Book, but only of the forms of ordering and consecrating, the reader may easily satisfy himself.

the agitation of the question of kneeling, and the preparation of the Second Prayer Book.*

The day after the conclusion of this affair, that I may pursue Knox out of the kingdom, Cecil received from Northumberland a letter advising that the Scottish reformer should be promoted to the vacant bishopric of Rochester. The recommendation was not prompted by favour, but by the desire of ridding Knox out of the north. For in the summer of this year, when the triumphant Dudley, accompanied by a brilliant train of courtiers, passed northwards as Warden of the Scottish Marches, it was without approbation that he remarked the doings of the zealous preacher: his nonconformity: the number of compatriots whom he gathered around him out of his native country. He heard him preach:

* *Chronology of the Edwardian Articles before publication.*

Sept. 19. The "book of Articles," or draft of them, forty-five in number, sent by Cranmer to Cecil, to be considered by him and Cheke. Cranmer had revised them carefully.

— The book or draft of the Forty-five, said to have been returned to Cranmer, and presented by him to the King.

Oct. 21. It is handed over by the Council to the King's Chaplains: or at any rate to six persons named, including the four undoubted Chaplains.

— They considered it, and gave their opinions in Latin: and signed the draft. But Knox of them, and another (or more) protested separately against the 38th Art.

Nov. 20. The Council order the draft to be sent back to the Archbishop.

— 23. Cranmer revises it.

— 24. And returns it with a schedule of his opinions, and a hearty prayer that the Articles may be applied by authority for clerical subscription.

June 12. It is probable that the Articles were by this final revision reduced
1553. to forty-two: and were afterwards signed by the King. The copy that he signed is among the Cecil MSS., and is endorsed "K. Edward his confession of his religion." *Cal.* p. 133. The exact date at which he signed appears from a MS. in the Biblioth. Reg. Brit. Mus.: of which I give some account in the next chapter. This document, after speaking of the Articles and some letters to be sent to the bishops about them under June 12, adds, "Eodem die. A Book signed by the K. M. containing the Articles aforesaid." *Comp. Strype*, iv. 24.

and in his applications of the allegories of the prophets he may have detected some allusion to the fate of Somerset and the present state of the kingdom.* “For heaven’s sake,” cried he now to the convenient Secretary, “make Knox bishop of Rochester. He will be a whetstone to Cranmer, who needs one: his nonconformity will be stopped: and the Scots who resort to Newcastle for his fellowship will not continue there. And make Horn (that other preacher, whom I dislike as much as Knox) bishop of Durham: increase his present stipend somewhat. Let him live in his present Deanery, or Deaneries: and the episcopal palaces can be taken for the King. I have some other changes to recommend, by which some thousands of pounds can be got out of the see of Durham for the King, always for the King.”†

* Knox said in 1554, after he had left England, that he had preached in more places than one, and especially in Newcastle, before Sir Robert Brandling, on Isaiah’s vineyard: and that he hoped that Brandling understood his interpretation of it in reference to Somerset, Northumberland, and the wicked Papists, who had overthrown the hedges and the winepress. In a note on the margin of the “Faithful Admonition” in which he printed this, he added, “This was affirmed both before the King and Northumberland more than once.” (Lorimer, 84, or Lang’s *Knox*, iii. 277.) He certainly preached before Northumberland, and before the King in London this year; and may have said something sad, mournful, and antipapal in general. But if he had pointedly referred to Somerset’s death, we should know more about the achievement.

† I have here combined two letters of Northumberland’s to Cecil. But the former is such a specimen of greed and unscrupulous dealing that it should be given in full. “I would to God it might please the King’s Majesty to appoint Mr. Knox to the office of Rochester bishopric: which for three purposes should do very well. The first, he would not only be a whetstone to quicken and sharp the Bishop of Canterbury, whereof he had need; but would also be a great confounder of the Anabaptists lately sprung up in Kent. Secondly, he should not continue the ministration in the North, contrary to this set forth here. Thirdly, the family of the Scots, now inhabiting in Newcastle, chiefly for his fellowship, would not continue there, wherein many resort to them out of Scotland, which is not requisite. Herein, I pray you, desire my Lord Chamberlain and Mr. Vice-Chamberlain to help towards this good act both for God’s service and the King’s. And then, for the North, if his Majesty make the Dean of Durham Bishop of that see, and appoint him

Knox declined the offer of a bishopric : and the Duke, though offended, next vainly offered him the living of Kidderminster, vacant by the promotion of the Chaplain Harley to the see of Hereford.

The Scot remained in London almost to the end of the year, and seems to have passed his time not unone thousand marks more to that he hath in his Deanery ; and the same houses that he now hath, as well in the city as in the country, will serve him right honourably : so may his Majesty receive both the castle, which hath a princely site, and the other stately houses, which the Bishop hath in the country, to his Highness : and the Chancellor's living to be converted to the Deanery, and an honest man placed in it : the Vice-Chancellor to be turned into the Chancellor : and the Suffragan, who is placed without the King's Majesty's Authority, and also hath a great living, not worthy of it, may be removed, being neither preacher, learned, nor honest man : and the same living, with a little more to the value of it, an hundred marks, will serve to the erection of a Bishop within Newcastle. The said Suffragan is so pernicious a man, and of so evil qualities, that the country abhors him. He is most meet to be removed from that office and from those parts. Thus may his Majesty place godly ministers in these offices, as aforesaid, and receive to his crown 2000 *lib.* a year of the best lands within the north part of his realm. Yea, I doubt not it will be four thousand marks a year, of as good revenue as any within the realm : and all places better and more godly furnished than ever it was from the beginning to this day. Scribbled in my bed as ill at ease as I have been much in all my life." 28 Oct. *Rec. Off. Domest. Edw. VI.* vol. xv. 35, publ. by Tytler, and Lorimer. The other letter, of 7 December, is from Chelsea, after Northumberland's return from the north. "Master Knox being here to speak with me, saying that he was so willed by you, I do return him again, because I love not to have to do with men which be neither grateful nor pleasurable. I assure you I mind to have no more to do with him, but to wish him well ; neither also with the Dean of Durham, because under the colour of a false conscience he can prettily malign, and judge of others against good charity upon a froward judgment." Tytler's *Edw. VI.* ii. 148. He goes on to complain that Horn had called him, in some letter or another, a dissembler in religion. There are other letters of Northumberland's in the Record Office of this time, in one of which he calls Horn "this peevish Dean," and thinks he should not have the see of Durham *Cal.* p. 48. Mr. Froude, in one of his passages, says that Knox "with his hard grey eyes looked through and through into the heart of the second Moses of John Bale, and he could not tell, he said, whether he were not a dissembler in religion." (v. 475.) But it was not Knox but Horn who talked, or rather wrote, not talked, about a dissembler. As for the "hard grey eyes," it was Northumberland who saw through Knox.

pleasantly among the rich merchants and their families, with whom he made acquaintance. But strange rumours about him reached the north : and his late congregation of Berwick heard with wonder that he who had led them to nonconformity in the matter of kneeling, was become a conformist, now that kneeling was ordered by law under penalty. He wrote them a long letter to explain or cause them to discern the principle on which he acted.* An

* *Chronology of the First Kneeling War.*

- 20 Sept. or thereabout, Knox preaches against kneeling.
- 26 — The Council stop the printing of the Prayer Book.
- 7 Oct. Cranmer's indignant Letter on being required to reconsider the new rubric ordering kneeling.
- 11 — Cranmer confers with the Council and retires to Ford. About this time he must have consulted Ridley and Peter Martyr about retaining the rubric.
- 12 — Uttenhovius' Letter mentioning that a Scot had been preaching against kneeling some days before.
- 20 — Cecil's Memorandum about Knox and the Bishop of Canterbury, to be brought before the Council.
- 21 — The Council deliver the Forty-five Articles to the royal chaplains and others to be examined. Knox was among these divines, and he and another (or two) protested in writing against Art. 38, because it implicitly affirmed kneeling to be right and proper.
- 27 — The Council order the Declaration on kneeling to be inserted in the Prayer Book : that is, they compromise the matter by retaining the rubric, but declaring that no superstition is meant.
- — Knox's epistle to Berwick.

It may be added that the Council subsequently offered Knox the living of All Hallows in Bread Street, in Cranmer's gift, vacant by the preferment of Thomas Sampson to the Deanery of Chichester. *Council Bk.* 2 Feb. 1553. But Knox knew better than to put himself under the nose of Cranmer and Ridley. He was called before the Council, and asked why he refused the living, whether he thought it unchristian to minister according to the rites and laws of the English realm, and whether kneeling were not indifferent. He was kindly treated, and dismissed to consider with himself whether he would communicate after that order. We have only his own account of the matter, Lang's *Knox*, iii. 83. Perry's *Considerations*, p. 96. It seems as if Northumberland's way of getting rid of troublesome men was to promote them. Cardmaker, a licensed preacher or reader at S. Paul's, no sooner begun to preach against him, than he became canon of Wells.

Apostolic salutation opened this epistle: after which, "I require you," said he, "to hold a continuance in the truth that ye have professed, in spite of the devil, who is not only a leviathan and a lion, but a liar. The troubles of the elect are continual. If evil times return in your days, stick fast to the Gospel, which you have heard preached by a wretched, weak, and feeble man. Be not offended, if many are waxen cold, or fallen from the profession of the truth. If any among you vary from the principal points of the doctrine that ye have received, let him be accursed. In the principal points of religion ye ought to obey God rather than man: but otherwise obedience must be given to magistrates and rulers, how evil soever they be, or how wicked soever their commandments: though it is to be prayed that their hearts may be turned, and the empire of God's word not hindered by the rigour of a law. As to my present state, and what I would ye should esteem me, rumour blows ever the worst of God's messengers, especially in their absence. As to my life and conversation, I am no hypocrite: I am now what I was among you. I never concealed my frailty, nor ceased to lament my sins. If any be offended that I intend to obey God rather than man, I have a body, which only they can hurt. I set life and death before me in equal balance. I will give place to neither man nor devil touching doctrine: but ceremonies are things of less weight. And as for kneeling at the Lord's Supper, I have proved it to be no convenient gesture. But the magistrates, common order, and the judgment of many learned men are against me: and I am not minded to withstand them. Provided that the magistrates make known that no superstition is intended in kneeling (as they have done if ministers would do their duty and read the Declaration), and provided that

I be held free from the imputation of a foolish enterprise in having tried to follow what Christ did rather than what man subsequently commanded; on these conditions I will bear the order, daily praying however for the reformation of it. This I say not for fear of what might happen to my own person, but lest Christian charity should be violated. Because if I for so small a matter withstood the law and got punished, Christian charity must be violated, either by me or the magistrates. Besides that, I have respect to your consciences. If the rigour of the law compel you to alter the order which you learned from me, you cannot be condemned for what you did before the law was made, neither can you be said to be fallen from the truth, though you comply with the law: provided that (like me) you feel no joy, but pray for the reformation of the order. If any pain that my wicked carcase might sustain could preserve to you the true order, which ye learned, I would suffer death for your peace and conscience. But that would rather stir the magistrate against you, than establish you in quietness. However, you need not change your order until you are specially commanded by such as have authority.* Thus Knox, reputed impregnable, said to have been inflexible. He went back to Newcastle at Christmas: and remained in England the space of another year, sometimes making the north too hot to hold him, but saved from his enemies by the contemptuous pity of Northumberland: † sometimes in London:

* This epistle may be seen in Lorimer, who has printed it for the first time (p. 251). It is fifteen pages long. The excellent doctor remarks of his hero that "Knox was an instance, not only on this occasion, but on not a few others of his life, of a man of great original force, who could be as moderate in action as he could be vehement, even to occasional intemperance, in language." p. 158. This is very true.

† Knox embroiled himself in some way at Newcastle with the municipal authorities, and then wrote a letter to Northumberland at Chelsea, representing that he was in trouble for setting forth the King's godly

sometimes itinerating as a preacher about Buckinghamshire. In this period he refused one or two benefices: he was several times before the Council, for he seems to have followed the advice, which he gave to Berwick, of nonconforming till he was specially observed: but the Council dealt mildly with him. He preached, or it is said that he preached, again before the King: and at length, when the King was dead, and the times grew dangerous, he took ship at Berwick, and fled to Dieppe.*

proceedings. It may be that the part of those proceedings that he was most zealous in setting forth was the Declaration on kneeling. The Duke sent his letter to Cecil, adding, "You may perceive what perplexity the poor soul remaineth in at this moment: the which, in my poor opinion, should not do amiss to be remembered to the rest of my Lords, that some order might be taken by their wisdom for his recomfort. And as I would not wish his abode should be of great continuance in those parts, but to come and to go as shall please the King's Majesty and my Lords to appoint him, so do I think it expedient that it should be known to my Lord Wharton and those of Newcastle that his Highness hath the poor man and his doings in good favour for that his Majesty is minded to employ the man and his talent in those parts, and elsewhere," &c. Tytler, ii. 158: Lorimer, p. 165. The Council dealt mildly with him, offered him livings, questioned him kindly, dismissed him easily, employed him as he liked best to be employed.

* The various adventures of the Scottish champion are faithfully recounted by his worshipper, Dr. Lorimer: but seem of no general importance. For all that is heroic in them it should be remembered that the only witness is himself, in his *Godly Admonition*, written abroad. It may be noticed, however, as to his sermon before the King, that he must have been mistaken when he affirmed, in his *Admonition* afterwards, that he compared Northumberland to Ahitophel, Paulet to Shebna, and some other Councillors to Judas Iscariot. Mr. Froude believes and applauds this: and Knox may have preached a severe *general* declamation: but if he had made "transparent allusion" to the Duke and the others, his sermon would have been more celebrated than it is. Knox also gives an account of a sermon that he preached "to a great congregation" at Amersham in Buckinghamshire, after the King's death, when the country was in commotion about Lady Jane Grey: in which he apostrophised England a good deal. "Oh, England, England," &c. On this Mr. Froude has founded a noble picture of Knox in peril. "Ridley shrieked against Mary at Paul's Cross: John Knox, more wisely, at Amersham in Buckinghamshire, foretold the approaching retribution from the giddy ways of the past years. Buckinghamshire, Catholic and Protestant, was arming to the teeth: and he was speaking at the peril of his life among

The reader who remembers all that Bucer impetrated through his *Censura* of the First Book of Edward, need spend but little time upon the alterations which were made in the Second: the formulary in which the Church of England most nearly condescended to the humiliation of religion which was seen upon the continent. It was observed that when Bishop Ridley celebrated the new service for the first time in St. Paul's, he stepped from the choir into the pulpit in his rochet only, without cope or vestment.* Those ornaments indeed, alb, cope, and vestment, were expressly forbidden in the new book: a rochet to a bishop, a surplice only was permitted to a priest: and this was a convenient order because there was so little vesture left in the churches. Other things, many in number, were omitted in silence in the Second Service, which had place in the First, as if for the same reason, that they were no more. The word tunicle disappeared, for there were no tunicles to wear: the word hood was hidden along with learning, and the thing signified by it bespread no longer the shoulders of preachers, to mark the graduate from the person of no degree: † the word staff followed the

the troopers of Sir Edward Hastings" (vi. p. 26). Where is the authority for all this? Hastings was certainly arming for Mary: but were his troopers at church? Would Knox have been in peril if they had been? Amersham was known rather as a hotbed of Gospellers than of Papists. I have no doubt however that Knox spoke "more wisely" than Ridley, who stood his ground to the death.

* Strype, *Cranm.* Bk. ii. ch. xxxiii. *Grey Friars' Chron.* p. 76.

† After Ridley's sermon the prebendaries of St. Paul's left off their hoods, and the bishops their crosses. *Ib.* This sort of stripping and making himself bare had been begun by Cranmer in the year of the risings, 1549: when he "came suddenly to Paul's and preached about the rebellions, and so was at procession, and did the office himself in a cope and no vestment, nor mitre, nor cross, but a cross staff, and his satin cap on his head all the time of the office; and so gave the Communion himself unto eight persons of the said church." *Grey Friars' Chron.* p. 60.

authority of bishops: and the words introit and suffrage vanished with the countless pairs of organs that were put to silence for the King's commodity. The word altar was removed like the structure. With other verbal changes it is less easy to connect a material sign: matins and evensong were rejected for the sober designation of prayer: the terms mass and canon of mass were expunged in consequence of the changed view now maintained of the great doctrines with which they were associated.

As to the extensive variations that were introduced into the several services or offices, it ought to be noticed that the daily morning and evening prayers received the addition of the Introductory Sentences, the Exhortation, the General Confession, and the Absolution: which had the tendency of making confession a public instead of private act.* These forms were rather suggested by the practice than taken from the books of the foreigners, Calvin, Pullain, and Laski.† Into the evening prayers the Apostles' Creed was inserted. A choice of canticles was allowed after the lessons both morning and evening, as now: and it may perhaps be worth notice that, while in the

* This tendency has been observed in the first English *Communion Book*: Vol. II. 495 *huj. op.*

† The introductory sentences were perhaps suggested by the ritualistic genius of Calvin. "Confessioni publicæ adjungere insignem aliquam promissionem, quæ peccatores ad spem veniæ et reconciliationis exigat, nemo nostrum est qui non agnoscat utilissimum esse." This was written, it is true, as late as 1560: but then he goes on, "Atque ab initio hunc morem inducere volui, sed quum offensionem quidam ea novitate metuerent, nimium facilis fui ad cedendum: ita res omissa est." *Ad Quest. de quibusd. Eccl. Ritib. Epist.* p. 352, *Gen.* Laurence says that the Exhortation, Confession, and Absolution were taken in some measure from Pullain's Latin version of Calvin's French Service. (*Bamp. Lect.* p. 207.) Cardwell (*Two Lit.* p. xxxii) observes that the Absolution bears some resemblance to the form used by Laski in the Dutch Church, of which a version appeared in this country at the time when the First Book was being revised. But there is not much resemblance.

morning the clergyman was called minister and not priest, in the evening he was called priest and not minister. The *Quicunque Vult*, or Athanasian Creed, was ordered to be rehearsed on thirteen Feasts, or about once a month, instead of six times only, as in the former book.

The Order of Holy Communion might be expected to exhibit great changes in this edition. The table or board, it was declared, might stand either in the chancel or in the body of the church: and this choice of position is still retained. It was fortunate that the rubrics ordered that the chancels themselves "should remain as they had done in times past," and that they were not pulled down, like the altars. Demolition would have pleased Nonconformity: we have seen that it was advised by Bucer: and it might have come to pass, if it had been certain that anything would have been made out of it. But the necessity and cost of building a wall and maybe a window at the east end of every church whose chancel should have been destroyed was to be balanced against the price at which the old walls and roofs might have been sold. It was not a case of clear gain, like the removal of images, shrines, and church goods. The chancels stood and stand: but it was a sign of the danger of the times that it was necessary to order their preservation in a rubric, an authoritative instrument which was backed by an Act of Parliament. In the order of Communion itself, a Psalm was to be sung as the ministers went to the table: and by this time the Psalter, or much of it, had been done into English by several hands: and, whether by allowance or not, the performance of Sternhold and Hopkins was ready in a while to take the place of the excised introits.* The

* In the First Prayer Book the introits were from the Latin Psalms and may be seen (or the first words of them) printed before the collects:

addition of the Ten Commandments was made from the Calvinistic liturgy of Strasburg : and the body of the service was strangely twisted and transposed. The transference of the hymn *Gloria in excelsis* from the beginning to the end : the separation of the Prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church from the Prayer of Consecration : the new arrangement by which the Confession, the Absolution, the Comfortable Words, and the Prayer of humble access all preceded instead of following the Prayer of Consecration, as in the First Book : these are examples of free treatment, which may be admired or not, but which are not to be condemned of necessity, if antiquity be consulted : since the most ancient liturgies have the greatest variety in the order of parts. But the omission of the direction for the manual acts in consecrating, so that the celebrant simply read of our Saviour taking, blessing, and breaking the bread and the cup, without doing it himself, was a grave matter : and it may be observed that in the words spoken to the communicants, all mention of receiving the Body and Blood of

in general accordance with the first Act for Uniformity, which allowed Psalms and Prayers taken out of the Bible. Blunt's *Prayer Bk.*, p. 149. *Strype*, iii. 135. The English Psalmodists, Cox, Whittingham, Heath, and others, were at work in this reign : so was Sternhold, who set forth his version of some of the Psalms in 1553. *Strype*, iv. 115. Hopkins took up this work in exile under Mary. Heylin thinks that Marot's French version was bad enough, "but not to be compared with that barbarity and botching which everywhere occurred in the translation of Sternhold and Hopkins." He goes on to say that this version was first allowed for private devotion, and brought into the Churches by little : "permitted rather than allowed to be sung before and after sermons, afterwards printed and bound up with the Common Prayer Book, and at last entered by the stationers at the end of the Bible." He adds that though the title of these singing Psalms expressed that they were "set forth and allowed to be sung in all churches before and after Morning and Evening Prayer," no such allowance has ever been found : that it was a connivance. In the high day of Puritanism these wretched compositions "thrust the *Te Deum*, the *Benedictus*, the *Magnificat*, and the *Nunc Dimittis* quite out of the Church." *Heylin*, p. 127.

Christ was avoided.* In a former chapter I have mentioned some other particulars in which the Second Order differed from the First: and need only remark further the disappearance of the Suffrages which the clerks were wont to sing in the time of the communion, and of the post-communion, which they sang after it. The same simplicity, or bareness, may be observed in the Ordinal, which was annexed to the Book: according to which the candidates for Holy Orders, whether deacons, priests, or bishops, might have appeared in their ordinary habits. As to the Offices, the abandonment of triple immersion in Baptism: and in the Visitation of the Sick the disuse of anointing may be indicated: and doubtless there are other omissions or variations of ancient usage, which may be detected by the diligent and curious student.

* As to these alterations in the Communion of the Second Book, observe, 1. The omission of the manual acts may have been suggested by Aless' Latin version of the First Book, in which they are omitted. 2. What the communicants received was simply called "this." For in the Second Book only the second clause is found of the words now used, "Take and eat this." "Drink this." (In the First Book the first clause only was found, "The Body of our Lord," &c. "The Blood of our Lord," &c.) 3. In the Consecration Prayer of the First Book we have seen how the momentous words "Thy creatures of bread and wine *maybe* unto us the Body and Blood of Thy most dearly beloved Son," were an important modification of the old Latin canon. The words were now further changed into "that we receiving these Thy creatures of bread and wine, according to Thy Son our Saviour Christ's holy institution, may be partakers of His most blessed Body and Blood." 4. To the same purpose was an alteration made in the Exhortation. In the First Book it ran that our Saviour had "left in those holy mysteries, as a pledge of his love and a continual remembrance of the same, his own blessed Body and precious Blood, for us spiritually to feed upon." This was turned into, "He hath instituted and ordained holy mysteries, as pledges of his love, and continual remembrance of his death." [Mr. Dore, the well known Bibliographer, says in a letter to me that only two editions of the Second Book were printed, both folio, for church use: and that these were not used: "every copy is as clean at Matins, Evensong, and Holy Communion as in the occasional offices." There were no quarto or octavo editions.]

CHAPTER XXI.

A.D. 1553.

ALMOST the first, certainly the most remarkable ecclesiastic that was ordered according to the rites of the second English Ordinal was the Bishop of Ossory, who went to his office at the beginning of the year 1553. He has left a narrative of his brief episcopate, in which, amid the explosions of indignation and disappointment, it is possible to discern the reality of some things concerning the Church and country of Ireland: and the Vocation of John Bale, which opens with an elaborate comparison of himself with St. Paul, and which was professedly published in the capital of St. Peter, is not altogether undeserving of the glance of the reader.

“I little thought, when I took horse to ride to Southampton in August 1552, to rejoice that the King was come thither in his progress, within five miles of my parsonage of Bishopstoke,” says John Bale in effect, “and I so sick that I could scarcely sit: I little thought of being called to the office of a bishop. I drew to the place where his Majesty was, and stood in the open street right against the window. And a friend of mine looked out, and then two more: and moved their heads toward me in a kindly way. And then the King came to the window, and earnestly beheld me, as though he had an earnest regard toward me, a simple subject and a poor

weak creature. And that very instant, as I am credibly informed, he turned to his lords, those of the Council who were with him, and bade them appoint me Bishop of Ossory. I got my Letters Patent in due course : my refusal was not accepted : and in Ponet's house in Winchester I vainly alleged the impediments of sickness, age, and poverty. Such was my Vocation.*

"On the twenty-first day of January," he proceeds, "I and my wife and one servant took ship at Bristol, and after being but two days and two nights upon the sea arrived prosperously at Waterford. In beholding the city I saw many abominable idolatries maintained by the Epicurean priests. The Communion was altogether like a popish mass, with the old apish tricks of Antichrist, bowings and beckings, kneelings and knockings, the Lord's Death, after St. Paul's doctrine, neither preached nor spoken of. They howled over the dead with prodigious howlings and patterings : and I said to a senator of the city that Christ was not bishop there, neither was the King of England. A parish priest told me at supper that the last prior of the White Friars of Knocktown was his father : and, when I bade him not boast of that, he answered that it was an honour in that country to have a spiritual man to his father. When I got to Dublin, I met my companion and friend Goodacre, the elect of Armagh. That great epicure, the Archbishop of Dublin, Browne, tried to defer my consecration, so to deprive me of half my living of my bishopric for that year to his own gluttonous use. When the time of our consecration, or

* It may be, and has been, remarked, that the real cause of Bale's vocation was the tract called an *Expostulation with a frantic Papist*, which he had just published at this time, in which he likened Edward to Josiah and Solomon, and Northumberland to Moses, as having "the same mighty, fervent, and religious zeal." See an account in *Strype*, iv. 38. This would account for the earnest attention of the King, and the kindness of the Councillors.

observation,* came, the Dean of the cathedral church, Lockwood (Blockhead he might be called), fearing for his kitchen and his belly, would not have had it done according to the last Book set forth in England, alleging that it had not been yet consented unto by the Irish Parliament, and that there might be a tumult. Goodacre would not contend about this. But I stepped forth and said, that if England and Ireland were both under one king, they were bound to obey one law under him: that we came thither sworn to obey that ordinance as true subjects: that it was but a bishopric that I was come to receive, and I would sooner tread it under my feet than break my oath. The chancellor, Cusack, bade it be as I would: and the assheaded dean went away more than half confused. There was no tumult. The archbishop went about the observation very awkwardly, as one not used to that kind, especially in the Lord's Supper.

"All through Lent," continues the bishop, "I preached at Kilkenny in my diocese: and, though in grievous sickness, I never felt my malady so long as I was in the pulpit. Among my prebendaries and clergy I found no helpers; but many adversaries. In my preachings I bade them leave their shameless occupation of other men's wives, daughters, and servants; and have wives of their own. The answer that they gave me was, Why should they marry for half a year, and then lose their livings? Mark that! Were they ghostly inspired, or had they knowledge of some evil working in England, to bring a change there? I could never get any of them to marriage. I ordered them to follow that only Book of Common Prayer, which was put forth by Act of Parliament. This they would not: they alleged the evil example of the Archbishop of Dublin, and the want of

* He seems to prefer the word "observation" to consecration, for he often repeats it.

copies of the Book : they said that their own justices and lawyers had not consented thereto.

“After Easter, departing from Kilkenny, I went to another place of mine named Holmes Court ; where I heard the sorrowful news that Goodacre had been poisoned at Dublin by procurement of some of the priests of his diocese.* On St. James’ Day, July 25, the priests of Kilkenny were pleasantly disposed. They went in heaps from town to town, seeking the best Rob Davy and Aqua Vitæ, and filling their cups with *Gaudemus in dolis* ; which is a drink of which they only have the mystery. The cause of their rejoicing was the news that King Edward was dead. The next day, being St. Anne’s Day, a very wicked justice, named Heath, came to the cathedral church, requiring to have a Communion in honour of the saint : and mark the blasphemous blindness and wilful obstinacy of that beastly papist. For when the priests there said that I had forbidden the celebration, he answered that he discharged them in that point of their obedience to their bishop. The next day the Lady Jane Guildford was proclaimed queen. I was absent, for I much doubted of the matter : and the said justice sore blamed me for my absence.

“Then followed the proclamation of the Lady Mary, which was made with us at Kilkenny on the twentieth of August, with great solemnity. What ado had I that day with the prebendaries and priests about wearing cope, crozier, and mitre in the procession ! I told them that I was not Moses’s minister, but Christ’s : I told them what St. Paul said about vain shadows. I took

* This report that Goodacre’s death was through poison, is set down as “a very extraordinary thing,” believed in the primate’s own family, by Burnet : “That he being invited to a popish lord’s house, a monk there drank to him in poisoned liquor, on design to poison him : of which they both died.” Pt. iii. bk. iv.

the New Testament in my hand, and went to the market cross, the people following : and there I preached on the obedience due to magistrates. They got two disguised priests (that is what I call priests in their habits), the one to bear the mitre above me, the other the crozier before me, making three pageants of one. But, to the small contentation of the papists, the young men played a Tragedy of God's Promises in the old Law in the forenoon at the market cross, and in the afternoon a Comedy of John Baptist preaching, and of Christ's Baptism and Temptation, very aptly.* On the Thursday next following, being St. Bartholomew's Day, I preached again, because the prebendaries had made boast that I would now recant all that I had preached before. In the congregation was Justice Heath. I took for my theme, *I am not ashamed of the Gospel*, St. Paul's saying : and I declared to them all that I taught from my first coming : earnestly charging them against the worship of the Sacrament, Purgatory, and suffrages for the dead. I applied the parable of the Good Samaritan to all conditions, showing how swelling lawyers and ambitious justices rose against Christ and mocked him, and how priests and Levites showed no mercy. In the evening, when I was at dinner with the mayor, some of the priests came and began hotly to dispute with me of my sermon. I told them that they were like the devil in the wilderness disputing against Christ, and I put them to silence. The next day I went back to Holmes Court : and when I was gone, they set up the whole Papism again, to the contempt of the late King and Council of England, without either statute or proclamation. They

* These were three of Bale's most noted pieces. "God's Promises" was a tragedy in seven acts : "John Baptist preaching in the Wilderness" was a "brief comedy or interlude, opening the crafty assembly of the hypocrites, with the glorious baptism of our Lord Jesus Christ." "The Temptation" was another comedy.

rang all the bells of the cathedral minster and of the parish churches. They flung up their caps to the battlements with smilings and laughings most dissolute, insomuch that even Heath was offended. They brought forth their copes, candlesticks, waterstock, crosses, and censers: they mustered the General Procession most gorgeously, all over the town, with *Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis*, and the rest of the Latin Litany. They chattered it, they chanted it, they banquetted it all the day after. The whole is set up again. The beastly bishop of Galway now goes from town to town confirming young children for twopence apiece, without examining them of their Christian belief, and at night drinking Rob Davy and Aqua Vitæ like a man.

“At Holmes Court I learned that Routh, the Treasurer of Kilkenny minster, Joy my chaplain, and Bulgar, my neighbour and tenant, had conspired with the Baron of Upper Ossory and another noble, great thieves and murderers both, to kill me, steal my horses, and seize my lands. This baron was father of that young Barnaby who was brought up with King Edward at the court. They had tried ere now in all manner of ways to get my lands from me, but never could. Much was I troubled with their grooms, and their other breechless gallants. On the sixth of September five of my household, among them a girl of sixteen years, went to make hay about half a mile from my house, when out leaped a score of murderers from the bushes, and slew them all cowardly with swords and darts. This they did in fury, because they had been watching there a whole month for me, and missed me. They also drove off my horses, and the horses of a gentleman who had taken refuge with me for fear of his life. In the afternoon the good Mayor of Kilkenny, having heard of the outrage, came to my rescue with four hundred horse and foot, and

brought me to the town, the young men singing psalms and hymns all the way in joy of my deliverance, and the people, when we reached the town, standing on both sides of the streets with lighted candles praising God.

“But the next day, knowing that I was come, the Kilkenny priests, the treasurer and the rest, renewed their wiles. They brought me a present of apples and wine, and proposed that we should have solemn exequies for King Edward, such as the Queen had lately had in England. I asked them how that was. They said, with a Requiem Mass and Dirige. I asked them again who should sing the Mass. They said that it was my bounden duty, being their bishop. Then said I that the Mass was of Antichrist, to whom I was not bound: but that, if they would, I would preach the Gospel. Nay, said they, but we will have a solemn Mass, for so had the Queen. By my troth, said I, then you must get another chaplain, for of all generations I am no Mass-monger, and of all occupations it is the most foolish. The priest, said I, stands there disguised as a conjurer: he turns his back to the people, and tells his tale to the walls in a foreign language: if he turns his face, it is to take the people’s offerings, or ask their prayers: *Orate pro me, fratres*, says he, I am a poor brother of yours: or else he bids them God speed, *Dominus vobiscum*, as if he were going to leave them.* The treasurer asked me for a determinate answer, as if he had some authority. Then I suspected Justice Heath to be in it, and I asked what profit the King’s soul would have of these Exequies. If these poor suffrages, said I, could be a way for him to heaven, you ought not to have deferred them so long.

* Becon has the same jest. “Ye turn ye to the people and say, *Dominus vobiscum*; as though ye could tarry no longer; but had some great journey to go; and ye do tarry there still,” &c. *Displaying of the Popish Mass.*

You had commandment from Justice Heath, as I know, to have solemnised them last Saturday : but the devil danced that day at Thomas Town, where you had a pageant, and aqua vitæ withal : and, as you deferred them then, you may defer them again, till I can send to Dublin to know how I am to be discharged of my oath to the abolishment of the Popish Mass. With this they agreed and departed : and the next day came a proclamation that they who would might hear Mass, and they who would not should not be compelled thereto. Then it was noised abroad that Antichrist should be taken for Supreme Head of the Church of Ireland : and then it was heard that they had suddenly set up all the altars and images in the Cathedral Church. Thereupon, fearing for my life, I shook off the dust of my feet against them, and conveyed myself to the castle of Dublin. The Archbishop there, when he heard that I was come, sitting on his ale bench with his cup in his hand, made boast that I should not preach in his city : and I had no desire to cast the pearl of the Gospel before such a swine : so after a few days I took ship and departed. Then followed those tremendous adventures, those perils by sea, by wreck, by false brethren, by envious searchers ; those ejections upon islands, those labours by the way, which complete in me the portrait of Saint Paul. Oh, how I love Alexander Aless ! How his letters comforted me in my Irish troubles ! And I love that other Scottishman, John Knox. And I desired to have sailed to Scotland from Ireland, but the Lord willed otherwise.” *

* “ The Vocation of John Bale to the Bishopric of Ossory in Ireland : his persecutions in the same, and Final Deliverance. Rome, at the sign of St. Peter, December, 1553.” Reprinted in the *Harleian Miscell.* Vol. VI. 402. I have much garbled, but not misrepresented what I have given of this queer book. Bale dedicated his Fourteenth *Centuria* to Aless and Knox. Therefrom I have added the last two or three sentences.

The story of an unlucky zealot has carried us to the end of an eventful year, to the beginning of which we are recalled by the fortunes of the mighty adventurer who now swayed the destinies of England. Duke Dudley was unquestionably the ablest public man of the age. In youth the most graceful lance in the tiltyards of Greenwich and Windsor, the bravest soldier of the later wars of Henry, the mainstay of the Revolution after Henry's death, he now at last beheld himself superior in position, superior in audacity, to any of the surviving revolutionary leaders: equal to Russell and Herbert in the common qualities, and much above them through his own. A reversed policy, the restoration of the old religion, had been expected from him after the fall of Somerset: but Dudley continued the revolution, against his own convictions, for the sake of plunder. Avarice and want of virtue alone prevented him from being great. At length, with a dying king on his hands, and the menacing figure of Mary before his eyes, the question, whether to be ordinary or singular, began to press upon him. To wait, to obey, to yield: to accept the counter-revolution, when it came, with an acquiescent conscience and an unlightened purse, would have been the part of prudence. But Dudley was meditating the same ambition that had been fatal to the baser spirit of Thomas Crumwel ten years before: to hedge himself with majesty, to transfer the crown: ignorant that in England possession is revered, that one great function of the hereditary sceptre is to preserve the nation from the

He says, in that *Centuria*, he was much comforted at Ossory by Aless's frequent letters: Knox he lauds to the skies. He adds, "Cogitabam sane in Scotiam proficisci, sed in ipso itinere alio me vertit Dominus; dum a piratis spoliatus, inhumaniterque tractatus, in Germaniam post multa pericla ac magnam vim devectus sum, tandem pretio soluto dimissus." These adventures he gives at large in the preface of his *Vocation*, with an inexpressible Pauline comparison.

genius of lieutenants. He had nothing to depend upon but his personal ascendancy. He had imprudently disarmed the revolution by dismissing the bands of foreign cut-throats, whom he had often led to victory: and though it is not certain that he could have attracted them to his service against the will of the rest of the Council, yet without them the possibility of success was removed in any dangerous enterprise. His boldness and wiliness were great: but he was watched by men as astute as himself, who instantly remarked the least signs in his demeanour that might indicate a secret purpose.

They observed at this time that he absented himself from court, and communicated his thoughts to them by letter. The discreet Cecil warned him of the evil surmises that rose thereon, and the Duke excused himself on the ground of sickness, adding that he kept "the multitude of cravers" from the court, and drew them to his own gates, so that his absence was not without benefit. "If," said he curiously and pithily, "God would be so merciful to mankind as to take from them their wicked imaginations, and leave them with a simple judgment, men should here live angels' lives: but the fall of Adam procured this continual plague, that the one should be affliction to the other while we be in this circle, out of which God grant us all his grace to depart in his mercy."* But the duke's doings were not so innocent as his words. The vacant see of Durham continued to attract him: to have it divided and squandered, and filled with a convenient man. He was impatient that his suggestions had not been already accepted: he found Dean Horn inconvenient: he had a low estimation of the new kind of clergy. "I have continually called upon this matter," he wrote to Cecil, "but it is made so light that I would I were discharged

* Tytler, i. 155.

of my office in those parts. God is neglected and forgotten there: and it is hard to govern where that is so. As for the Dean of Durham, I have never been informed how my lords have employed him, nor where he may be: but he is a deceitful, greedy, and malicious man. Let some stout and honest man be appointed to the see: not one of these new, obstinate and ignorant doctors who are now preferred: for they are fonder of their wives and children than of their vocation." * Duke Dudley's leaning may be perceived.

A parliament was, in Dudley's eyes, the only remedy now for the unaccountable beggary that had fallen on the realm. The Council had thought of other expedients, the sale of the King's lands, and the investigation of men in office, a delicate inquiry which they had no mind to apply to themselves, but only to collectors and receivers in the shires, commissioners, and other such meaner persons: and something might have been recovered no doubt from the rest of the Beaumonts and Whalleys of the realm. But Northumberland bade them summon a parliament, and lay the blame of all upon Somerset: "You have tried the sale of lands," said he, "you are minded to try the seeking of every man's doing in

* "For the love of God, let not the see be so long destitute of some grave and good man: yea, rather a stout and honest man that knoweth his duty to God and to his Sovereign lord, than one of these new obstinate doctors without humanity or honest conditions. These men for the most part, that the King's Majesty hath of late preferred, be so sotted of their wives and children, that they forget both their poor neighbours and all other things which to their vocation appertaineth: and so they will do, so long as his Majesty shall suffer them to have so great possessions to maintain their idle lives." *To Cecil, from Chelsea*, 2 Jan. *Tytler*, i. 153. So urgent was he that he renewed his solicitation four days afterwards, exclaiming, "I hear nothing of a bishop of Durham yet." *Lemon's Cal.*, p. 50. It may be added that he contrived about this time to get possession of Durham House in London, to the displeasure of the Lady Elizabeth. *Tytler*, i. 162. It was in Durham House that the fatal marriage of Lady Jane Grey took place. *Collier*, i. 336.

office: but you must conform yourselves to think this way of a parliament most honourable. There is no other remedy for the great debts in which the King was left by his father, augmented by the late Duke of Somerset, who of his own authority took the protectorship. That man's unskilful government plunged us into wars at the cost of six or seven score thousand pounds a year." * As the appeal to Parliament appeared inevitable, the cautious Cecil sent the Lord Chamberlain Darcy to Chelsea with a written sketch of the way of procedure, the measures to be brought forward, which he thought advisable. The Duke returned it "much scribbled" or corrected to Darcy, and advised a more haughty tone to be taken towards the Houses, whenever they should meet. "We are not to be ceremonious, not to meet the objections of every froward person. Impress them with the extreme debts and necessity of the King, which has arisen from occasions that cannot be denied. We must not seem to be making account to the Commons of our increase of riches, or we shall make them wanton, and they will take hold of our arguments. Let the Speaker have secret warning of that which is expected: let it be considered who is to preach that day, and what service is to be used instead of the Mass of the Holy Ghost. And further, let some heirs apparent be brought by writ into the Parliament House, that they may be the better able to serve the King and the realm." † After

* Northumberland to the Council, *Froude*, v. 462.

† Northumberland to the Lord Chamberlain, 14 Jan. 1553. *Tytler*, I. 160. Mr. Froude thinks that, though the "scribbled" instrument of Cecil has disappeared, the substance of it remains in a separate table of reports, which form the nineteenth volume of the *MSS. Domestic of Edw. VI.* That volume is a Register of all gifts and exchanges of Crown lands during the reign. It may be that, as Mr. Froude says, the book scribbled over by Northumberland contained "an account of the various grants professing to have been made by Edward to his ministers, or in truer language appropriated by these ministers to their own use" (v. 460). But who can tell what was in a book, which has disappeared, and

this it is nowise surprising that the Council and their leader struck the last blow at English freedom by openly turning the House of Commons into an assembly of notables. In the writs which they issued, they intimated to the counties and boroughs the kind of persons whom they wished to have returned, men of wisdom, learning, and experience: in some cases they actually nominated them: in other cases they sent orders to particular persons to stand for election.* The device so boldly employed has gained some notoriety in history: but in truth the convention that now met was no more a packed Parliament than any other Parliament of the revolution: no more than the Parliament that compelled the submission of the clergy, no more than the Parliament that made vagrants slaves.

no account of the contents of which seems known? And why should these very ministers have drawn up such an indictment against themselves? Mr. Froude gives a good account of this part of history: but I think him wrong in thinking that the proposed inquiry into officials was meant to include the highest officials. I grant however that something might be said for that view. The "heirs apparent" seems to mean sons of peers.

* Hume applauds Strype as the only writer who has thought it worth while to transmit to posterity the original documents of "an expedient which could not have been practised, or even imagined, in an age where there was any idea or comprehension of liberty." The device was audacious enough. From Strype himself it appears that, 1. Letters were written in the King's name to the sheriffs of each county to bid the electors of county, city, and borough to return "men of knowledge and experience." 2. These letters contained the remark that the Privy Council might furthermore see fit to recommend to the electors "men of learning and wisdom"; in which case the electors were to "regard and follow their directions." 3. Accordingly the nominations of "men of learning and wisdom" were sent to eight of the high sheriffs: but to no more. These "men of learning and wisdom" were "such as belonged to the court, or were in places of trust about the King." *Strype*, iv. 64. But the device was more extensively applied than Strype knew. Mr. Froude cites (from the Harleian MSS.) a letter to Hoby from the Council, commanding him to stand for his county, "or otherwise to have some place in the house." V. 465. He also gives a circular containing two positive nominations, according to the Council's remark that they might see fit to send nominations. Strype gives only the *general* letters.

This new Parliament, the second of the reign, was begun on Wednesday, the first of March. The King was persuaded to open it in person, but his failing health rendered it impossible for him to proceed to Westminster, and the lords attended him at Whitehall, the great chamber of waiting being accommodated to a house of peers. There Ridley preached a sermon which otherwise was to have been delivered in the Abbey. The King sat under a cloth of State, and the Lords were ranged in their degrees, which were declared by the Lord Chancellor Goodrich.* On the following Saturday, in the afternoon, the King was again present: the Commons came over from Westminster; and their Speaker pronounced an "ornate oration," which had perhaps been prepared according to a model furnished by Northumberland. † On the sixth, the Duke introduced his Bill for a subsidy, the great measure of the session. He had armed it with a long preamble, shaped out of his recommendations to Cecil, turning the blame of the destitution of the King upon Somerset, and ungratefully censuring in him everything that had ensured the success of the revolution. After praying for the soul of the late Protector, he proceeded in this document to describe his "unhappy and unskilful government": his audacity in usurping the chief authority, his singularity in increasing wars and quarrels, by "unadvised invasions, by desperate enterprises and voyages, by sumptuous, endless, vain fortifications in foreign realms and on the sea, and by bringing into the realm costly and great numbers of strangers, men of war." To remedy the enormous miseries, which none but Somerset had brought upon the realm, as vast a subsidy was demanded in a bill as long. Two-tenths and two-fifteenths for two years were to be paid by the laity: the clergy taxed themselves six

* Heylin.

† Journals of the House of Commons.

shillings in the pound. That the impost might be strictly levied, a body of high collectors, collectors, and commissioners, was to be called into being : whose zeal was to be quickened by sixpence to high collectors for every pound brought into the treasury. It is not wonderful that there were strong debates on such a measure, even in so discreet an assembly : * but it was carried at last, though the reservation of twelve thousand pounds out of the sum total, “to be employed for the relief of towns wasted, desolate, and destroyed,” which significantly reveals the terrible pressure of the revolution, indicated a resolution that the whole of the enormous imposition should not be swallowed by the court.† As for the investigation of the accounts of official men, a project that must have alarmed so many, the wisdom was shown that might be expected. No inquiries, no prosecutions were instituted, but an Act was passed for the auditing of the public accounts in future.

The Duke next levelled his meditated blow at the bishopric of Durham : an Act for the dissolution, partition, and refounding of which was passed : while, to spread the colour of public benefit, the town of Gateshead, parcel of the possessions of the see, was made over to the town of Newcastle by a separate Act.‡ The other measures affecting the Church were not numerous : and the session was chiefly remarkable for several unsuccessful attempts made by the bishops to remedy flagrant abuses. They attempted to prevent leases or grants of the houses and gardens of ecclesiastical persons

* 6 Mar. “An argument for Aid to the King’s Majesty.”—7 Mar. “The King’s Council and others to meet in the Star Chamber, at seven of the clock, to consult for a subsidy.”—11 Mar. “The argument for the bill of subsidy and two-fifteens.” *Journals of Commons.*

† 7 Edw. VI. 12, 13.

‡ The Act for dissolving Durham has never been printed. Burnet gives the chief provisions of it.

from holding good longer than the life of the incumbent who made them. They attempted to prohibit any person not being a deacon at least, from holding any spiritual promotion.* These two measures would have undone the revolution. They both passed the Lords: the Commons were too wise to pass them. Another Bill "for authorising the King to make new bishops by letters patent," was brought into the Lords, but rejected.† As the process had been legal since the beginning of the reign, and needed no further sanction than Parliament had given already,‡ this bill must have been meant to increase the number of bishops. Cranmer also, with the pertinacity of delusion, endeavoured once more to obtain from the Houses the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline, in the form of his cherished *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*. His enemy, Northumberland, turned fiercely on him, and abused him for the freedom used by the preachers in accusing their betters. "You bishops," said he, "look to it at your peril that the like happen not again, or you and your preachers shall suffer for it together." The Archbishop answered that he heard no complaints against the preachers, though they might have rebuked vices. "There are vices enough," answered Dudley, "no doubt of that. The fruits of the Gospel are sufficiently meagre."§ The session ended with the month, the King being again present at its close.

The convocation of the clergy, who, concurrently

* "Many noblemen and gentlemen's sons had prebends given them on this pretence, that they intended to fit themselves by study for entering into orders: but they kept them, and never advanced in their studies." Burnet. It speaks well for the Lords that this bill passed them unanimously. *Lords' Journals*.

† *Lords' Journ.* 25 Mar.

‡ Vol. II. p. 458, *huj. op.*

§ The authority for this anecdote is, a letter of Schefne to Charles V., "MS. Rolls' House, transcribed from the Brussels Archives." *Froude*, v. 478.

with the Parliament taxed themselves so heavily to meet the royal needs, left their registers almost blank, according to the testimony of the historians who had the power of examining them.* They therefore furnish no proof that the Articles of Religion, the great Edwardian formulary, which had been so carefully prepared by Cranmer, and so often revised by the Council, by bishops, by the chaplains and other learned men, were ever submitted to the clergy. And yet they were published immediately after the close of the session of the clerical assembly, bearing on their front the claim to have been "agreed upon by the Bishops and other learned and godly men in the last Convocation at London."† The title is equivocal and false, as the experienced reader will have perceived and conjectured: nevertheless it has misled most of the historians to assert for these Articles a synodical authority.‡ Why

* They were "but one degree above blank, and scarce afforded the names of the clerks assembled therein." Fuller. So Heylin, who also wrote before the great fire.

† The title was, in the English edition of Day, "Articles agreed upon by the Bishops and other learned and godly men, in the last Convocation at London, in the year of our Lord MDLII, for to root out the discord of opinions, and stablish the agreement of true religion: Likewise published by the King's Majesty's authority. 1553." In the Latin edition of Wolfe this was, "Articuli de quibus in ultima Synodo Londinensi A.D. 1552, ad tollendam opinionum dissensionem, et consensum veræ religionis firmandum, inter Episcopos et alios eruditos atque pios viros convenerat: Regia similiter autoritate promulgati, A.D. MDLIII." See *Park. Soc. Liturgies*, where they are printed along with a Catechism in English and Latin, of which anon. But it must be carefully noticed that besides these Catechism-complicated editions, so to call them, there was another, of the Articles alone, by Grafton: and that in this edition the title is apparently trivially, but really importantly, different. It runs thus: "Articles agreed upon by the bishops and other learned men in the synod at London, in the year of our Lord God MDLII, for the avoiding of controversy in opinions, and the establishment of a godly concord on certain matters of religion." *Hardwick*, App. iii. For the import of this, see the following notes.

‡ As soon as Convocation met again in Mary's reign, in October of this same year 1553, the Prolocutor Weston brought up that the Catechism

is synodical authority sought so much for the things of the Reformation? Because there was, in general,

(he meant the Articles as well or rather) had not been set forth "of that House's agreement," as had been falsely alleged. On which Philpot, the Archdeacon of Winchester, said that although it was true that the House had no notice of "the Articles of the Catechism" (a curious but perfectly accurate phrase, as we shall see anon), yet they might well bear the title of *the Synod of London*, since the House had given authority to certain persons to make ecclesiastical laws, and what was done by their authority was done by them. He must have referred to the famous Commission of Thirty-two. And certainly the appointing of that Commission had been asked for several times by Convocation (vol. ii. 214, 239, 467, *huj. oper.*): and it is probable that it was the working part of that Commission that made the Articles (p. 382 of this vol.). But it was a stretch to argue from this as Philpot did. I suppose it was his contention that led Heylin to speak of a "grand committee" of Convocation composing the Articles. Heylin is followed in effect by Collier. These writers are further misled by the titles of the Articles to suppose that the Synod or Convocation was that of 1552: and it is under that year that they (and Strype) treat of the Articles. I need hardly say that the Synod referred to by the titles as of 1552 was really that of 1553. (It met in March, which by the old computation of time was in the former year. The Articles came out in the May following, which was reckoned to be in the latter year. Hence there are two years mentioned in the title-pages, though both are one and the same year, *i.e.* 1553. In the Catechism-complicated title-pages, Latin and English, the word "ultima," "last," may be remarked; put to prevent persons at the time of publication from falling into the mistake of thinking that 1552 meant what it said, *i.e.* the year before that of the publication.) The Synodical authority of the Forty-two Articles has been alleged again by the modern writers, Cardwell, Lathbury and Hardwick: but they bring no evidence beyond the titles themselves: though certainly Hardwick has adduced a couple of contemporary letters in which some of the words of the titles are repeated. One of these is from the Senate of Cambridge, of June 1, speaking "De Articulis quibusdam in Synodo Londinensi A.D. 1553, ad tollendam opinionum dissensionem." (They evidently had a printed copy before them at Cambridge, and altered the misleading date.) The other is from Cheke to Bullinger, also of June, 1553, mentioning that the King had lately published "Articles of the Synod of London." *Orig. Lett.* 142. Strype drily and cautiously keeps to the same text. He also is entrapped into the wrong year. "While Parliament was sitting this winter (1552) a synod was held, wherein was framed and concluded a Book of Articles of religion," &c. (iv. 24). On the next page he adds that they were not *published* before June of the following year, 1553. Now whence came all this story about a synod, and these false pretensions on the title-pages of the

synodical authority, whether diocesan or provincial, for the things before the Reformation. The synodical authority that many good things had before the Reformation was often simply diocesan. The Synod of a diocese made a rule: that was all that happened, unless the rule were so good as to be adopted by other dioceses. On the other hand, many things proceeded from provincial assemblies, and a great part of the old laws of the English Church were ordinances of Canterbury. As there were no other synods in the days of Uniformity than the convocations of the clergy, it has been necessary to resort to them wherever it has been desirable to dignify any measure of the Reformation by alleging for it synodical authority. So, in the time when the convocations only met for taxation, when their Acts were blank paper, the most important formularies, to be made binding on the whole Church of England, have been alleged

Articles? They came from the Privy Council: from the wording of their warrant for the publication of the Articles, which Strype (*ibidem*) has transcribed from a document that he calls the "Warrant Book." This "Warrant Book" after a long search I have fortunately been able to identify in a volume in MS. of the Biblioth. Regia in the Brit. Mus. (18, c. 24), entitled "The Note of all the Bills signed by the King and Council from Oct. 19, iv. Edw. VI." The entry is (fol. 357) in June 12 (not May, as Strype), "Articles agreed on by the bishops and other learned men in the Synod at London in the year of our Lord God 1552 for the avoiding of controversy in opinions, and the establishment of a godly concord in certain matters of religion, published by the King's commandment in the month of May, Anno 1553." This, observe, exactly corresponds with the title of the separately-published Articles of Grafton: and seems to be the original out of which the somewhat more ornate title of the Catechism-complicated editions of Day and Wolfe were dressed (Comp. last note). Now what pretext had the Council for putting forth this falsehood? Cranmer shall tell us in a following note. I may add here, to complete the proof that there was no synodical authority for the Articles, that when in June the King issued letters to the bishops to cause the clergy to subscribe to them, there was nothing said of the "Synod of London." They were merely declared to have been "devised and gathered with great study, and by the learned and good advice of the greatest learned part of our bishops of the realm, and sundry others of our clergy." *See next note.*

to have been passed under their sanction: the highest authority that could be, to which before the Reformation many excellent measures never attained, is claimed for many measures of the Reformation. This fiction arose mainly out of false or equivocal expressions artfully cast into documents by men of that age: it has misled many writers; and it is time that it was abandoned. As to the Articles, however, the complications which befell them in appearing were worthy of the length and difficulty of their preparation. As they had been involved, we have seen how curiously, with two other great travails of Cranmer, the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* and the Second Prayer Book: * so now in their birth they were complicated with a Catechism.† As the

* See above, p. 382, and p. 480, sq.

† The Articles, as I have already noticed, were published *separately* by Grafton in June 1553. (*Hardwick*, p. 75.) At the same time, or perhaps a little later, as I have also said, they were published by Day in English, and by Wolfe in Latin, *subjoined to a Catechism*, or rather, in Day's case, *included between a Catechism and some Prayers*. (These various editions are reprinted in the Parker Society's Liturgies of Edward VI.) The Catechism was the "Short Catechism" or "Catechismus Brevis" of Ponet, of which I shall have to speak presently. It was much longer than the Articles: it came before them in the printed books; and threw them into the shade. Indeed the whole affair, Day's English work at least, was called the Catechism: and the colophon says, "These Catechisms are to be sold at his shop." (*Parker Soc.* p. 540.) Hence, it is important to notice, the usual designation of the composite volume was "the Catechism": and on several occasions subsequently "the Catechism" was spoken of, when the Articles were more, or equally, in the mind of the speaker. Thus we have seen in a former note Weston complaining of "the Catechism" being falsely alleged to have passed Convocation; and Philpot speaking in reply of "the Articles of the Catechism," *i.e.* the Articles contained in the publication called and known as the Catechism. Again, about half a year after this, in April 1554, Cranmer, in his last days, in his Disputation at Oxford (apud Fox) was charged by Weston with having "set forth a *Catechism* in the name of the Synod of London: and yet there be fifty, which, witnessing that they were of the number of the Convocation, never heard one word of this Catechism." He evidently referred to the Articles and their elaborate titles: for the *Catechism* was not said on the title-page to have been set forth by the Convocation or Synod of London. Cranmer's answer

time when first they were taken in hand by the Primate has been generally thought (we have seen) later by two or three years than it probably was; so the date of their publication has been generally thought earlier by a year than it really was, because they bore a misleading date on their title-page. As they appeared to be intended solely or mainly for a uniformity of doctrine, so perhaps

was important, and explained the mystery of the alleged synodical authority. "I was ignorant of the setting to of that title: and as soon as I had knowledge thereof I did not like it: therefore, when I complained thereof to the Council, it was answered me of them that the Book was so entitled because it was set forth *in the time* of the Convocation." This was a disgracefully lame explanation: but was it true, even so far as it went? Was it true that the book had been set forth *in the time* of the Convocation? We have seen that the first mention of any Synod or Convocation in connection with the Articles was in the "Warrant Book," in May or June (*former note*). But, as Parliament was dissolved in March, Convocation would not be sitting in May. The only excuse that the Council could have for saying that the book was set forth in the time of the Convocation seems to be, that the letters patent for the printing of the Catechism (not of the Articles) was dated March 25. (See that document, *Park. Soc. Lit.* 487. In it, I need not say, there is nothing about the Articles nor about Synod or Convocation.) Day had received a previous license to print the Catechism in September 1552. *Strype*, iv. 25 and 37. But he delayed until he got the printing of the Articles also: and printed them and the Catechism together. In this arrangement he was followed by the King's Latin printer Wolfe, who had received permission to print the Catechism about the same time that Day had. (See *Cal. of Cecil MSS.* p. 99. "Item, where one Day has the privilege for the Catechism, and one Rayne Wolfe for all Latin Books, that they both may join in printing the Catechism." Minute by Cecil, Oct. 2, 1552.) The reader now has the story of the Forty-two Articles and the London Synod: and may be left to admire the dishonesty of the Council, which first ordered the Articles to be published as "agreed upon by the Synod of London," when they had never been sent near the Synod of London: then explained that what was meant was that they were set forth in the time of the Synod of London: and even in saying that, said what was not true. I may add that Burnet, having in the regular course of his History made some doubtful mention of the Convocation of 1552 in connection with the Articles, has in his supplementary Third Part, in which he magnanimously acknowledges any errors, concluded with great acuteness that the Articles were "neither passed in Convocation nor so much as offered to it," and that they bore "a deceitful title to impose on the unwary vulgar." His arguments may be compared with this note.

it may be maintained that they once had a perished twin brother, and were accompanied by a set of Articles for uniformity of rites.* As in their preparation they were forty-five in number, but four included in one concerning

* On May 20, says Strype (iv. 25), many letters were issued to the clergy, telling them "that the King had sent unto them certain other Articles (which were fifty-four in number) for an uniform order to be observed in every church within the realm : which Articles are said to be gathered with great study, and by the greatest learned men of the bishops." These articles, he adds, "were enjoined for an uniformity in *rites*, as the last year were framed the articles for uniformity in *doctrine*, being forty-two in number, though not published before June this year." (The reader will observe the error again turning up here, that the forty-two articles were "framed" in 1552 and published in 1553 : it comes out of the misleading title-pages of the forty-two Articles, already described.) Strype proceeds, "But what these articles were"—the supposed fifty-four for uniformity of *rites*—"I cannot tell, nor do I know of any book or manuscript but this, where there be any footsteps or mention of them. Strype's authority is the "Warrant Book" of Edward VI. In another place (iv. 256) he gives the passage on which he founds his observation. They run consecutively (in the volume 18, c. xxiv. Bibl. Regia, Brit. Mus.), "Twenty (xx.) letters undirected signifying that the K. M. hath sent unto every of them certain articles for an uniform order to be observed in every church within this realm : which articles are gathered with great study and by the advice of the greatest learned men of the bishops, etc. —Fifty-four (liiii.) articles concerning the uniform order to be observed in every church of this realm.—A Catechism also to be taught to scholars as the ground and foundation of their learning." (fol. 353.) These entries are of May 24 (not 20), 1553. See Gasquet and Bishop's Edward VI., p. 304. [These entries in the "Warrant Book" furnish our only knowledge of any articles for uniformity of rites. Formerly I suggested that the number *fifty-four* was a clerical error, and that the entries really were concerning the *Forty-two Articles*, and that the "undirected" letters mentioned therein were those that were sent round to the bishops about the Forty-two Articles : one or two specimens of which letters have been printed by Strype and Burnet. But it will not do to say that these fifty-four articles, of which the nature is distinctly described, never existed ; though so momentous a design has seldom left so faint a trace. The undertaking may have been stopped by the death of the King. The "undirected" letters may never have been sent : copies of the articles, to accompany them, may never have been made : the original seems to have perished : and thus may be explained the total disappearance of this meditated counterpart of the Forty-two Articles. Whether the fifty-four articles were to enforce uniformity on the lines of the Second Prayer Book or beyond them, must be left uncertain.]

the Eucharist reduced them to forty-two: so in their published shape they differed in certain places so considerably from what they had been, that the first duty of the examiner must be to compare them with their own original draft.

Several omissions, indeed, and alterations testified both to the care and the prudence of the revisers. Thus, in their published form they no longer asserted that none were delivered from prison and torment by the Descent into Hell.* In Original Sin the substitution of nouns for verbs gave a certain abstraction to the vice and depravation of the descendants of Adam: whose nature was no longer said to be far gone from its first purpose or institution, but from original righteousness.† Works done before Justification were not so defined; but as works done before the grace of Christ and the inspiration of His Spirit.‡ As to the Pope, disputed questions were eliminated in several instances: it was no longer declared in set terms that kings and magistrates may order religion by the word of God without waiting for general councils: or that the vow of celibacy was contrary to God's word, and needed not to be kept by those who had taken it.§ The new Prayer Book and the new

* "Et suo ad Inferos descensu nullos a carceribus aut tormentis liberavit Christus Dominus." Art. iii. of the draft of forty-five articles.

† Original sin, "naturam hominis ita vitiat et depravat, ut a prima institutione quam longissime distet," viii. of the 45 Articles (ap. Hardwick). In the 42 (as now in the 39) this is "est vitium et depravatio naturæ cujuslibet hominis—qua fit ut ab originali justitia quam longissime distet." The phrase *originalis justitia*, it may be observed, was restored from the abortive draft of the 13 Articles of the year 1538: of which anon.

‡ "Opera quæ fiunt ante Justificationem," xii. of the 45, is in the 42 (and 39), "ante gratiam Christi, et Spiritus ejus afflatum," which makes the distinction of works merely an intellectual one.

§ In xxii. of the 45 it was declared, "Possunt Reges et pii Magistratus non expectata conciliorum generalium sententia aut convocazione, in republica sua juxta Dei verbum de rebus religionis constituere." In xxxiv. that bishops priests and deacons need not keep the vow, "tametsi

Ordinal were declared to be salutary in doctrine : but of their ceremonies nothing was said.* The title of Supreme Head was still claimed for the King : but a glorious addition, that he had no greater in the universal world, was omitted, along with an unnecessary declaration that no subject might refuse tribute for the maintenance of the kingdom.†

Indeed the Forty-two Articles, so carefully castigated, showed a surprisingly comprehensive and moderate spirit. The broad soft touch of Cranmer lay upon them, when they came from the furnace : a touch which was not retained wholly in the recension which reduced them afterwards to Thirty-nine.‡ Nearly half of them were such as are common to all Christians : but even in these the brevity of statement and the avoidance of controversy is to be admired. For example, in Original Sin, nothing was defined about the derivation of guilt from Adam's Sin : of reprobation nothing was said in Predestination.§ The first controversial Article, on the rule of faith, came not first, as in the Helvetic confession, but fifth in place : || and it contained a clause, which is

voverint, quandoquidem hoc voti genus verbo Dei repugnat." This was a provision for the present necessity.

* It has been already shown how Article xxxviii. of the 45 was altered under the pressure of Knox.

† "Rex Angliæ est supremum caput in terris post Christum ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ, neque in universo orbe ullum scipso majorem agnoscit, a quo sua potestas et autoritas pendeat nec ulli ex ejus subditis licet aut vectigal aut tributum negare, ad regni seu reipublicæ statum tuendum et conservandum." xxxix. of 45. The Italicised clauses were left out in the 42, Art. xxxvi.

‡ I suppose I ought to say, the Thirty-eight : for to that number they were brought at the next revision, ten years hence.

§ This is the observation of Burnet. I think it might be extended to the Tridentine Decree on the former subject : and in language the two are similar. Compare "propagatione, non imitatione, transfusum, inest cuique proprium," of the Decree with "non in imitatione Adami situm, sed est vitium et depravatio naturæ cujuslibet hominis ex Adamo naturaliter propagati" of the Article. || This is the observation of Bishop Browne.

now omitted, to soften the inevitable position that anything that cannot be proved by Holy Scripture is not necessary to salvation.* To the same effect, in another Article, it was only in things to be believed of necessity that the Church was denied to have the power of decreeing anything against or beyond the Scriptures:† the traditions and ceremonies of the Church were said to be defended against private innovation by the power of the magistrate: nor was it added, as now, that every national Church may alter its own ceremonies. On the other hand, however, the authors cared not, or thought not, to add the important declaration, which was necessary to complete this position, that “the Church hath power to decree rites or ceremonies, and authority in controversies of faith.”‡ The Freedom of the Will was explicitly affirmed in an Article for which another was substituted in the present body.§ Justification by faith only was affirmed in terms so brief and general, that they might be accepted by all: || and the treatment of one of the most vexed questions was the most striking example of moderation. Good works were left without a

* “Licet interdum a fidelibus ut pium et conducibile ad ordinem et decorum admittatur.” Nor was this Article furnished as now with the list of Scriptures divided into canonical and apocryphal: which is the more remarkable in that Trent had already given the list without the distinction, in a decree that moved Germany with grief and wrath.

† Art. xxi. of 42, xx. of 39: “of the authority of the Church.”

‡ The same, together with xxxiii. of 42, xxxiv. of 39: “of the traditions of the Church.”

§ For x. and xi. of 42 a single Article was substituted, the xi., which is wholly different. The old one (x.) “De Gratia,” was figurative in expression: it affirmed expressly that grace “voluntati violentiam nullam infert.”

|| “Justificatio ex sola fide Jesu Christi, eo sensu quo in Homilia de justificatione explicatur, est certissima et saluberrima christianorum doctrina”: xi. of 42. For this the more explicit and lengthy Art. xi. of 39 was substituted. The beautiful Tridentine Decree, of 1547, on the subject, *Sess. 6, cap. 7*, is quoted by Hardwick (*Notes and Illustr.*), and seems perfectly consistent with this. In a subsequent chapter of the same Decree faith is distinguished from *fiducia*—the *inanis hereticorum fiducia*.

definition, though one has been added since : * nor was occasion taken, as now, in treating of Free Will to observe that man “cannot turn and prepare himself by his own natural strength and good works to faith and calling upon God.” † All that was said of Good Works, indeed, was, to exclude from the notion of them the scholastic distinctions of congruous merit and of supererogation. ‡ The moderation with which it was declared that, like the great Eastern Churches, the Church of Rome had erred both in worship and faith, without errors specified ; and that General Councils might err, and sometimes had erred, was as dignified as amazing : and the same spirit may be admired, when neither images nor pictures, nor saints, but only the worshipping, the adoration, the invocation of them are denied to have the warrant of Scripture : and when Purgatory and pardons are termed not, as now, Roman, but scholastic doctrines. § The declaration that it was very decent to speak in a tongue known to the people, and that St. Paul forbid it to be otherwise unless there were an interpreter, was improved in learning, but enhanced in severity, when the present Article on the matter was substituted. || As

* Art. xii. of the 39, “Of good works,” is not in the 42, nor any part of it.

† From Art. ix. of the 42, “of Free Will,” the first sentence is wanting which is in the corresponding Article x. of the 39.

‡ This observation referred to the scholastic division of merit into condign and congruous. The English reformers seem not to have allowed of merit, and the term is not treated of in the English articles. Otherwise they might not perhaps have objected to the definition of condign merit, as a definition of merit itself, of all merit. “Dividitur meritum in meritum de congruo et meritum de condigno. Meritum de congruo dicitur opus, cui non ex iustitia, sed ex gratuita liberalitate et decentia præmium aliquod seu retributio adscribitur. Meritum de condigno est opus cui præmium seu merces debetur ex iustitia : sic actus hominis iusti operantis ex gratia merentur de condigno gratiam et gloriam : actus vero supernaturales peccatoris prænitentis merentur ultiores gratias de congruo.” *Dens, Theol. Tract. de Merito.*

§ Art. xxiii. of 42, “Scholasticorum doctrina :” this is now, “Doctrina Romanensium,” xxii. of 39.

|| Art. xxv. of 42 : xxiv. of 39.

to the marriage of priests, it was affirmed to be lawful, but with less force of asseveration than in the present Article.*

But in the parts concerning the Sacraments there was less moderation: and several positions were maintained from which the English Confession has since receded. According to Peter Martyr indeed, a most competent witness, the vehement disputes that had arisen on the question of the conferring of grace in the Sacraments was the cause of the long delay in the publication of the Articles. "Transubstantiation, the Real Presence in the bread and wine," he joyfully exclaimed, "is at an end: but whether grace be conferred by virtue of the Sacraments, is a sticking place to many. Some would have it altogether affirmed: others see clearly the superstitions that such a sentence would bring with it. Many who are not unlearned nor evil otherwise, will have it that children are not regenerate before baptism: and insist that grace is conferred by the Sacraments. They are afraid of dissenting publicly from Augustine."† Certainly the Forty-two Articles bore the marks of conflict. They seemed somewhat bilingual. They resisted the old terminology. There was a curious protestation against the theological phrase of "opus operatum," or "the work wrought," in the action of the Sacrament.‡

* The last sentence of xxxii. of 39 was wanting in xxxi. of 42.

† See his very important letters to Bullinger, June 14, 1553, published in *Bradford's Writings, Park Soc.*, p. 401, *Letters, &c.* It may be added that it is on the Sacraments that the Articles go most against the Tridentine Decrees. The Council was at that moment engaged on the Sacraments, and the old controversy had been raised again. We have seen Cranmer's indignation against "the Areopagites of Trent, framing their decrees about the worship of the Host" (last chap. p. 470). Many of these decrees had been issued already, in 1547 some, others in 1551. The remainder did not follow till ten years after this time.

‡ "Idque non ex opere (ut quidam loquuntur) operato, quæ vox ut peregrina est et sacris literis ignota, sic parit sensum minime pium, sed admodum superstitiosum." Art. xxvi. of 42. In the English, "And yet

Sacramental grace was maintained in a general manner : but in the Article on the Lord's Supper, in a passage that was afterwards replaced by another, "the real and corporal Presence" was denied, and the argument from circumscribed locality (as Peter Martyr termed it) was alleged, that "the Body of Christ is in heaven."*

not that of the work wrought, as some men speak, which word, as it is strange and unknown to Holy Scripture, so it engendereth no godly, but a very superstitious, sense." This has disappeared from the 39. It came from the Thirteen abortive Articles of 1538, the ninth of which has, "Neque in illis verum est, quod quidam dicunt, sacramenta conferre gratiam ex opere operato, sine bono motu utentis." See them, *e.g.* in *Cranmer's Remains* : where also an Article *De Missa Privata* of the same period has "Dannanda est impia opinio illa sententium usum sacramenti cultum esse a sacerdotibus applicandum pro aliis, vivis et mortuis, et mereri illis vitam eternam et remissionem culpæ et pœnæ, idque ex opere operato" (p. 481). The original source of these was the Augsburg Confession, where in Art. i. of Abuses, the following popular errors were denied at large. 1. That the Mass was a work, which being done by the priest, merited remission of sins, *idque ex opere operato*, because of the actual performance, though done without any good intention of the doer. 2. That if it were applied on behalf of the dead, it was satisfactory, that is, deserved remission of the pains of Purgatory. In this meaning the word *Sacrifice* was used, when the Mass was commonly said to be a sacrifice : namely, that it was a work that being done on behalf of some others, merited for them remission of sin and punishment. Hence it was said that the priest in the Mass offered a sacrifice both for the quick and the dead, *idque ex opere operato*. 3. That it mattered not what sort of men offered this sacrifice, which was available without any good motion of the user. 4. The opening of the consequent question, whether one mass said for many were as available as several said for several persons. On the other hand, the phrase *opus operatum* was maintained at Trent in 1547. "Si quis dixerit per ipsa novæ legis Sacramenta ex opere operato non conferri gratiam, sed solam fidem divinæ promissionis ad gratiam consequendam sufficere, anathema sit." *Decret. de Sacram. Canon* 8. It was one of the positions held by the Dominicans against the Franciscans. Theological explanation seems to make the phrase inoffensive, however it was popularly perverted. The Sacraments are said to confer grace not as principal causes (that belongs to God only) but as instrumental causes. As such they give grace both *ex opere operantis vel suscipientis*, as, from the singular devotion of the minister, and the recipient's perception of it ; and also *ex opere operato*, from their force as rites of divine institution, and the sanctity that they have because of Him who ordained them. See *Dens, Theol. Tract. de Sacram.* No. 17.

* "Quum naturæ humanæ veritas requirat ut unius ejusdemque

same Article Transubstantiation was denied: and the highest divine worship was consistently refused to the Eucharist: it was said not to be by the command of Christ reserved, carried about, elevated, or adored.* In

hominis corpus in multis locis simul esse non possit, sed in uno aliquo et definito loco esse oporteat, idcirco Christi corpus in multis et diversis locis eodem tempore presens esse non potest. Et quoniam, ut tradunt sacræ literæ, Christus in cœlum fuit sublatus, et ibi usque ad finem seculi est permansurus, non debet quisquam fidelium carnis Ejus et sanguinis Realem et Corporalem (ut loquuntur) Presentiam in Eucharistia vel credere vel profiteri." xxxix. of 42. This argument, it may be observed, had just before, in 1551, been greatly agitated at Trent in the debate between the Dominicans and Franciscans on Transubstantiation and the mode of Christ's Presence in the Sacrament. The former distinguished two modes of existence in the Saviour; the one His heavenly, the other His sacramental presence: the one being natural, the other altogether peculiar. The Franciscans held that the heavenly and sacramental Presence were the same, and that divine power might cause a body to exist *substantially* in many places, and, in occupying a new place, to do so without leaving the first: and that where the Body is, no other substance remains; not that the other is destroyed, but that the Body of Christ has taken its place. They held that transubstantiation does not consist in the forming of the Lord's Body out of the substance of the bread, as the Dominicans maintained, but in the succession of the one to the other. The Council decreed Transubstantiation in terms that left both opinions free: "per consecrationem panis et vini conversionem fieri totius substantiæ panis in substantiam corporis Christi Domini nostri, et totius substantiæ vini in substantiam sanguinis ejus." *Decret. De Euchar.* c. 4. The English Article held against both views that the Presence in heaven took away the Presence in the Sacrament: and hence consistently proceeded to deny Transubstantiation, or the change of substance. This denial of Transubstantiation (not of the Presence) still remains in the Articles: but Transubstantiation is denied perhaps only in the Dominican sense. Of Consubstantiation, which seems the same as the Franciscan theory, nothing is said in the Articles: and instead of the argument from local presence (which only avails against Transubstantiation) there has been substituted the passage which speaks of receiving only after a heavenly and spiritual manner by means of faith: a correction that turns the question from the nature of the Presence to the manner of receiving: and this very remarkable alteration of stress is fortified by a new Article, that was added (29 of the 39), to the effect that the wicked, even if they eat and drink, are not partakers. This view, it may be added, is contrary to Session 13 of Trent, "Si quis dixerit Christum in Eucharistia exhibitum spiritualiter tantum manducari, et non etiam sacramentaliter ac realiter, anathema sit." *Canon* 8.

* These observances had been recently affirmed at Trent. "In

another Article, "Sacrifices of Masses" were called "figments and dangerous impostures."* To the other five reputed ordinances the sacramental rank seemed to be denied, though not very explicitly; and they were not enumerated, as now.† On the other hand there was not, as now there is, an Article for communion in both kinds.‡

With these exceptions, which are certainly very important, the Forty-two Articles were not extreme against Rome. To the Protestants they were as little favourable.

Sacramento Eucharistiæ Christum esse cultu patriæ adorandum, solemniter circumgestandum, populo proponendum."—*Sess.* 13 (1551), cap. viii. can. 6. Eucharistiam in sacraria reservari. *Can.* 7.

* Here Trent was anticipated: for the Decree "De Sacrificio Missæ" was not promulgated till 1562. There seems something curious in the literary history of this matter on both sides: something that shows the mutual watchfulness of England and Rome. 1. In this Article of 1553 there is the unusual word *imposturæ*. In the Tridentine Decree of 1562 there is a canon, "Si quis dixerit *imposturam* esse Missas celebrare in honorem sanctorum et pro illorum intercessione apud Deum obtinenda, anathema sit." 2. In the same Decree there is a canon, "Si quis dixerit *blasphemiam* irrogari sanctissimo Christi sacrificio in cruce peracto per Missæ sacrificium, aut illi per hoc derogari, anathema sit." In the English Articles of the next year, 1563, the epithet *blasphemia* was added concerning the Missarum Sacrificia in 1553, although this was not relevant: for there is a difference between Missæ Sacrificium and Missarum Sacrificia. The Article about Sacrifices of Masses being figments (Art. xxx. of the 42, and xxxi. of the 39) was framed solely against those popular errors which have been enumerated in the preceding note. For proof look at the original from which they came; the Art. *De Missa Privata* of 1538, where we read of the Eucharist, "quam et sacrificium nonnulli orthodoxi patres nominaverunt, quod videlicet in memoriam illius unici et semel peracti sacrificii fuit, non quod ipsum opus sit sacrificium applicabile vivis et mortuis in remissionem peccatorum: Id quod papisticum duntaxat est figmentum: et quoniam ab hac tam impia opinione et quæstu inde proveniente missæ privatæ illæque pro magna parte satisfactoriæ in tantam multitudinem excreverunt, quarum nec mentionem nec exemplum ullum apud antiquiores invenimus, satisfactorias quidem prorsus abolendas, ceteras vero privatas vel in totum abrogandas, vel certe minuendas et reprimendas judicamus." *Cranmer's Rem.* 482.

† This is the more remarkable, as Trent had determined their rank as inferior Sacraments.

‡ And Trent had not yet decreed the contrary.

The declining influence of the Protestant Confession of Augsburg is apparent on comparing them with the last attempt to frame an Anglican confession, the abortive draft of the latter years of Henry the Eighth, made on the visit of the German theologians to England fifteen years before, to which we have lately had some occasions to refer.* That draft, as the reader may remember, was wholly either taken or derived from the great Lutheran formulary.† But of the thirteen Articles, of which it consisted, there were but six that were in any part repeated in the new declaration; or that were drawn from the same fountain.‡ On the most important, on the most debated subjects: on justification, baptism, the Eucharist, new expressions were chosen, or contrary definitions given to those of the Lutherans.§ But, as it may be noted, among the pieces that were inserted out of that abortive attempt at a concord with Germany, was the sentence which chiefly saved the Edwardian confession from the Sacramentarian depth.||

* See above, ch. xix. p. 372 : and the last note or two here.

† See vol. ii. p. 6 *huj. op.*

‡ The correspondences are conveniently given in Hardwick on the Art. App. ii. One or two others may be found in the three other articles belonging to the same period, that follow in *Cranmer's Remains*; for instance, that about figments, above given.

§ On the Eucharist an astonishing distance had been run between the two formularies. The lethargic Thomas had been pulled along at a wonderful pace from the time that he said, "Constanter credimus et docemus quod in Sacramento corporis et sanguinis Domini vere, substantialiter et realiter adsunt Corpus et Sanguis Christi sub speciebus panis et vini," &c. Art. vii. of the 13 of 1538. See above, p. 373.

|| I refer to the sentence, in Art. xxvii. of the 42, that the Sacraments are not only marks of profession but effectual signs of grace. This is from Art. ix. of the 13 of 1538 : and hence from the Augsburg : but, as Hardwick remarks, it is stronger than in the Augsburg, which has not the word *efficacia*. The same word, it may be added, is in one of those other three articles of 1538 that are in *Cranmer's Remains*, the Art. De Missa Privata, already referred to : "Talis est sacramentorum ratio et natura, ut signa sint visibilia, certa, et efficacia, per quæ Deus in recte utentibus operatur," &c. p. 481.

The Forty-two Articles were combined with another work of definition, a Short Catechism, which was printed with them, both in Latin and English.* This was a long and animated performance, in the form of a dialogue between a master and his scholar, exhibiting considerable ability in arrangement and treatment. The author was Ponet, the remarkable successor of Gardiner at Winchester: but his name, for good reasons, was concealed, and the catechism was said to have been written "by a certain godly and learned man," and to have been "diligently examined by certain bishops and other learned men," whose judgment the King "had in great estimation." This work can never have had a great circulation: and original copies are very scarce.† As it may be supposed, a small space in it was given to the Sacraments; which were defined as "certain reasonable reverent doings and ceremonies ordained by Christ, that by them He might put us in remembrance of His benefits, and we

* See above, 516. The Articles were printed separately from the Catechism, as well as in conjunction with it. But whether the Catechism were printed separately from the Articles, as well as in conjunction with them, I cannot find. Ketley, in his Preface to the Parker edition, says that it "appears to have been first printed in Latin in 1552." He gives no proof of this: nor can I find any, unless it be the license to Day to print the Catechism, which license was of 1552. I have spoken of it in a former note. Strype says it was not printed before 1553. (iv. 24.)

† It is distinguished, in the King's Letters Patent, from the *Little Catechism*: i. e. that of the Prayer Book. *Park. Soc. Edn.* p. 487. As to the scarcity of the work, Heylin says "it was so hard to come by that scarce one scholar in five hundred hath ever heard of it, and hardly one in a thousand hath ever seen it." *Certamen Epistolare*, p. 161. As to the author, Strype says that it was Noel or Nowell (iv. 24 and *Cranm.* Bk. II. ch. xxxiv.). Ridley was charged, in his examination at Oxford, with the authorship (*Fox*). Observe, 1. That the author was certainly Ponet. See for one proof, Cheke to Bullinger, June 7, 1553, *Orig. Lett.* p. 142.—2. That Noel, in subsequent years, wrote three Catechisms, large, middle, and little. In his large one he incorporated much of this of Ponet's: whence Strype's mistake. In his little one (it may as well be added) he incorporated the Prayer Book Catechism, which had not then the Sacramental part.

might declare our profession." In the same view, baptism is left without definition, the Eucharist (a word not employed) is termed "a certain thankful remembrance of the death of Christ:" and it is said that "faith is the mouth of the soul." On the other hand, the question of the Presence is separately discussed at considerable length, and seems to be determined in a Sacramental sense.*

The Catechism and the Articles conjoined were instantly applied to the service of Uniformity. Even months before the publication Cranmer had asked the Council for authority to cause the clergy to subscribe to the Articles at least. "Let the bishops have authority from the King to cause all their preachers, archdeacons, deans, prebendaries, parsons, vicars, curates, with all their clergy, to subscribe to the Articles. Then shall such a concord and quietness in religion follow as is not to be looked for many years."† And even a month before he got the authority for which he asked; as soon as ever the conglomerate volume saw the light, he held a session

* Ward, one of Ridley's opponents in his disputation at Oxford, alleged a passage from this Catechism, which (as I understand him) he held to be in favour of the Presence. His words however are unfortunately vague, and may refer to Ridley's supposed denial of the Presence. "I am minded to come again to master Doctor's argument (Smith's) by which you, being brought into the briars, seemed to doubt of Christ's presence on the earth. To the proof of which matter I will bring nothing else than that which was agreed upon in the Catechism of the Synod of London set out long ago by you.———The Catechism hath this clause, Si visibiliter et in terra: If visibly and on the earth." Ridley denied that he wrote the Catechism, though he had read it, noted many things for it, signed it, and got others to subscribe to it. He added that the clause alleged "might be easily interpreted, and without any inconvenience." *Fox, or Parker, Ridley*, p. 226. But, curious to relate, there is no such clause in the Catechism (nor in the 42 Articles). The general teaching however seems Sacramental.

† This is in the Letter with which he returned the Articles to the Council, Novemb. 24, 1552, after finally revising them. *Strype's Cranm.* App. lxiv. : or *Remains*, 440 : or see last chapter, p. 484.

in St. Paul's, inviting the clergy to subscribe.* At length he procured a royal mandate to be sent to the bishops to cause their clergy to subscribe to the Articles "for the pure conservation of the Gospel in our Church, with one uniform profession, doctrine, and preaching."† Another royal mandate, so anxious was he to shelter himself beneath the royal shadow, he caused to be addressed to his own officers, to cite his own clergy to Lambeth:‡ where he met them, and applied persuasion

* "Item, the 26 day of May began the bishop of Canterbury to sit for the new book that the bishop of Winchester, Ponet, made, that he would have that all parsons and curates should set their hands unto it, and so every bishop in his diocese." *Grey Friars' Chron.* p. 77. Ridley probably sat with Cranmer in St. Paul's. The *Chronicle* continues, "And in London was divers that denied many of the Articles, as doctor Weston." Weston afterwards taxed Ridley about the matter: "You made me subscribe to it (the Catechism) when you were a bishop in your ruff" (*Disputation at Oxford*): alluding evidently to some occasion on which Ridley had sat episcopally habited according to his own peculiar notions. The Injunction for printing the Catechism, included in the composite volume, was only dated a week before this: May 20. Observe that the Catechism eclipsed the Articles in the eyes of all, and it seems to have been thought that the clergy were required to subscribe to it. But the Articles were for the clergy: the Catechism was for the schoolmasters.

† June 6. Burnet's last or supplementary Collect. for Bk. IV. No. viii. Strype, iv. 104—7.

‡ June 19. Burnet, *ibid.* No. vii. Wilkins, iv. 79. Cranmer's loyalty never carried him further. He had already a mandate from the King to do it: he was not easy till his officials had one also, not from him but from the King, to cite his clergy to Lambeth, and cause them to subscribe. "We bid you, oh official principal and dean of Arches," Cranmer made the boy say, "call all the clergy and schoolmasters to appear coram reverendissimo Patre Cant. apud Lambeth die 23 Junii, his quæ tunc iis ex parte nostra fuerint significanda humiliter obtemperaturi, facturique ulterius, et recepturi, quod consonans fuerit rationi, et suo conveniret erga nostram regiam dignitatem officio: mandantes quatenus eundem reverendiss. de executione huj. nostri regii mandati, una cum nominibus et cognominibus omnium et singulor. per vos monitor. rite, recte et authentice faciatis." (Strype, *Cranm.* Bk. II. ch. xxxiv. has by a slip made the date of the citation June 2.) This was a memorable document. In loyalty it was even more touching than the loyalty of Hooper, who, a month before, sent a Homily on the Pestilence "to all pastors and curates

and argument, not without success, to induce them to subscribe. Ridley was as active as the Primate in the business: but it appears not that anything was done in it in other dioceses in the remaining days of the reign. No compulsion is said to have been used: only, if a clergyman wilfully refused to subscribe, the bishop of the see was directed to advertise the Privy Council: if a person to be admitted or advanced refused, the bishop was to refuse to admit him, or allow him to take any ecclesiastical cure: but if any person refused through lack of knowledge, the bishop might confer with him, before peremptorily disabling him: and might give him any time between three weeks and six weeks to deliberate.* The reign lasted not long enough to allow even the shortest of these terms to expire.

It will complete the list of the authoritative publications of Edward's reign, if his Primer, or Prayer Book of private use, be added: which was published in March of his final year. But the work is of little interest, unless it be as a sign of the alteration of religion within the nine years that had passed since the authoritative work of the same title of the last reign.† The Primer of Henry contained offices of private devotion for the seven hours of the day: the Primer of Edward contained orders of private prayer for the morning and evening of the seven

within *the King's Majesty's diocese of Worcester and Gloucester.*" *Later Writings*, p. 159.

* It is in the mandate to the bishops that these directions are found. Both Cranmer and Ridley, as we have seen, were taxed soon afterwards at Oxford with having used compulsion; and both denied it. (Fox, or Ridley's Works, 226, and Cranmer's *Remains*, 546.) But compulsion lay in the background: and the glee of Uttenhovius was not baseless, when he announced to Bullinger, that "all persons must subscribe to the Articles who are to be appointed to any office in the Church: as also those who are already appointed, under pain of deprivation." June 7. *Orig. Lett.* 594.

† See Vol. II. p. 362 *huj. op.*

days of the week. These were chiefly provided by the simplicity of turning the public or common prayers into the singular number. The private worshipper confessed that he had erred and strayed like a lost sheep : he repeated the Absolution, which the minister pronounces in the congregation, in the form of a petition on his own behalf.*

The sermons, that were had before the King, waxed, if it were possible, more prophetic in tone, more filled with the threatening of woe, as his reign drew to an end. Many of the preachers of that day did their duty beyond question ; speaking with a freedom which, however usual in former ages, has been lost to the pulpit since. To the great and powerful they held the mirror : deeming it their right to touch upon all things, to bring to notice at their own risk hidden wrongs and abuses, such as are now left to the safer, but less glorious, handling of the anonymous press. The pictures that they have painted of the age are all in the same colours : the perversion of the Gospel by hypocrisy and luxury : the profligate manners : the insatiable avarice of the rich : the misery of the people in the progress of the revolution. Offence was caused at times by their plainness, which especially moved the proud stomach of Northumberland : but the courtiers had ready the most easy and brutal of remedies. They kept away from the sermons : and the carefully prepared and eloquent invectives of Lever or of Bradford were discharged at empty benches. To say nothing of such a really insolent diatribe as that which Knox boasted himself to have launched at the Duke and the Marquis of Winchester about this time,† Hooper preached in the King's chapel in the month of February

* Liturgies of Edward VI. *Park. Soc.*

† See above, pp. 486, 491 : comp. Strype, iv. 69.

a sermon that has not been preserved.* Bernard Gilpin acquitted himself manfully in the same place about the same season, and time has spared his accusation of the times. Gilpin, who afterwards gained the glorious appellation of Apostle of the North, was one who had resisted long the influence³ of the Reformation, of which he became at last a most honest adherent. He had stood in set debate against Hooper in defence of the ancient faith, and his learning and ability were such that he was held by many to have defeated his doughty adversary. He had been selected by the Old Learning at Oxford as one of their champions, along with Chedsey, Tresham, and Morgan, in the memorable disputation against Peter Martyr. On that occasion he deceived the hopes of his party, remaining entirely silent, while his comrades engaged the enemy: and it is said that it was the arguments of Martyr that drew him into the opposite camp. He had now deserted the academy for the active service of the Church: and having been appointed to a living of the King's gift, he appeared in the pulpit at Greenwich, in accordance with the order that new vicars should prove their orthodoxy in the presence of their royal patron. The King was absent, the court was absent, to the chagrin of the preacher; who however addressed himself to the empty chair of majesty,† and spared not to speak boldly. "There are livings, your Grace," said Gilpin, "of forty or fifty pounds, which gentlemen keep, giving five or six pounds to a vicar, who, for his part, never comes there. I know a living of an hundred marks, not to say pounds, that has been sold

* *Orig. Lett.* p. 582.

† "I am come this day to preach to the King, and to those that be in authority under him. I am very sorry that they should be absent, which ought to give example, and encourage others to the hearing of God's word. And I am the more sorry because other preachers before me complain of their absence."

for a term of ninety-nine years. That living, in a godly learned pastor's hand, might have refreshed five hundred in a year with ghostly food, and all the country round with God's word : and there is need ; for in twenty miles compass there is scarce a man to preach : the boys and girls of fourteen or fifteen cannot say the Lord's Prayer. Patrons see that none do their duty. They think it as good to put in asses as men. In time past the bishops were never so liberal in making of lewd priests, but they are as liberal now in making of lewd vicars. Darvel Gadern, the Welsh idol that was burned in Smithfield, might have had a benefice, if he could have set his hand to a bill to let the patron take the most of the benefits. Half of the clergy in England are pluralists or non-residents. A thousand pulpits in England are covered with dust : some have not had four sermons these fifteen or sixteen years, since friars left their limitations." He lamented the decay of learning, he bewailed the condition of the poor : "Look upon the two wells of this realm, Oxford and Cambridge : they be almost dried up. There are scarce left a hundred students out of every thousand : in seven years more, if they decay as fast, the Devil may order his triumph, for there will be almost none at all. As for the poor, they are spoiled and robbed, turned out of their holdings and their rights by rich men and gentlemen, like mice out of shrouds. Indeed the rich take it for no offence to turn the poor out of their holds, but say that the land is their own. Thousands in England beg from door to door who once kept honest houses. They come to London in great numbers seeking for justice, but they find not justice. They cannot get speech of the great men to whom they are suitors, because they cannot find money to bribe their servants. Barabbas was a notable thief, says St. Matthew, a gentleman thief, such as rob now-a-

days in velvet coats. There were two other thieves, when Christ suffered; but they were little thieves, like those that steal from necessity now-a-days. The rustical thieves were hanged, and Barabbas was delivered." Thus Gilpin awoke the dusty echoes.*

The common people were now so uneasy under the pressure of the revolution, and tumults were so frequent, that the whole country was put under martial law: an incredible stretch of the temporal discipline, which was committed to the vigorous hands of Bedford, Pembroke, Hoby, and several other revolutionists, who were joined in a commission.† The rapacity of these men and of their fellows continued still without diminution: and they spared not to add still to their enormous acquisitions at the cost of the Church of England. Bedford at this time acquired, in partnership with a gentleman named Edmond Downing, five manors, late parcel of the see of Worcester. Pembroke accumulated a manor, a messuage, half a dozen tenements, and other lands and possessions, of the bishopric of Durham and of the parish of St. Dunstan in London, as of the King's gift: from the King he purchased advantageously to the extent of nearly two thousand pounds.‡ Hoby got from Cecil a licence to enfeof the Bishop of Worcester, Hooper (who lent himself to the scheme), in the Abbey of Evesham, to the intent to make again an estate to himself and his heirs for ever.§ Of Duke Dudley himself the acquisitions were both numerous and too minute to be particularly given; but the manors of Feckenham, Bromsgrove, and King's Norton in Worcestershire, and the management of all the honours, manors, lordships,

* Carlton's *Life of Gilpin*: republ. in Wordsworth's *Eccles. Biog.* iv. or Collingwood's *Life of Gilpin*. Strype gives an account of the sermon, iv. 25.

† Collier, *Records*, No. lxvii.: Strype, iv. 238.

‡ Strype, iv. 74 and 238.

§ Collier, *Rec.* lxvii.

and lands of the vacant see of Durham were not among the least of them.* A rising creature of Dudley's, the Earl of Westmoreland, a man of tarnished reputation, who had tried to rob the mint, who had tried to rob his mother, who had been involved in treason about the coinage, was presented in the name of the King with half a dozen manors, and dignified with the Order of the Garter.†

Answerably to the enrichment of the rich, the beggary of the King, along with the poverty of the poor, continually increased, and was fearfully accelerated during the last six months of his reign. He parted with lands by ruinous sales to the extent of more than one hundred and ten thousand pounds; to the extent, that is, of more than a million of the present value.‡ Within the same space he lost by way of gift about twice as much of the relics of the monastic spoil as he had lost in the whole of any of his former years (except the first two); and twenty-five religious sites (of little houses mostly), or hospitals, fell to Northumberland, Pembroke, Palmer, Wingfield, and such others.§ This final expilation, for such it was, avenged upon the son the sacrilege of the

* Strype, iv. 107, 236.

† Strype, iv. 75.

‡ Strype has given the sales from February to July. (iv. p. 32 and 115.)

§ *Grants of Monasteries and Hospitals, Anno 7 Edw. VI.*

(*Culled out of Tanner.*)

Elstow, Beds. (Ben. nun : large) site to Sir Humphrey Radcliff.

Missenden, Bucks (Austin can. large) site to Northumberland.

Stanlaw, Chesh. (Cist. little) to Sir Robt. Cotton.

Truro, Cornw. (Black Friars) to Edw. Aglionby.

St. Bee's, Cumb. (Ben. little) to Sir Thos. Challoner.

Lancreston College, Durh. to Edw. Wedbury.

Sidebournebrook Hosp. and Free Chap. Essex, to Sir Ant. Brown.

Horkesley, Gloucest. (alien cell) to Sir Walt. Dennis.

Clifford, Heref. (Cluniac, little) to Pembroke.

Lymbroke, Heref. (Aust. nunn. little) to Sir Wm. Graterick.

St. Albans (Ben. large) church and great part of site to mayor and burgesses, being parochial.

Wingham Coll. Kent, to Sir Thos. Palmer.

father, and left the Crown almost empty of the tide of wealth that had swelled it for a moment after the dissolution of the religious corporations.*

Meantime the King himself was slowly dying at Greenwich, whither he had repaired on the dismissal of the last Parliament. The uneasiness of his subjects

Whalley, Lanc. (Cist. large) to Rd. Ashton and Jn. Braddyl.

Bredon, Leicest. (Aust. little) to Jn. Lord Grey,

Hethes, Leicest. (Hospitallers little) to Hy. St. Jn. and Rt. Thornton.

Innocents Hosp. Lincoln. to Cecil.

Savoy Hosp. for master, 4 chaplains, 100 poor : suppressed.

Shulldham, Norf. (Gilbert. little) : site to Thos. Mildmay.

Lambley, Northumb. (Ben. nun. little) to Northumberland.

Byrkley, Somersets. (Aust. little) to Jn. and Jas. Bisse.

Letheringham or Crew, Suff. (Aust. cell, little) to Sir Ant. Wingfield, patron.

Chertsey, Surrey, (Ben. large) : site to Sir Wm. Fitz Williams.

Balshall, Worc. (Templars) to Jn. Dudley, Earl of Warwick.

Stratford on Avon, Hosp. town incorporated, and lands granted for continuing it.

Hedon, Yorks. Hosp. to Rt. Constable.

* Volume xix. of the *State Papers* of Ed. VI. Domestic, consists of "A Register of all gifts, exchanges, and purchases of Crown lands in every year of King Edward's reign." There is a summary at the close. Mr. Froude has made some use of this (v. 467), and remarks that the Council alone and their friends had appropriated—he supposes he must not say stolen—estates worth half-a-million, in modern currency five millions of pounds. No apology was needed for the truth. The summary in question is entitled "Sum total of all the gifts, fee farms, purchases, and exchanges that passed from the beginning of the reign to the day of the death" of the king. The "sums of money paid with the gifts," that is, I suppose, the money value of the gifts, was 452,418*l*. Besides this volume the Record Office contains a volume entitled "A calendar to the deeds of purchase and exchange made by the Crown in the reign of Edw. VI." (*No. 600 Calend. and Indexes, Court of Excheq. Augm. Off.-Class. deeds of purch. and Exch.*) This is the second of a similar vol. for H. 8. As to the whole period of the Reformation, from the monastic dissolution onwards, see the Appendix to the 20th Record Report, p. 77—92 : which is a classed catalogue of the two great groups of records of the Augmentation Office, viz. the Ministers' Accounts, and the Miscellaneous Books. It contains, for the reign of Edward, the possessions of colleges and chantries (p. 79), particulars of leases (p. 83), and refers (p. 90) to the "Calendar to deeds of purchase" mentioned above. Besides all this mass of information in the Record Office, many of the grants and gifts of Edward VI. are in the Cotton MSS., Julius B. ix. ; Galba B. xi. 39 : Vespasian F. xiii. 177.

with regard to his condition grew daily greater: the suspicion of foul play was whispered: the terrible symptoms which developed themselves in the course of his illness were imputed to a lingering poison administered by the physicians, or by the nurse whom Dudley had introduced; and while the Council were busy about the chamber, while the foreign ambassadors gathered at the palace in mutual mistrust, and imparted to their courts the wildest surmises, the people in the streets burst into immoderate passions of rage. "The physicians," it was exclaimed, "can find no cure for a disease for which they can find no seat: the King's weakness increases, so does the Duke's diligence about him: the Duke is seldom absent: his spies report every hour the changes of His Majesty's health: the sorrowful appearance of the murderer of Somerset belies his secret joy: not vainly was it conjectured by the wise that after Somerset's death the King should not long enjoy his life. For this cause were his two uncles taken away, the most faithful of his nobility removed from court, and such only placed near his person as would work or cover any mischief." * Several persons were examined by the Council for such speeches; † but the Duke paid little heed to them, knowing that rumours grow stale and die. At length, a few days before the death of the King, when they became too troublesome, he applied a remedy of new and ingenious invention. A post erected in Cheap-

* Compare Heylin, whose words I have partly used. He, like the Grey Friars' Chronicer and others, believed that Edward was poisoned.

† Two foreigners, Pero Gonsales and Stephano de Moro, were accused by another of their countrymen "to have spoken certain lewd words," but were set at liberty. *Council Book*, 13 Mar. A warrant was sent, 22 April, to Sir Peter Carew to receive an information of certain words spoken by one Bodenham, *Ib.*: and another, 26 April, to the Lord Chief Justice to receive an information "of a certain lewd report made by one Alice Hill," and "after understanding the truth of the matter to proceed towards her by open punishment or otherwise."—*Ib.*

side carried a revolving chain, the end of which was fastened to an iron collar placed round the neck of a young fellow. Two men with whips stood near, and the culprit, who had indulged his indignation with pretended visions and opprobrious words, could run round the immovable part of the structure, while the executioners supplied the motive force without the waste of energy that would have been involved in following him.*

The amazement of the nation reached the height when, on the same day about the end of May, in the same place, Durham House in the Strand, which Northumberland had lately seized as earnest of the whole estate of the great Northern bishopric that he coveted so much, with as much splendour as the state of the King and the grief of the Court could be thought to bear, three, or indeed four, marriages were solemnised, which joined with the blood of the Grays the blood of the Herberts and of the Dudleys. To Guildford Dudley, the fourth son of Northumberland (for his elder brothers were married already), was united the eldest daughter of the new Duke of Suffolk, Jane: whose father Gray, Marquis of Dorset, had been promoted to an extinct title at the instance of Northumberland. Katherine Gray, the second daughter of Suffolk, was given to the eldest son of the Earl of Pembroke: her sister Mary, the third daughter, to Kyett, the King's gentleman porter; and to Lord Hastings, the eldest son of Huntingdon,

* Machyn's Diary, 34; Strype, iv. 117. This was not the only instance of severity. A little before this the Council ordered the Lord Chancellor "to cause the man being Prisoner in the Tower, and the two women being prisoners in the Counter, that spread false rumours of the King's Majesty's death, to be set upon the pillory to-morrow in the morning, the man to have his ear nailed to the pillory in Cheapside, and the women to stand upon the pillory in Westminster Palace, and all they three to wear papers concerning these words (for most false and untrue reports touching the King's Majesty's life), and then to be returned to the prison again." *Council Book*, 5 May.

fell another Katherine, daughter of Northumberland. These alliances were but the first step in the desperate project, which Northumberland now fully entertained, of altering the succession of the Crown. Henceforth he pursued it without hesitation, though still with all the secrecy that could be commanded. He gained the consent of Edward by arguments to which his infirm health, his religious tendency, and his love of power alike made him susceptible: and Edward lent himself to the plot for excluding his sisters as eagerly as if he had been the principal inventor of it. A fortnight after the marriages, June 11th, the judges were summoned to Greenwich by a message conveyed to one of them: where they found the King surrounded by Paulet, Northampton, Gates, and others of the closest adherents of Northumberland. To Montague, the Chief Justice, Edward addressed himself in startling terms: that his long sickness had turned his mind seriously to consider the state of his kingdom, and that he was resolved that the crown should never go to his sister Mary, who would alter religion. He therefore bade him draw up a deed to alter the succession, showing him some written articles, which he had prepared for that purpose. Montague read with dismay a scheme in which the youth proposed to upset the laws of the land, and (though that mattered far less) not less the illegal will of his own father, by devising the Crown from both his sisters to the heirs male of his cousin Frances, the young Duchess of Suffolk, provided that she had any born before his own death; failing whom it was to go to the Lady Jane Gray and her heirs male; failing whom it was to be transferred to the heirs male of the other two newly espoused daughters of Suffolk, Katherine and Mary, the one after the other: failing whom, the course was to begin again with the heirs female that any of them all might have.

There were other provisions; but it is needless to pursue this preposterous device any further.* The justice implored an interval of deliberation, and retired with the document; but on the very next day he was summoned to Northumberland's House in Ely Place, where Secretary Petre told him that the matter could not be delayed. He repaired again to the Court, and there declared to some of the Council that the matter was illegal: when, as he was speaking, Northumberland himself burst into the room, pale and trembling with fury, called him a traitor, and swore that he would fight in his shirt with any man in that quarrel.

On the following day the judges were summoned again to the Court, and saw the King. They brought no instrument with them, such as had been required; and the King "with sharp words and angry countenance" demanded why they had not drawn a deed according to his device. They stipulated for a commission under the Great Seal to do it, and a pardon for doing it: which the King promised. "And so," says Montague, "the doers and makers of the said book (or settlement) with sorrowful hearts and weeping eyes, in great fear and dread, devised the said book, according to such articles as were signed with the King's proper hand above, beneath, and on every side."† Northumberland then insisted that it

* The device was first printed by Strype, *Cranm. Appendix*, No. lxviii.: it has been reprinted by Mr. Nichol in *Queen Jane and Queen Mary, Camden Soc.*, who has gone carefully into the whole story, and brought together all the documents relating to it. Mr. Froude (v. 500), with a self-devotion of which it is difficult to see the reason, has actually deformed his own text by inserting a bit of the device into it with some red lines drawn through certain parts that were erased in the original, and some italics in other places to represent corrections in the original.

† Montague's Narrative in Fuller (bk. vii. ; p. 2, at beginning of Mary). See also Tytler, ii. 168. The quibble under which they sheltered themselves was the word *successor* in the statute, 1 Edw. VI. 12, 6, where the words are, "the King, his heirs and successors." They argued that the word successor could have no place while the King was living, the King could have no successor in his life: and they determined with themselves

should be signed by the Council, as well as the judges: and he was obeyed, with more or less hesitation, by all but Sir James Hales.*

The part which Cranmer bore in these troublous complications was now begun. The Primate of all England, the only episcopal member of the Council, besides the Lord Chancellor Goodrich, his name stands first of those that were appended to the instrument, but it was written last. When the judges and the Council had applied their hands, they sent for the Archbishop, who had kept away from Greenwich, requiring him also to subscribe. He came: but answered to their request that he could not comply without perjury, being sworn to the Will of Henry the Eighth, by which the next heir to the throne was the Lady Mary. The Council replied that they had consciences as well as he: and were sworn to the late King's Will, as he was. He asked to see the King, but was not suffered to approach him without the presence of Northampton and Darcy.† The King informed him of the sentence of the judges and lawyers, that his father's act of entailing the crown by will was not to be prejudicial to him, but that he, being in possession of the crown, might bequeath it as he would. The Council confirmed the King that the judges had really given this opinion: the King's attorney, and those of the judges who were there, said the same. This seemed very strange to Cranmer: he averred that nothing that the King had ever done so much grieved him: but he was staggered by the weight of authority, and returned in his misery to the King's bedside. Edward solemnly required him to set his hand to the deed, saying, "I

"not to meddle or execute anything concerning the same after the King's death."

* "To his everlasting honour."—*Fuller*. He was not however so much urged as the rest: nor with them in the most painful scenes.

† *Strype's Cranmer* gives most of these particulars.

trust that you alone will not be more repugnant to my will than the rest of the Council are." The Archbishop saw the deed with the names of the rest underwritten: but through his absence from court he knew not perhaps of the difficulty with which many of them had been brought to set their hands to it. He knew not, it may be, of the tears, the groans, the procrastination of Montague and his brother justices, who now assured him that he might lawfully set to his hand. He may not have been told how sharply the King, after prevailing with Montague and Bromley, had turned on Baker with "What say you? you have said never a word to-day:" nor in what manner Northumberland and Shrewsbury had handled the more obstinate Gosnold, the Solicitor-General.* He may not have heard of the absolute refusal of Hales to touch the matter. He may never have been informed that the Marquis of Winchester himself, Shrewsbury himself, and Lord Bedford himself, Lord Arundel, Sir Thomas Cheyne, whose names he saw there written, had been astounded at first by the audacity of the scheme:† or that the cautious Cecil, who had also signed, had exclaimed, when first he heard of it, that he would withstand so monstrous a design, "whatever became of him."‡ Otherwise he might perchance have made common cause with those whom the thing displeased. But he was overborne by the importunity of the King, whom he loved: he submitted his reason to the authority of the quaking lawyers: the threatening

* "How the Duke and the Earl of Shrewsbury handled him, he can tell himself."—Montague's Narrative, ap. Fuller.

† Froude, v. 502, from Scheyne's Despatches.

‡ See the Letter of Alford to Cecil, in Strype's *Annals*, iv. 349. Cecil explained that he signed the deed only as a witness of the King's intention. This was nonsense. Every one who signed might have said the same, if he did. However he was very unwilling, and it is likely that the appointment of Cheke to be a third secretary of the Council shortly before June 2, was intended to overawe him.—See *Tytler*, ii. 173.

image of Mary and the apprehended alteration of religion may have swayed the balance of his motives: he set his hand to the fatal roll "unfeignedly," as he said, "and without dissimulation." * He did wrong, but under enormous pressure. A few days after the completion of the plot, it was observed that Ridley's suffragan Hodgskin, Bishop of Bedford, in preaching at St. Paul's, omitted to pray for the Ladies Mary and Elizabeth: † a proof of the confidence existing between Cranmer and Ridley: for as yet the knowledge of their disheriting was supposed to be confined to those who had signed the deed for it. Four days after that, July 6, the King died.

The character of Edward the Sixth was revealed more clearly in this closing transaction than in anything else that he did. He subverted, but at the same time he imitated, his father in treating the crown as a private possession. He yielded to the ascendancy of Northumberland on the one hand: on the other he became

* There were two instruments signed by those who participated in this disastrous scheme. One was an "Engagement to maintain the succession as limited by the King": the other was the instrument itself, the Letters Patent for the limitation of the Crown. The former is dateless, the latter is of June 21. Tytler and Mr. Froude consider the former to have been later in time than the latter, and designed for an additional surety. But there can be no doubt that the Engagement was the earlier document: and so Mr. Nichol decides. It was drawn up by Petre, probably at Greenwich while the judges were there. It is not my business to go into all the circumstances of this plot; but I may observe that there are three narrations of it by persons nearly concerned: the narrative of Chief Justice Montague, in Fuller's *Church Hist.* bk. viii. 2: the Letter which Cecil caused Alford, one of his dependents, to write in the time of Elizabeth, to explain his own conduct, in Strype's *Annals*, iv. 349: and the justificatory letter that Cranmer addressed to Mary from the Tower, Strype's *Cranm.* App. lxxiv.: or *Remains*, p. 442. Tytler has examined some of these: and Mr. Froude has added some information from the despatches of the foreign ambassadors. Cranmer's explanation, or avowal that he acted unfeignedly, is admired by Mr. Froude, perhaps with reason, in comparison with the excuses offered by others. But it might have had the purpose or effect of commending him to the Queen: that if he had acted against her unfeignedly, he was equally unfeigned in his contrition.

† *Grey Friars' Chron.*, July 2.

obstinate and unreasonable as soon as he was resolved on his course. He browbeat the judges till they belied the laws; he compelled the Archbishop in the name of loyalty to become a traitor. The son of Henry the Eighth was beyond doubt an extraordinary person. Observation, coolness, ability, and strength of will are perceptible throughout his brief career, in his conduct, and in his writings. The education of this orphan child stimulated the force and corroded the goodness of his nature. Under the ridiculous system of the Tudor etiquette, to which he was subjected, he beheld the human race mostly in the act of genuflection. His very sisters fell on their knees whenever they spoke to him. The foundation of his intellect was probably hardness. It has been questioned whether he wrote all the themes, essays, and exertations that pass under his name: but whether he were assisted as to the matter or not, the unvarying hardness of the style, especially in the important record, which he has left, of his own reign, cannot be attributed to any but himself. His Journal is ever the same in manner: whether he describe a festival or an execution, a plague that carried off hundreds of his subjects, or the eruption of the measles on his own person, all is set down in the briefest and driest terms of narrative. The unfeeling minutes which he penned of the fall and death of his uncle Somerset have been noticed with surprise more than once. Undoubtedly he was alienated by the unavoidable sufferings that he underwent, when the Duke, at the time of his first disgrace, held possession of his person, and hurried him from place to place: and this feeling was afterwards aggravated by Northumberland's artful representation that the doings of the Protector had been prejudicial to the royal dignity. And yet even resentment, not

altogether groundless, cannot account entirely for the callousness with which Edward has treated of the violent end of a relative and an intimate. But Edward was a boy. In childhood the great calamities of life are felt less than the petty vexations. It is through experience that our judgment is reversed; that we learn to pass with a smile the annoyances of the hour, while real troubles awaken answerable emotion. The child that weeps and storms about a toy, may hear with little concern beyond curiosity of the death of a parent. Such conduct is no final indication of the disposition: it comes of the immaturity which has not gained the true measure of joy and sorrow. As to this fatherless and motherless child, the plaything and the pagod of the men who then preyed upon the commonwealth, what the qualities that he might have developed, what he might have put off or on, it would be bootless to conjecture. But his last act seemed to show that fanaticism had taken root in him, to the diminution of justice and natural affection.

His reign, to dignify by that title the seven years of an infant, the protectorate of Somerset, and the domination of Northumberland, is a chaos in the semblance of order, which has been curiously misread in history. There are writers who have described it as the sacred age of England, when the light of the Reformation, which had but glimmered in the days of Henry the Eighth, shone forth with a lustre that was doubled by the gloomy horrors that so soon ensued. There are others, who, exasperated by the triumph of principles which they detest, have overwhelmed with a deluge of vituperation characters and measures which in truth would ill bear a tenderer handling. It is futile to cover every portrait with black: in total darkness nothing can be seen. Others again have

busied themselves in extinguishing some of the greater lights of the Reformation, such as Somerset and Cranmer, without denying that at the Reformation there was an illumination. These last have been actuated not so much by scientific conviction as by boundless indulgence of the passion of hatred of the Church of England. They have regarded men like Somerset and Cranmer as fathers of the Church of England: and it is for this reason that they have pursued their memories with outcries: not because they cared whether they were good or bad, or great or little men. They have been misled in fact by the preposterous notion that the Church of England was created, or had her origin, at the Reformation: and they think that the reign of Edward the Sixth was the time when she grew to completion, because it was the time when some of her most important printed formularies were compiled, of which some were ratified by Parliament. This portentous blunder, of supposing that the Church of England was begun in the age that reformed, but also did much to impair her, has vitiated and deprived of value one of the most artistic and elaborate,* and one of the most ambitious histories of England of the present century. Nearly all historical writing is now become a flattery of the people: among the books that flatter the people most enormously are those that contain this error about the Church.

It was a period that was filled with the revolution of

* Lord Macaulay, in the celebrated first chapter of his *History of England*, has a paragraph headed "Origin of the Church of England": in which he says that the Church of England sprang from a coalition of the Government and the Protestants in the sixteenth century! He then goes on to describe the peculiarities of the Church of England, as derived from such an origin. It is to be regretted that so irretrievable an error should have destroyed so great a work: for it colours it throughout. Those who could most readily point out the faults of Macaulay's writing, would be the first to allow that he was an artist.

the rich against the poor. This I have shown at length : but what, besides the poor themselves and their rights, perished to effect that revolution ? The sacred, the almost aristocratic character of poverty perished, or appeared to perish, for the time.

APPENDIX.

ON GASQUET AND BISHOP'S "EDWARD VI. AND THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER."

Since the first appearance of this present volume of my 'History of the Church of England,' the Rev. F. A. Gasquet and Mr. Bishop have, it is well known, made important discoveries in the history of the English Prayer Book. I reviewed their work in the 'Historical Review,' July, 1891 : and as they go over the ground covered by this, and part of the second, volume of my History, I may offer the substance of my remarks to the reader : premising that these writers agree with me on the following points—the origin of the Henrician Rationale ; the date of the " Questions concerning the Mass " ; the doubt whether the so-called Windsor Commission ever had a written commission ; the negative answer of the important question whether the first Prayer Book was ever submitted to Convocation.

The discoveries contained in the work of Messrs. Gasquet and Bishop add greatly to our knowledge of the process of the formation of the English Prayer Book. All that could be done with the means hitherto available had perhaps been done—the sources of the Prayer Book explored ; the influence of known authorities, such as Quignon, ascertained ; some dateless monuments put in place, by the industry of successive writers. But still it was felt that the records were very scanty of the process of compilation itself, the process by which the old diocesan uses were brought into the great common use of the sixteenth century : and that it was difficult to fill the void between the time when those old uses were begun to be examined and called in and the time when the new use was set out—a period of nine or ten years, from 1540 to 1549 ; a period which might be expected to be full of the literary remains of liturgical experiments, but which, in fact, has been found to be almost empty. The writers of this volume

have cast into the void the matter that was wanting. They have discovered a first and second draft of a breviary with Cranmer's annotations; a sort of report of the great debate on the Sacrament, which was held in the House of Lords in 1547; and a report of some of the proceedings of the memorable Convocation of the same year, the first of Edward VI. They are thus enabled to exhibit the growth of the English Prayer Book, and invite us to survey more accurately than has hitherto been possible the extensive scheme of liturgical alteration that was promulgated in the last years of Henry and the first years of Edward. They have completed their work by carrying on the examination to the end of the reign of the latter.

The last public act of Thomas Cromwell in the year of his fall—1540, a year memorable for many reasons—was to announce in Parliament, on the authority of his master, Henry VIII, the appointment of a great commission of bishops and doctors, divided into two parts, of which the one was to treat of doctrines, the other of ceremonies. In the space of three years the former part of this Commission produced the last of the great Henrician formularies of the faith, the 'Necessary Doctrine of a Christian Man.' A very conservative 'Rationale,' or exposition of divine service, which is extant, of Henry's time, has been conjectured by me (*History of the Church of England*, vol. ii., 234, 311) to have been the work of the other part of this Commission; and to what I said there it may be added that the conjecture seems agreeable to Cromwell's speech in Parliament on the occasion, who said that the king *alios autem episcopos elegit qui discrimen et rationem ceremoniarum exponant . . . episcoporum horum functio in ceremoniis et ritibus erit*.^{*} The present writers accept this conjecture. The 'Rationale,' however, remained unpublished in 1543, when the 'Necessary Doctrine' (the work of the other part of the Commission) was passed by Convocation and published. Instead of issuing a companion volume concerning rites and ceremonies, to explain and defend them (as the 'Rationale' would have done most uncompromisingly), Archbishop Cranmer declared in Convocation that it was the king's will that the existing service books should be examined and reformed. Hereupon the examination of service books was assigned to two bishops, each of whom was to take to himself three of the lower house of the clergy: but this committee seems not to have been formed; and the two bishops apparently did nothing, not having power to act alone. What, then, followed? Nothing public in the reign of Henry—no

^{*} *Lords' Journals*, p. 129.

examination or castigation of the service books. But in the first year of Henry's son, in 1547, the Convocation spoke as if something had been expected, the lower house petitioning the upper that "the labours of the bishops and others, who by command of Convocation had been engaged in examining, revising, and setting forth the divine service, should be produced and submitted to the examination of the house." This was a memorable and active assembly; and this petition was one of several by which the clergy endeavoured at the time to recover the rights and liberties which they had once enjoyed. But to what labours of bishops and others did they refer herein? I have suggested that it was to the unpublished 'Rationale' above mentioned, the suppression of which I ascribed to Cranmer (vol. ii., 467). When the suggestion was made there was nothing else known to which the clergy might be supposed to point in their petition. But the present writers observe not without some force that the words of the clergy, in their petition, about revision or examination scarcely give the description of a rationale or exposition: and that the clergy speak of the examination of service books as having been undertaken by their own command (*ex mandato convocationis*) without mention of the king. On the other hand, there is a version of the petition (in the Stillingfleet MSS.), perhaps by Cranmer himself, in which the clergy speak not of their own command, but say that as, "by the commandment of King Henry VIII, certain prelates and learned men had been appointed to alter the service of the church," and had made "certain books, as they were informed," they desired to see and peruse the said books. This probably refers to Cranmer's declaration of the king's wish in 1543; but it is not inconsistent with the admitted conjecture of the origin of the 'Rationale' three years before under Cromwell's commission, while the words to "alter the service" may possibly be Cranmer's own interpretation of the purpose with which, as to ritual, that commission had been appointed. And the 'Rationale,' unpublished, but known to be in existence, and in its arguments answering to the wishes of a great part of the clergy, may have been among the "certain books" which the clergy wished to see, even though it were not the only one. The matter is not of the greatest consequence, for nothing is known to have come of the petition of the clergy: neither the 'Rationale' nor any other "books" seem to have been laid before them.

Cranmer, however, had that which he might, if he had seen fit, have exhibited to the Convocation. Since the year 1543, when he declared King Henry's wish to be that the service books should be examined, he appears to have taken the matter into his own hands,

and to have been engaged in the two successive schemes, of breviary and lectionary, and of order of morning and evening prayer with lectionary, which it is the first praise of Mr. Gasquet and Mr. Bishop to have discovered in one of the manuscript collections in the British Museum. These originals, in the clerly writing of Morrice, annotated and corrected in the beautiful hand of the archbishop, supply the lost links of the chain which conducts the old service books to the first English Book of Common Prayer, and exhibit the process by which the one became the other. To them may be referred, and by them will be rewarded, the curiosity of the liturgical reader. The discoverers are right beyond doubt in assigning them to some date between 1543 and the death of Henry at the beginning of 1547. Cranmer is known to have been at liturgical work then, as witness that draft of a royal mandate about removing certain ceremonies, in which he is said to have been appointed by the king "to peruse certain books of service"; and was to have had for his colleagues not a Salcot or a Goodrich (the two prelates who were ineffectively nominated in 1543), but the conservative Heath and Day.* The king, however, never signed the mandate; and Cranmer seems to have pursued his way alone.

As to the first convocation of Edward, towards the end of 1547, our authors truly say that its records have received very unfortunate treatment at the hands of Burnet, Strype, and Wilkins; and one of their services to history is that they have given information where to find a large portion of the acts or journal of that memorable meeting, in which the questions of communion in both kinds and of the marriage of priests were decided. The original paper is extant, with the signatures, on the latter question, of the *affirmantes* and *negantes*. It is to be hoped that these interesting memorials may soon be given to the world.

The first of the great liturgical works of Edward's reign was the Communion Book of the beginning of the following year, 1548. Some dateless documents exist, which by general consent are considered to have been immediately anterior to this publication, viz. the several sets of 'Questions concerning the Mass,' which are given by Burnet and others. To fix the exact date of these Questions, which were answered by nearly all the bishops and one or two doctors, is a point of some moment. The writers under review maintain that these curious papers were either just after the first parliament (and Convocation) of Edward, or at any rate close upon

* Gasquet, 28; Dixon, ii. 365.

the end of it, because they contain nothing about the desirability of communion under both kinds, which matter was expedited by parliament late in the session, on December 20. They argue (after Collier) that this particular question was not among the Questions because there was no longer any need to ask it. And, on the other hand, they maintain, for a reason given, that the Questions could not be later than the end of January following. [Indeed, they could not have been much later, for the Communion Book was published on March 8, and must have been some time in the press.] The writers animadvert on me for assigning, as they say, the first and longest of these sets of Questions "to some period before the meeting of parliament in 1547" (p. 83)—to some period, that is, in Edward's first year, previous to his first parliament. This is unfortunate, as I did no such thing. My argument is that they were not before, but during the session of 1547. I showed, partly after Jenkyns, that the third or last set of the Questions must be referred to that session, and then added, "If it should be argued that the first set of Questions need not be of that date, because the third set is, it may be answered that the first set also contains a decisive proof." I also added that the second or remaining set is of the same date also: so that I refer all the sets to the session of 1547 (vol. ii. 475). I am, therefore, of the same opinion with these writers, save that they would put the Questions right to the end of the session, or possibly just after it. It seems more likely that the Questions were propounded any time during the session—at all events whilst the bishops were still in town to answer them. Having mistaken my meaning, which was that the Questions were not before the session, the writers go on to take exception to my "decisive proof," which went to show that they were not after it. They say that one of the queries being "whether it be convenient that masses satisfactory should continue—that is to say, priests hired to sing for souls departed"—it is a misapprehension for me to have argued that "it would have been superfluous to ask this after the session of 1547, which destroyed chantries," because that the Chantries Act only abolished certain perpetual foundations for masses, and had nothing to forbid priests being hired to sing for souls departed, which could be done as well after as before the Act, and only became unlawful "when the mass was abolished altogether." For this they quote Gardiner's famous sermon of June 1548, to the effect that "though the chantries be transferred to another use the mass is not condemned," and that "the act was not prejudicial to the ministers, that they should have their living out of the same." I may have learned as much from the

answers themselves that were returned to the question. My argument is that it was, as not before so not indefinitely after, but during the session ; though it may have been late therein, for the Chantries Act was not expedited till the last day of the session, Dec. 24. The matter is, as to this question, that it was asked (and asked in a contemptuous form) to cover the meditated destruction of chantries, which was the reason why it was asked at all. These writers and myself in fact agree instead of differing as to the date of the Questions on the Mass, that it was during, or possibly just after, but not before, the parliamentary session of 1547.

In this chapter respecting the time, place, and persons concerned in the first English Order of Communion, or "the new liturgy," the work of 1548, to which the above-mentioned Questions on the Mass seem to have been preparatory, our authors give an interesting disquisition on the celebrated Windsor commission or assembly, the body which has in history the credit of having drawn up not only that Communion Book, but also the first English Prayer Book, which followed in 1549. The great question here is, whether the body of divines so called ever had a written commission. I was the first to raise this question (*note on p. 16 of this volume*). The present writers emphatically confirm my negative conclusion, without referring to me. No written commission has ever been produced ; and though Fuller, who is the author who gives the list of the thirteen divines commonly known as the Windsor Commission, may have seen their names in some written commission, it is not certain for what purpose it may have been issued ; for he has not given it. I have been inclined to think that the persons concerned acted on verbal orders only, "by his Highness' commandment" (*cf. vol. ii., p. 532 of this work*).^{*} The present writers make it probable, from the French ambassador De Selve, that the meetings of the divines were held at Chertsey as well as at Windsor.

On the important question whether the first Prayer Book were ever submitted to Convocation, the authors confirm the negative answer given by myself, quoting one of the places in which I say that it was not. But here, again, they have omitted to say that I was the

^{*} It may be noticed that in the same year, 1549, the English Ordinal was ordered to be composed by a committee of twelve, "six prelates, and six other men of this realm learned in God's law, by the King to be appointed and assigned" (3 and 4 Ed. VI. c. 12). If the primate were added, this would give the same number and composition that Fuller ascribes to the Windsor Commission. (Cf. this volume, p. 159.)

first to reopen the question for perhaps a century and a half, and that I had collected and examined the contemporary evidence both for and against. They give the same contemporary negative evidence that I gave—that is to say, all the evidence that can be found—but they make no reference to me, although one or two items of that evidence were produced or printed by me for the first time (p. 152 ; cf. this vol., 5, 130, 146-8). As to the opposite evidence, they have held it unnecessary to follow it beyond an initial stage ; but they might have said that it has all been traced with care by the previous writer (this vol., p. 5, 127, 161, 163). But I pass to the truly valuable contribution that they have made to our knowledge of the manner in which the first Prayer Book was carried into use. They have discovered and printed in full an original report or summary of the great debate that was held in the house of lords in the end of 1548, preparatory to the first act for uniformity of the session following at the beginning of the next year. Our knowledge of this memorable occasion has been hitherto of the slightest, drawn merely from a few letters of the period which happened to refer to it. Now it is set before us in its animation and conflict ; and the discoverers have accompanied it by an exposition, or commenting narrative, for which thanks are due, though there may be much difference of opinion respecting some things that it contains.

The investigation which follows of the relation of the English Book of Common Prayer toward ancient and toward contemporary liturgies is perhaps the most learned part of the work, and full of striking observations. The writers hold that in studying the Book of Common Prayer historically the main question is from what sources it was derived immediately ; what books, what authors lay within reach of the English compilers. On this subject considerable light is thrown ; but it may be doubted, perhaps, whether it can be fully determined : especially if that be admitted which these writers more than once advance, that, with one exception, it is not absolutely certain who the compilers were. However, the ancient uses of England were, no doubt, the body on which they operated ; and the ancient uses may be regarded as one, since their differences were unimportant in comparison of their general agreement in contents and structure. The extent to which the Book of Common Prayer adheres to the ancient uses or departs from them, is given as regards the great central service of the Mass ; and after that the Book of Common Prayer is compared with liturgies of contemporary origin, liturgies that owed their birth to the Reformation. Of these latter, only those of the Lutherans are considered, the Calvinistic and

Zwinglian services being out of question as of an entirely different character. The German and Latin missals of Luther, which are affirmed to be the basis of the other numerous Lutheran liturgies, are compared with the Order of Communion in the English book ; and the Lutheran influence is traced also in the ordinances of baptism and confirmation. All this is in order to answer the question, which is raised, whether the English Prayer Book "is to be ranked with the ancient liturgies of the Christian church or with the group of church services created by the Reformation in the sixteenth century" (p. 216). The answer given is that "there can be no hesitation whatever in classing it with the latter, not with the former" (p. 224). This decision will scarcely be accepted by English Catholics without reserve. The English Book kept closer to the earlier uses than the Lutherans did. Instead of the elaborate arrangement of groups or families of liturgies, which these writers suggest, it would have been simpler to say that of all the liturgies that were formed or reformed in the sixteenth century by the force of the Reformation the English liturgy was the most conservative. The investigation brings out several points of interest. One is the greatness of Cranmer in his own line : everything in the way of arrangement, compilation, manipulation—in a word, composition—seems to go back to him. He appears to have been one of those rare men who can help themselves not only by their own wit, but by the best of the wit of others, by making it their own. When the materials that came under his notice had passed through his delicate perusal, he could fuse all together in that wonderful sacred English which can never be written again. That such a man was "ductile," open to receive all impressions, belongs to the character. He was a high literary genius. These inquiries, for another matter, reopen the question of the extent to which the English Reformation was affected by the influence of the Lutherans. Of late it has been the fashion to deny that Lutheranism had any share at all in shaping the course of England ; and the position held by such writers as Laurence has been regarded as no longer tenable. The Augsburg Confession, however, certainly had a great deal to do with the English Confessions ; and now it seems that the Lutheran liturgies had far more to do with the English Prayer Book than has been thought.

On this part of the general subject it may be remarked that critics are too much inclined to think that rival theories are held by historians as to the comparative influence of foreign and native reformers in the work of the English Reformation. If an historical writer finds foreigners sending exhortations into England, writing

censures, and otherwise interfering, and records what he finds, is he therefore denying that Englishmen gave the same advice, or that, if they did, they had no weight? If he finds certain English bishops or doctors strenuously urging the measures that were actually adopted, and says so, is he thereby denying that the representations of foreigners to the same purpose had any effect? Our authors have laid stress on the one hand on the determination of the English, of Cranmer and his associates, and have pointed out with probability that Cranmer was considerably impelled by his opposition to Gardiner. On the other hand, they have brought forward some new evidence of the influence of foreign divines, as, *e.g.*, a tract of Peter Martyr's on the Eucharist. Thus they cut both ways: and yet one of their admirers in the press vigorously exclaims, "He (they) has (have) scattered to the winds the theory that the first Prayer Book was ever meant to be final, or that things would have gone on comfortably enough if it had not been for the interference of the foreign reformers, which led to the important alterations introduced into the Prayer Book of 1552." *

In their account of the reception of the English services the writers make good use, for the first time in this connexion, of some scattered notices in the *Grey Friars' Chronicle* and *Wriothesley's Chronicle* of quarrels in the London churches and variations of practice which arose through the first Prayer Book. Some of the instances which they give occurred before the day, 9 June, 1549, appointed for the new service to come into use, and exhibit exactly the same impetuous desire to go before the law, and anticipate "the king's proceedings," which was still more unhappily manifested in the opposite direction in the following reign. This part of their work is particularly good upon the contest between Bonner and May in St. Paul's (cf. this vol., p. 129). It seems that Cranmer himself took the trouble to go and preach and officiate more than once in St. Paul's, probably by invitation of the reforming dean; and that the sermons which he delivered were written originally by Peter Martyr in Latin, were translated for the use of the archbishop, were then retouched by his assiduous hand, and are extant in the C.C.C.C. library. They are not in the lists of Cranmer's writings in Todd or Jenkyns. They ought to be printed.

In their final chapter, on 'The Second Book of 1552,' the authors have discovered a curious agreement between several of the alterations made in the Order of Communion in the first Book, and some points previously noted by Gardiner in the criticism that he

* *Athenæum*, Dec. 27, 1890.

passed on the first Book in his famous literary sacramental controversy with Cranmer. They hold that these points, in which Gardiner had praised the retention of catholic doctrine, were eliminated by Cranmer in the second Book rather because of Gardiner's approbation than by reason of objection raised by Bucer in his 'Censura'; albeit, as they allow, two of the points in question were among the very many matters alleged by Bucer against the first Book and altered in the second. The case is interesting, and the authors have done well to bring it forward. But it by no means does away with the fact of the great influence of Bucer. In the same chapter the authors contend that a working meeting of Convocation for considering the first Prayer Book, with the view of altering it, which has been hitherto assigned to the end of 1550, really belongs to the beginning of 1552 (p. 286). The former date has been given by successive writers in dependence upon Heylin, the only original authority who records the meeting at all. Our authors hold that Heylin made a mistake of date: and to the reasons that they give it may be added that it is very unlikely that there should have been an active meeting of Convocation at a time when Parliament was not sitting. Their main reason is that Cranmer's register gives a writ of prorogation of Convocation at the end of 1550. This seems conclusive. There was, however, a conference or colloquy of bishops held at that time about altering the Prayer Book. In discussing this matter the authors have convicted me of a mistake similar to that which they attribute to Heylin. I have assigned a letter to Jan. 1551 which is dated 1552 in the Parker *Original Letters*. I thought the latter date a wrong conjecture of the Parker editors.

If, then, the correction offered by our authors be accepted, as it seems that it should be, and it be established that it was at the beginning of 1552 that the alteration of the first Prayer Book came under the consideration of Convocation, it follows that whatever Heylin tells us, from the perished acts, was done by Convocation in 1550 was done in 1552. And we know no more than Heylin tells us. Now our authors seem to intimate that at the later date, which was of course the year of the publication of the second Prayer Book, the Convocation had under consideration alterations that went far beyond those which obtained in the second Book, great as those were. The design of a third book, of a far more sweeping character than the second, has been freely imputed of late to Cranmer, by more than one Anglican writer. It is a grave imputation, which, however, seems to rest upon a piece of secondhand evidence, upon

something that Bullinger is said to have said to some of the exiles in the reign of Mary, which, again, comes from a notoriously one-sided book, *The Troubles at Frankfort*. Our authors significantly quote this piece of evidence in the midst of their remarks about the Convocation meeting of 1552. 'Bullinger, always well informed, stated to some of the Frankfort exiles that "Cranmer, bishop of Canterbury, had drawn up a Book of Prayer a hundred times more perfect than this that we now have" (*i.e.* the book of 1552); but "the same could not take place, for that he was matched with such a wicked clergy and Convocation, with other enemies"' (p. 287). Now if our authors could make good that in the year of the publication of the second Book, 1552, Convocation was considering changes that went far beyond the second Book, Bullinger's alleged assertion about a third book being in contemplation would be no longer unsupported, and a blow would be struck at the comparatively conservative character of the English Reformation, so far at least as intention was concerned. However, even granting that whatever was considered by Convocation on the matter was considered in 1552, it cannot be proved that in 1552 the Convocation considered anything beyond those alterations which turned the first Book into the second. Heylin's extract from the acts says that it was debated among the prelates "of such doubts as had arisen about some things contained in the Book of Common Prayer, more particularly touching such feasts as were retained, and such as had been abrogated by the rules thereof: the form of words used at the giving of the bread, and the different manner of administering the holy sacrament." These particulars answer to alterations that were made in the second Book as compared with the first—several alterations in the calendar, the form of words used in giving the elements in Holy Communion, and the different manner of administering, as, *e.g.*, the kind of bread. In the Act of Parliament authorising the second Book, which was passed at the same time, the same reason that Heylin gives is alleged for any revision whatever having been made: "that doubts had arisen about some things contained in the (first) Book of Common Prayer" and "the mistakers" are treated somewhat contemptuously, while it is indicated that in the second Book a final point of alteration had been reached. The Act says that the Book of Common Prayer was now "made fully perfect," and again that it was "explained and perfected." Between the Convocation and Parliament of 1552 and the publication of the second Book nine months elapsed; it is known that in the interval something further was attempted by the interference of an influential foreigner, John Knox; but the curious history of the "Declaration

on Kneeling," commonly called the black rubric, is the history of the defeat of an attempt to rush an innovation ; and the mind of Cranmer himself seem sufficiently declared by the sentence that dropped from him on that occasion : "Is it wisdom to alter without Parliament what has been concluded by Parliament, at the bidding of glorious and unquiet spirits, who would still find faults if the book were altered every year?" * In the following reign the martyr Taylor testified that the second Book was held to be final and perfect : "by one reformation [revision] it was fully perfected," he said ; "no Christian conscience could be offended by anything contained in that book."

If there were any evidence to support the supposed design of farther alteration after the second Book, it might perhaps be found in the fifty-four articles for an uniform order in churches, of the year 1553 : of which articles I formerly questioned the existence, but now admit it (*see p. 518 of this volume*). But, as those articles disappeared from the first, it is impossible to say whether they went beyond the second Book, or were meant to explain and enforce it.

* Cranmer to the Council : Perry's *Historical Considerations*, p. 77.

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